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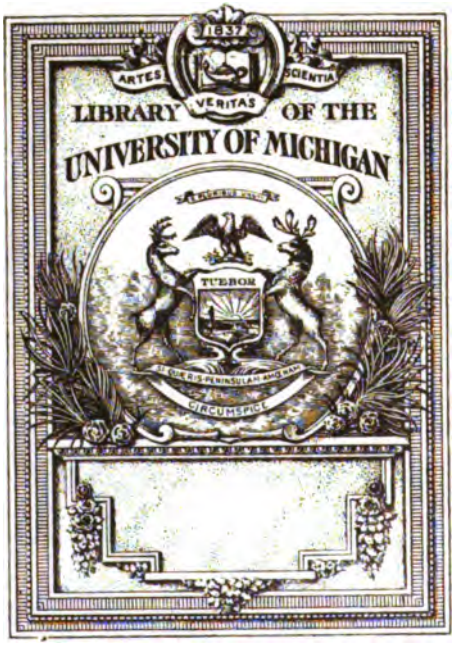

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LARDNER'S WORKS.

VOL. I.

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THE

WORKS

OF

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D. D.

WITH A LIFE BY DR. KIPPIS.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
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JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

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CONTENTS OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

PART I. BOOK I.

CHAP.		PAGE
	Life of Dr. Lardner - - - - - -	i
	Preface - - - - - - - -	3
	Introduction - - - - - - -	8
I.	Of Princes and Governors mentioned in the New Testament	13
II.	Of the State of the Jews in Judea during the ministry of our Saviour and his Apostles - - - -	35
III.	Of the State of the Jews out of Judea - - -	112
IV.	Concerning the Jewish Sects and the Samaritans - -	123
V.	Of the Jews' and Samaritans' Expectations, and their idea of the Messiah - - - - - -	137
VI.	Of the Great Corruption of the Jewish People - -	146
VII.	The Circumstances of our Saviour's last Sufferings - -	149
VIII.	Of the Treatment which the Apostles and other Disciples of Jesus met with from Jews and Gentiles - -	172
IX.	Concerning divers Opinions and Practices of the Jews -	212
X.	Roman Customs mentioned in the New Testament - -	232
XI.	Three Remarkable Facts. - - - - -	250

BOOK II.

I.	Three Objections against Luke ii. 1, 2. considered -	260
II.	Two Objections taken from the Silence of Josephus -	346
III.	An Objection against the Fifteenth Year of Tiberius compared with the Age of Jesus at his Baptism - -	356
IV.	Of Annas and Caiaphas - - - - - -	401
V.	Of the different Names given to Herodias's first Husband by the Evangelists and Josephus - - -	408
VI.	Of Zacharias, Son of Barachias - - - -	417
VII.	Of Theudas - - - - - - -	425
VIII.	Of the Ægyptian Impostor - - - -	434
	The Conclusion - - - - - -	439
	An Appendix, concerning the Time of Herod's Death -	443

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PAGE

The Case of the Dæmoniacs mentioned in the New Testament: Four Discourses upon Mark v. 19, "Howbeit Jesus suffered him not, but saith unto him, Go home to thy friends, and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee."

Preface - - - - - - - - 449

Discourse I. The History of the Two Dæmoniacs in the Country of the Gadarenes, which is recorded by three Evangelists, explained, and improved - - 450

Discourse II. Two Opinions concerning the Case of those who were called Dæmoniacs: One supposing that such Persons were tormented, possessed, inhabited, and acted, by one or more Spirits: The other that these afflictive Cases were bodily Distempers only. And the former of those opinions, as held in the time of our Saviour and his Apostles, largely represented 464

Discourse III. The latter of those Opinions asserted, and supported by divers Considerations - - - 478

Discourse IV. Objections against this Opinion stated and considered, and the argument concluded - - - 489

An Appendix for further illustrating the Subject - - 507

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THE

LIFE

OF

DR. NATHANIEL LARDNER.

DR. NATHANIEL LARDNER was born at Hawkhurst, in the county of Kent, on the 6th of June, 1684. His father, Mr. Richard Lardner, was a minister of respectable character among the protestant dissenters, and, for a considerable number of years, pastor of a congregation at Deal; but whether he was in that situation at the time of his son's birth does not appear: perhaps, as the toleration act had not then taken place, he might not as yet have become a settled preacher. The mother of our author was the daughter of a Mr. Collier, formerly of the borough of Southwark, but who afterwards retired to Hawkhurst, which is a large village, south of Cranbrook, and lying in that part of Kent which borders upon Sussex. It was probably at his grandfather's house that young Lardner was born. Where he received his grammatical education, cannot now be ascertained; though it is supposed, from his father's residence at Deal, that it might be at that place. Wherever it was, there can be no doubt, from the literature which he afterwards displayed, of his having made an early progress in the knowledge of the learned languages. From the grammar school he was removed to a dissenting academy in London, under the care of the Reverend Dr. Joshua Oldfield. Here, however, he must have continued but a very little time; for in the latter end of 1699, being then only in the sixteenth year of his age, he was sent to prosecute his studies at Utrecht, under the professors D'Uries, Grævius, and Burman, names of no small celebrity in the literary world. Under such tutors, Mr. Lardner made a suitable

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improvement in various branches of learning; and he brought back with him a testimonial from professor Burman, to that purpose.

It was not uncommon, at that period, for the young men who were intended for the dissenting ministry in England, to study abroad, and particularly in the universities of Holland. Several persons, who afterwards became of no small consideration among the dissenters, and who distinguished themselves by their valuable writings, were educated in this manner. Mr. Martin Tomkins went over with Mr. Lardner to Utrecht, and they found there Mr. Daniel Neal.

After spending somewhat more than three years at Utrecht, Mr. Lardner removed to Leyden, where he studied about six months. In 1703, he returned to England, in company with Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Neal; and from that time to the year 1709, we have no memorials concerning him. This space was probably spent by him at his father's house, who quitted Deal in 1703 or 1704, and came to reside in or near London; and we may be certain that young Mr. Lardner employed himself in a close and diligent preparation for the sacred profession which he had in view. He was not one of those who are in haste to display their talents in the pulpit; for it was not till the second of August, 1709, when he was above twenty-five years of age, that he preached his first sermon. This was at Stoke-Newington, for his friend Mr. Martin Tomkins, who had become the minister of a congregation at that place. The subject of Mr. Lardner's discourse was taken from Romans i. 16; "For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." There could not have been a more proper text, for a man who was destined, in the order of Divine Providence, to be one of the ablest advocates for the authenticity and truth of the Christian Revelation that ever existed. During the four years which succeeded to this event, we have no information concerning our author, excepting that he was a member of the congregational church under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Mr. Matthew Clark, a gentleman of eminence among the dissenting clergymen of that period, and father to Dr. Clark, a physician of character, reputation, and extensive practice, who died not long since at Tottenham, in Middlesex.

In 1713, Mr. Lardner was invited to reside in the house of Lady Treby, the widow of Sir George Treby, Knt. who had been appointed Lord Chief Justice of the court of Common Pleas in 1692, and had sustained that high office and dignity,

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with great integrity and ability, till his decease in 1702.[a] The proposal made to our author was, that he should be domestic chaplain to her ladyship, and tutor to her youngest son, Brindley Treby. To this proposal he acceded; and it need not be said, how well qualified he was, by his knowledge, judgment, and learning, for superintending a young gentleman's education. After having conducted Mr. Treby's studies three years, he accompanied him in an excursion into France, the Austrian Netherlands, and the United Provinces, which employed four months. From a journal which Mr. Lardner kept of this tour, it was evident, that he did not lose the opportunity it afforded him of making exact and judicious observations on the manners and customs of the inhabitants whom he saw and visited, and on the edifices and curiosities of the countries through which he passed. How long he sustained the specific character of tutor to young Mr. Treby, does not appear: but he continued in Lady Treby's family till her death, which happened in the beginning of the year 1721. By this event, he was removed from a situation which seems to have been an agreeable one, and was thrown into circumstances of some perplexity and suspense. His own remarks will show the state of his mind at that time. 'I am yet at a loss,' says he, 'how to dispose of myself. I can say, I am desirous of being 'useful in the world. Without this, no external advantages 'relating to myself will make me happy: and yet I have no 'prospect of being serviceable in the work of the ministry: 'having preached many years without being favoured with the 'approbation and choice of any one congregation.'[b]

It reflects no honour upon the dissenters, that a man of such merit should so long have been neglected. But it must be observed, that in elections which are dependant upon the whole body of the congregation, a regard will usually be paid, not only to internal abilities, but to external qualifications. It is not probable that Mr. Lardner, even in his best days, was possessed of a good elocution; and his simple mode of composition was not calculated to strike the multitude. Rational preaching had not then made a very extensive progress among the dissenters; and it is to be lamented, that, when it became more prevalent, it should too often be disjoined from energy and pathos.

Two years after the death of Lady Treby, Mr. Lardner met with another calamity, which greatly affected him. This

[a] Beatson's Political Index, part iii. p. 74.

[b] Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late Rev. Nathaniel Lardner, D. D. p. 4.

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was the decease of his former pupil, Brindley Treby, Esq. a gentleman for whom our author had the highest affection and esteem. Indeed, he felt so deeply the loss of his friend, that he imputed to it, in part, the increase of a deafness, which had been coming upon him for some time before. In the beginning of the year 1724, he writes as follows: 'Mr. Cornish 'preached; but I was not able to hear any thing he said, nor 'so much as the sound of his voice. I am, indeed, at present 'so deaf, that when I sit in the pulpit, and the congregation is 'singing, I can hardly tell whether they are singing or not.'[c]

Previously to this account of himself, and at least as early as 1723, Mr. Lardner was engaged, in conjunction with a number of ministers, in carrying on a course of lectures, on a Tuesday evening, at the old Jewry. His first associates were Mr. Hughes, Mr. Chandler, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Kench, and Mr. Godwin; the two latter of whom soon resigned the connection, and their places were supplied by Mr. Calamy and Mr. Mole.[d]

[c] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 11.

[d] Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Obadiah Hughes was many years minister of a congregation in Southwark, from which he removed to Westminster. By marriage he became possessed of a large fortune. He was an acceptable preacher, and printed some occasional sermons; but did not otherwise distinguish himself in the literary world.

On Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Samuel Chandler's abilities, learning, and writings, it is needless to enlarge, as they cannot be unknown to any of my readers. Such persons as wish to see a particular account of him, may have recourse to the third volume of the Biographia Britannica.

Mr. Harrison was a minister of the Antipædobaptist persuasion, who officiated in Wild-Street. Not long after his having been engaged in the Tuesday lecture, he conformed to the church of England, and preached a sermon at St. Vedast's Foster-lane, in vindication of his conformity. The sermon, which was afterwards printed, did not obtain the approbation of bishop Hoadly. When Mr. Gough, another young dissenting minister, some years after, applied to that prelate for orders, his lordship advised him not to follow Mr. Harrison's example with regard to publication. This Mr. Gough was the author of a pamphlet on the Causes of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest, an answer to which was one of Dr. Doddridge's earliest performances. Mr. Gough published likewise a volume of sermons, which are sensible and judicious, and not destitute of elegance. He was of the school of Clarke and Hoadly, and was very intimate with Dr. James Foster. Mr. Harrison became insane, and died in early life: but there is no reason to believe that he was dissatisfied with his own conduct. For these particulars concerning him, the present Biographer is indebted to an excellent and learned friend, the Rev. Edward Williams, of Nottingham. The author of the Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Lardner is mistaken in asserting, that Dr. Harris was one of the Tuesday evening lecturers: Dr. William Harris was then an old minister; whereas the lecture was carried on by young men.

Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Kench was, as well as Mr. Harrison, a Baptist minister, and of considerable note in his day. I do not recollect that he published any other than a few occasional discourses.

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At this time, and indeed many years before, Mr. Lardner was a member of a literary society, consisting of ministers and lay gentlemen, who met, on Monday evenings, at Chew's coffee-house, in Bow-lane, Cheapside. The chairman of this society, at every meeting, proposed two questions, to be freely and candidly debated; besides which, each member, in his turn, produced an essay on some learned or entertaining subject. Such institutions have been of eminent service to the republic of literature: they have given rise to many important discoveries, and to many valuable works, which otherwise would never have existed. A history of societies of this kind, which are now diffused through every part of Europe, and are extended to the Western and the Eastern world, tracing their small beginnings, their gradual increase, their more permanent establishment, and their beneficial effects, would be a very instructive and entertaining performance.

Another society, which met at Chew's coffee-house on a Thursday, and of which Mr. Lardner was a member, consisted entirely of ministers. The gentlemen belonging to this society, had a design of composing a Concordance of Things to the Bible, and began to methodize the book of Proverbs for that purpose. They had first drawn up a scheme of the whole undertaking, the different parts of which were assigned to Mr. Lardner, Mr. Cornish, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Read, Mr. Clark, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Wroe, and Mr. Savage.[e] It doth not

Mr. Godwin was long the respectable pastor of a congregation that met in Little St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street. He was an intimate friend of Dr. Doddridge, and assisted him much in correcting his works for the press, and in drawing up the index to the Family Expositor.

Mr. Calamy, the son of the famous Dr. Edmund Calamy, was an ingenious and learned man. He was for some time assistant to Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor, but declined preaching several years before his death.

Mr. Mole was first a minister at Uxbridge, then at Rotherhithe, and last of all at Hackney. At length he retired to Uxbridge, where he died not many years since. In point of learning, he might be ranked with Lardner, Benson, and Chandler. He was the author of some valuable publications, and employed the latter part of his days in writing, in Latin, a life of the celebrated Laurentius Valla, including the religious and literary history of the time. The manuscript of this work Mr. Mole's executors, with an inattention which can never be justified, permitted to be sold with his books at a common auction.

[e] Mr. Cornish was assistant to Mr. Joshua Bayes, sen. and continued in that capacity till his death, which happened when he was under forty years of age.—Mr. Hughes I have already mentioned.—Mr. James Read preached to a society in New Broad Street, behind the Royal Exchange, first as assistant to Dr. John Evans, author of the "Christian Temper," and other useful publications, and afterwards as joint pastor with Dr. Allen. He had a brother, Mr. Henry Read, who, to a very advanced age, was minister of a congregation which met in St. Thomas's, Southwark; and of whom the following charac-

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appear that the design was ever carried fully into execution; and one impediment to it, so far as Mr. Lardner was concerned, probably arose from the more important work in which he now began to be engaged.

In one of the schemes for the Tuesday evening's lecture, which is preserved in the Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Lardner, the subjects are entirely of a practical and moral nature, and admirably calculated for instruction and improvement in that view. But besides treating upon subjects of this kind, the gentlemen who carried on the lecture, preached a course of sermons on the evidences of natural and revealed religion. In this course, the proof of the Credibility of the Gospel History was assigned to Mr. Lardner; and in the latter end of the year 1723, and the beginning of 1724, he delivered three sermons on that most important object of christian inquiry. Here it was that the foundation was probably laid of his great work. Certain it is, that from this time, he was diligently engaged in writing the first part of his Credibility. His modesty, however, was such, that he was doubtful about the publication of it, and greatly regretted that, by the decease of his dear friend and pupil, Mr. Treby, he was deprived of his advice, on this and other occasions.

ter was given, between twenty and thirty years ago, in some verses that were written upon the six Tuesday Salter's Hall Lecturers of that period.

> "Through youth, through age, O Read, thy honest heart
> "Hath never quitted the consistent part.
> "Thy thoughts are useful, though thy stile is plain,
> "And genuine goodness breathes through all thy strain."

Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Samuel Clark settled at St. Alban's, where he lived many years, and died with great reputation. He was the author of a collection of Scripture Promises, with a discourse prefixed concerning the proper use and application of them. This work, which has gone through several editions, and has afforded no small degree of consolation to many pious christians, was recommended by Dr. Watts. Dr. Clark published, likewise, three sermons on the folly, sin, and danger of irresolution in religion. It is to the honour of this gentleman, that he was the early patron of Dr. Doddridge, who ever retained for him a filial regard and affection. He was the father of the late excellent Mr. Samuel Clark, of Birmingham. Both father and son will probably be noticed when Dr. Doddridge's life shall come to be written in the Biographia Britannica.

Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Jeremiah Hunt, of Pinner's Hall, was a very judicious divine, and the author of several learned and valuable publications. Some account of him will be found in the discourses of Dr. Lardner, who preached his funeral sermon.—Of Mr. Wroe I am not able to give any intelligence.—Mr. Savage was a worthy and sensible minister, who settled at Edmonton, where he continued to the time of his decease. I do not recollect that he published any thing, besides a few occasional sermons.

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It is hence evident, how much Mr. Treby had profited by the instructions which had been given him, since his tutor could thus look up to him for his opinion and assistance.

Notwithstanding Mr. Lardner's diffidence, he took courage to proceed in his undertaking, and in February, 1727, published, in two volumes, octavo, the first part of 'The Credibility of the Gospel History; or, the facts occasionally mentioned in the New Testament confirmed by passages of ancient Authors, who were contemporary with our Saviour, or his Apostles, or lived near their time.' An appendix was subjoined, concerning the time of Herod's death. It is scarcely necessary to say how well this work was received by the learned world. Not only was it highly approved of by the Protestant Dissenters, with whom the author was more immediately connected, but by the clergy in general of the established church; and its reputation gradually extended into foreign countries. It is, indeed, an invaluable performance, and hath rendered the most essential service to the cause of christianity. Whoever peruses this work, (and to him that does not peruse it, it will be to his own loss,) will find it replete with admirable instruction, sound learning, and just and candid criticism. It was not long before a second edition was called for, and a third was published in 1741.

In the beginning of February, 1728, the course of Mr. Lardner's studies was interrupted, and his life threatened, by the attack of a violent fever, which proved of long continuance. For some time his recovery was despaired of by his relations and friends; but he was relieved, and at length happily restored to health, by the divine blessing on the prescriptions of Dr. (afterwards Sir Edward) Hulse, who was called in to consult with the other physicians. Mr. Lardner's own remark upon this occasion was as follows: 'I think God put it into my mind to send for Dr. Hulse, for from that time forward I mended.' His pious sentiments after his recovery are thus expressed: 'I thankfully acknowledge the great goodness of God, who raised me up again, and desire that this great mercy may be had in perpetual remembrance by me. May I serve him the remainder of my time in this world with inviolable integrity, unshaken in my stedfastness by all the snares of a vain and deceitful world.'[f]

With all Mr. Lardner's merit, he was forty-five years of age before he obtained a settlement among the dissenters. On the 24th of August, 1729, he happened to preach for the Rev. Dr. William Harris at Crouched Friars; and the con-

[f] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 11.

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sequence of it was, that he was unexpectedly invited by the congregation to be assistant to their minister. After mature deliberation he accepted the offer, which, as he declared in his letter of acceptance, was peculiarly agreeable to him, because it allotted him a part of service, in the work of the gospel, with their honoured pastor, for whom he had entertained, from his early youth, a high regard and esteem. On the 14th of September, he entered upon his new charge: and the subject of his first sermon was taken from 2 Cor. v. 20. "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ: as though God did beseech you by us, we pray you, in Christ's stead, be reconciled to God." In Mr. Lardner's prayer before sermon, after the intercessions for the public, and for Dr. Harris in particular, he proceeded to pray for himself, in the following strain of integrity and piety: 'And we beseech thee, do thou 'graciously assist thine unworthy servant, whom by thy pro-'vidence thou hast also called to serve thee in this place. 'Grant that he may take great heed unto himself and his 'doctrine, that he may save himself and them that hear him. 'Do thou enlighten him more and more in the knowledge of 'the truth; and grant that he may be faithful to thee, and 'speak the word with boldness, not shunning to declare the 'whole counsel of God, so far as he is acquainted therewith. 'And may the hearts of thy people be opened to receive the 'truth with all readiness: may they carefully and impartially 'examine the things which they hear, and embrace what is 'agreeable to thy will. O Lord, our hope is in thee! do thou 'strengthen us, and make us sufficient for what thou callest 'us to. Let thy strength be made perfect in our weakness: 'cause thy face to shine upon us; let us see thy power and thy 'glory in the sanctuary. May some who are yet in darkness 'and ignorance be here enlightened; may some be converted; 'and may thy people be comforted, and continually edified 'more and more in their most holy faith. May we meet with 'thee in thine house, and have joy and pleasure in drawing 'near unto thee. May we, by all thy ordinances, by prayer, 'by the ministry of thy Word, and by thy Sacraments, be 'made more meet for all the events of providence; for all 'the services and sufferings of this life; and for the state of 'perfection and glory in the world to come.' His account of this prayer is succeeded by the subsequent ejaculation. 'May 'God hear my earnest prayers, in enabling me to perform this 'service he has called me to, so as may be for his glory, and 'the edification of his people.'[s]

[s] Memoirs, p. 12, 13, 14.

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The religious world was at this time engaged in an important controversy, relative to the christian revelation. That of which I am speaking had been begun by Mr. Woolston, who, perhaps, was rather an enthusiast and a madman than an infidel. By reading Origen, and other mystical writers, he had been led to embrace the allegorical mode of explaining the scriptures, which, at length, he carried to a most extravagant and ridiculous excess. After several absurd publications, he contended, in a tract, entitled, 'The Moderator between an Infidel and Apostate,' to which two supplements were added, that the miracles of our Lord were not real, or ever actually wrought. For this work a prosecution was commenced against him, in 1726, by the Attorney General; but, in consequence of Mr. Whiston's intercession, it was laid aside. Mr. Woolston was not induced by this indulgence to continue in silence. He pursued the subject through the years 1727, 1728, 1729, and 1730, in six discourses, and two defences of them; in which he not only maintained the same principles he had done in his 'Moderator,' but treated the miracles of our Saviour with a licentiousness, buffoonery, and insolence, that had all the appearance, if not the reality, of malignant infidelity. The prosecution therefore was renewed against him; and, being tried before Lord Chief Justice Raymond, he was condemned to one year's imprisonment, and a fine of a hundred pounds.

A far better method of confuting Mr. Woolston was adopted by many learned divines at that period. The pamphlets written against him were, indeed, very numerous; and among the rest of the defenders of revelation, Mr. Lardner appeared to no small advantage. His work upon this occasion, which was published in the latter end of the year 1729, was entitled, 'A Vindication of Three of our blessed Saviour's Miracles, *viz.* The raising of Jairus's Daughter, the Widow of Naim's Son, and Lazarus.' It was in answer to the objections of Mr. Woolston's fifth discourse, that this piece was composed. Mr. Lardner had drawn it up for his own private satisfaction, wthout any immediate view to publication; and his modesty was such, that for a time he did not think of printing it, because his colleague, Dr. Harris, had subjoined to two discourses on the reasonableness of belief in Christ, and the unreasonableness of infidelity, some brief remarks on the case of Lazarus. It was to the advantage of the public that our author changed his opinion. His vindication was undoubtedly one of the best treatises which appeared in the controversy with Mr. Woolston; and it is no exaggeration to say, that it

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abounds with admirable and judicious observations, and contains a complete defence of three of the most important of our Lord's miracles. Accordingly, it was very favourably received by the learned world, and soon came to a second edition.

Mr. Lardner was not one of those who approved of the prosecution which was carried on against Mr. Woolston by the civil magistrate. In his preface, therefore, he has made some excellent remarks on the subject of free inquiry and discussion. If men be permitted to deliver their sentiments freely in matters of religion, and to propose their objections against christianity itself, he declares it to be his opinion, that there would be no reason to be in pain for the event. 'On the side of chris-'tianity,' says he, 'I expect to see, as hitherto, the greatest 'share of learning, good sense, true wit, and fairness of dis-'putation; which things, I hope, will be superior to low 'ridicule, false argument, and misrepresentation.' He farther observes, that all force on the minds of men, in the matters of belief, is contrary to religion in general, and the christian religion in particular; and that severity, instead of doing good, has always done harm. Dr. Waddington, at that time bishop of Chichester, who was highly pleased with the whole of Mr. Lardner's Vindication of the Three Miracles, was not equally satisfied with his preface, and therefore wrote to him upon the subject. To the bishop our author sent an answer, which produced a second letter from his lordship, and a reply in return. These four letters, which were written with great mutual civility and respect, are given in the Appendix;[h] and it will now be little doubted, on what side lay the advantage of the argument.

Another correspondent, occasioned by the Vindication of the Three Miracles, was the Lord Viscount Barrington; who had made some remarks, and suggested some difficulties concerning the death of Jairus's daughter. These remarks are unhappily lost; but Mr. Lardner's letter in answer to them is preserved, and will be found in the Appendix.[i] His lordship, who possessed a very enlightened mind on the subject of religious liberty, highly approved of Mr. Lardner's preface; and the approbation of so good a judge was received by our author with peculiar satisfaction. 'I have a great deal of 'reason,' says he, 'to rejoice, that the manner in which the 'argument for free writing is managed in the preface, is not 'unacceptable to your lordship; for as to the principles them-'selves, I had no doubt but they would be agreeable to your

[h] Appendix, No. I. [i] Appendix, No. II.

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'judgment, however they may be suspected or disliked by 'others, who have less studied the christian doctrine. A 'true christian may suffer on account of his religion, but he 'can never make others suffer on account of theirs: whatever 'may be the consequence of it, we are not to support christi-'anity by force. Our blessed Saviour, rather than make use 'of compulsion, would choose to be without a follower.' John vi. 67.[k]

Though Mr. Lardner's time was chiefly employed in his preparations for the pulpit, and in carrying on his great work, he nevertheless found leisure to write other occasional pieces, besides his Vindication of the Three Miracles. In 1730 he sent a letter to Mr. La Roche, to be inserted in his Literary Journal, a periodical work, which, besides giving an account of books, admitted short original communications, consisting of critical disquisitions and dissertations. The subject of the letter was a difficulty concerning the omission of the history of our Saviour's ascension, in the gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, though it is related by St. Mark and St. Luke. This difficulty our author has removed with his usual good sense and discernment, as the reader may see by having recourse to the Appendix.[l] In the same year he wrote his Letter on the Logos. It was not composed with a view to publication; and indeed, was not published till nearly thirty years after, when I shall have occasion to mention it again. From a passage in the Vindication of the Three Miracles, I collect that Mr. Lardner had very recently embraced the doctrine advanced in the Letter, or at least had not long come to a final determination on the subject. For in that passage he asserts, that our Saviour 'descended from the height of glory 'he had with the Father.'[m] Or is it to be considered as an incidental expression, which dropped from our author, though he might for some time have had his doubts and difficulties with regard to the pre-existence of Christ?

In 1733 appeared the first volume of the second part of 'The Credibility of the Gospel History; or the PRINCIPAL 'Facts of the New Testament confirmed by passages from 'ancient authors, who were contemporary with our Saviour 'or his apostles, or lived near their time.' It was Mr. Lardner's original intention not to publish a part of the evidence for the principal facts of the New Testament, until the whole work was completed. But he was diverted from this purpose by the importunities of his friends. He could have wished,

[k] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 32. [l] Appendix, No. III.
[m] See Vol. x. p. 38.

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however, to have exhibited at once the whole evidence of the two first centuries of christianity; but he thought it expedient to break off sooner, that he might not render the volume of an inconvenient size. Our author took this opportunity of expressing his gratitude for the favourable reception which had been given to the former part of his work. Besides its being universally well received at home, it was so much approved abroad, that it was translated by two learned foreigners; by Mr. Cornelius Westerbaen of Utrecht, into Low Dutch, and by Mr. J. Christopher Wolff of Hamburgh, into Latin. 'I 'cannot but esteem it,' says Mr. Lardner, 'as an uncommon 'happiness, that my thoughts have been so justly represented 'by persons well known in the republic of letters for composi-'tions of their own.'

The testimonies produced and considered, in the first volume of the second part of the Credibility, were those of St. Barnabas, St. Clement, Hermas, St. Ignatius, St. Polycarp, Papias, Justin Martyr, Dionysius of Corinth, Tatian, Hegesippus, Melito, St. Irenæus, and Athenagoras. Our author has also treated on a fragment called St. Clement's second epistle, the relation of St. Polycarp's martyrdom, the evangelists in the reign of Trajan, the epistle to Diognetus, and the epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons. In the introduction he hath given an admirable summary of the history of the New Testament. Among other proofs of approbation and regard which Mr. Lardner received in consequence of this publication, he could not avoid being pleased with the following affectionate remarks by his learned and valuable friend, the Rev. Mr. Joseph Hallet, jun. of Exeter. 'Your 'new volume, with which you have now obliged the world, 'will, I am persuaded, do much good service to the cause of 'christianity. You cannot be ignorant of my opinion of it, 'from the conversation I had the honour to hold with you 'about it in your study.—Your method, upon the whole, 'pleases me much better than Mr. Jones's, because he hardly 'ever does more than refer to chapter, verse, and page; 'whereas, you write the words of the text and of the quotation 'at length; and when he has a huddle of references, you, in 'the case of Irenæus, prudently choose *one plain quotation* 'of each book of the New Testament cited by him. When 'the work shall be all finished in that manner, it will be worth 'its weight in gold, and all the christian world will be obliged 'to thank you for it.'[n]

In 1735, was published the second volume of the second

[n] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 49.

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part of the Credibility of the Gospel History. The subjects of this volume were, Miltiades, Theophilus of Antioch, Pantænus, St. Clement of Alexandria, Polycrates, Heraclitus, and several other writers near the end of the second century, Hermias, Serapion, Tertullian, a number of authors who required only to be shortly mentioned, and certain supposititious writings of the second century; such as the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the Sibylline Oracles, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Recognitions, the Clementine Homilies, and the Clementine Epitome. Among these different articles, those which relate to St. Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian are peculiarly important, and the remarks on the apocryphal works are very curious and useful. The farther Mr. Lardner proceeded in his design, the more did he advance in esteem and reputation among learned men of all denominations. Even the adversaries to religion could not withhold their testimony to his merit. The noted Dr. Morgan, (afterwards the writer of the 'Moral Philosopher,' in which revelation was attacked with great virulence, and which hath received many noble and satisfactory answers,) in a letter to our author, containing some objections to the first chapter of St. Luke's gospel, compliments him highly on his integrity, impartiality, and candour. This letter, together with Mr. Lardner's sensible and judicious reply, will be found in the Appendix.*

In November 1736, our author was attacked by another severe and dangerous fever. The effects of it were such, that he did not recover his health, so far as to be able to preach, till late in the spring of 1737. In that year, he published his 'Counsels of Prudence for the use of young people; a discourse on the Wisdom of the Serpent and the Innocence of the Dove: in which are recommended general rules of prudence; with particular directions relating to business, conversation, friendship, and usefulness.' This discourse was generally and justly admired. Indeed it contains most excellent advice to young persons; advice resulting from the union of wisdom, integrity, and knowledge of the world, and which, if followed, would be the best foundation of happiness, both here and hereafter. If, from the mention of this discourse, any single youth should be engaged so to attend to the directions it contains, as to reduce them to practice, the present Life of Dr. Lardner will have been written to a most valuable purpose.

Dr. Secker, bishop of Oxford, was highly pleased with the Counsels of Prudence. In a letter to our author he expressed

* Appendix, No. IV.

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himself in the following terms: 'I am also in your debt for 'those excellent Counsels of Prudence, which you published 'some time ago, and would recommend it to you, to relieve 'yourself now and then from your great work, and oblige the 'world with some of these little pieces. One would hope 'they might do a great deal of good in it, and I am sure there 'is great need of doing every thing that can be done to pro-'mote seriousness and mildness among men.' After giving this testimony to Mr. Lardner's discourse, the bishop adds, that the number of religious persons was dreadfully lessened, and that those who remained were very far from preserving a due moderation and charity one towards another. 'I am very sorry,' says he, 'for faults of this kind, which we of the establishment 'fall into; and too many of you, I fear, are not less faulty, 'though I do not take the spirit of some papers to be the spi-'rit of the dissenters. May God make us all wiser and bet-'ter; and may he long preserve your health, dear sir, to be 'useful to his church.' Here Dr. Secker had a reference to the controversy which was then carrying on with regard to the justice, propriety, and expediency of retaining or repealing the corporation and test acts; in which controversy, as is usual in such cases, some warm things (and perhaps warmer than was reasonable and prudent) might be advanced by several of the advocates for the dissenters, as well as by their opponents. In answer to the latter part of the bishop's letter, Mr. Lardner wrote as follows: 'I have not received any information concerning the writer or writers of the papers to which your lordship refers. But I believe your lordship to be in the right in supposing that there are many dissenters, by whom they are not approved. So far as I know, the dissenters are generally in a good temper. Some, indeed, were soured by a late disappointment. And they were chiefly of those who used to be reputed men of moderation and charity, and who were far from being disaffected to the church of England. For these, as it seems, were the men who were most earnest in the affair: though all such did not engage in it with equal earnestness. Perhaps this may deserve to be considered.'[p] It is hence sufficiently apparent, that our author did not approve of the refusal that had been given to the repeal of the corporation and test acts, though he has expressed himself with his usual mildness of sentiment, and gentleness of language.

In 1738, Mr. Lardner was enabled to give the world the third volume of the second part of the Credibility. This volume carried the evidence down to the year 233, and included

[p] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 66 to 68.

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Minucius Felix, Apollonius, Caius and others, Asterius Urbanus, St. Alexander bishop of Jerusalem, St. Hippolytus, Ammonius, Julius Africanus, Origen, and St. Firmilian. Some of these articles are of great consequence, and I need not inform my readers that this must be peculiarly the case with respect to the account of Origen.

Our author, in the same year, drew up a paper, containing 'Remarks upon some difficulties concerning the christian doctrine.' These remarks were in answer to a friend, who had made certain objections to the excellence and usefulness of several of the precepts of our holy religion. Mr. Lardner's paper, which is inserted in the Appendix, displays his customary good sense, and sagacity of observation.[q]

In 1739, there was only one publication by our author, which was entitled, 'A Caution against Conformity to this World.' It consisted of two discourses, which had been preached from Romans xii. 2, and which may justly be considered as a sequel to the Counsels of Prudence. The directions and cautions given in these sermons will be found useful at all times; and an attention to them would be highly seasonable at present; when, without indulging satirical reflections upon the age, it may too truly be asserted, that the influence of general custom and fashion, is not always favourable to those dispositions and habits which are recommended by wisdom, piety, and virtue.

Early in January, 1740, appeared the fourth volume of the second part of the Credibility. Our author began this volume with an account of various writers of less note in the former part of the third century, and then proceeded to the consideration of Noetus, and others who were called heretics at that period; such as the Valesians, the Angelics, the Apostolics, and the Origenists. But the volume was chiefly devoted to St. Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea; Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria; and St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage. The two last articles are very copious and curious.

On the 17th of January Mr. Lardner lost his father, who departed this life in the 87th year of his age. With his worthy parent our author had resided ever since he had quitted Lady Treby's family; and how much he was affected by his decease, will strongly be manifested from what he wrote upon the occasion. 'I am,' says he, 'full of grief, and find it very 'difficult to bear up under the affliction. I entreat the Lord 'Almighty to be my father and protector, to support me, and 'to guide me in the remaining part of my life, so as that I

[q] Appendix, No. V.

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'may live to his praise and glory. I entreat and pray that he 'will enable me to behave as a christian, and one persuaded 'of his fatherly care and protection; and that this affliction 'may be improved by me for my farther humiliation and re-'pentance; for engaging in a closer dependence on God; 'for quickening my preparations for another and better world.' He farther writes: 'I find this affliction sit very heavy upon 'me. My dearest brother, Richard Lardner, died in April '1733, some little time before I published the first volume of 'the second part of the Credibility. The fourth volume 'of this work was but published a few days before my father 'died.'[r]

Considering the great age of old Mr. Lardner, that he had been weakened for some years before by a paralytic disorder, and that the deafness of his son must have been some obstruction to their mutual conversation, it may perhaps be thought that the grief which our author has expressed above was rather too excessive. But whoever reflects upon the matter will be sensible, that there must have been something very excellent both in the father and son, and very engaging in their manner of living together, when a separation, which so long must have been expected, could have been thus painful to the survivor. Such parental and filial regard cannot but appear beautiful and delightful to every well-regulated mind. Dr. Lardner was finely attempered to the social affections; and he has recorded, in his Vindication of the Three Miracles, that, for his own part, he never loved stoical principles or dispositions.[s]

A character of old Mr. Lardner was drawn up by Mr. Neal, and will be found in the Appendix.[t] It may be observed by the way, that Mr. Richard Lardner, our author's only brother, was a counsellor at law. They had but one sister, Elizabeth, who was married to the Rev. Mr. Daniel Neal, now mentioned; a gentleman, who, not to speak of his other writings, is well known to the learned world by his History of England, and still more by his History of the Puritans.

Mr. Lardner's excellent friend Mr. Hallet, entered deeply into his feelings on the death of his father, and wrote him a letter upon that event, which was full of sympathy and piety.[u] On the 25th of May, in this same year, our author met with another affliction, in the decease of his highly valued colleague, Dr. William Harris. On this occasion, it naturally fell upon him to preach the funeral sermon, which he did from 2 Thess.

[r] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 87 to 89.
[s] See vol. x. p. 45.
[t] Appendix, No. VI.
[u] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 89 to 91.

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i. 10. In the discourse, which was printed, and will be found in his works, he gave a high, and, I doubt not, a just character of Dr. Harris. The Doctor was, indeed, for a great number of years, a very eminent minister among the protestant dissenters. He had been chosen pastor of the congregation at Crouched Friars, in 1698, when he was only in the 23rd year of his age, and continued in that relation to his death in 1740. It appears that he was a gentleman of various accomplishments, being a man of the world as well as a scholar. In his writings he paid a greater attention to neatness and elegance of composition than was done by some of his brethren; and his discourses on the Messiah have been held in much reputation. A funeral sermon for him was likewise preached and published by Dr. Grosvenor.

Soon after Dr. Harris's decease, Mr. Lardner had an unanimous invitation to undertake the pastoral charge of the Society at Crouched Friars, in conjunction with some other minister of whom they should make a choice. Upon receiving this invitation, he consulted with his friend Mr. Hallet, who strongly urged him to accept of it; and endeavoured to remove the difficulties he might feel on that head, and especially those arising from his deafness. Mr. Hallet wished him to acquire a larger concern in directing the affairs of a congregation than he had hitherto done, and to appear at the Fund, and other places, as one of the chief among the dissenting ministers, according to his real deserts.[r] Whatever were Mr. Lardner's reasons, he declined taking a share in the pastoral office. It is probable that his deafness contributed, among other causes, to this determination. In November, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) George Benson was chosen sole pastor of the Society, and our author continued as assistant preacher.

It was not till the year 1743, that Mr. Lardner was enabled to give to the public the fifth volume of the second part of the Credibility. This volume comprehended St. Cornelius and St. Lucius, bishops of Rome, Novatus, Dionysius bishop of Rome, Commodian, Malchion, Anatolius, and three others, bishops of Laodicea, Theognostus, Theonas bishop of Alexandria, Pierius presbyter of the church of the same city, two Doritheuses, Victorinus bishop of Pettaw, Methodius bishop of Olympus in Lycia, Lucian presbyter of Antioch, Hesychius bishop in Egypt, Pamphilus presbyter of Cæsarea, Phileas bishop of Thmuis in Egypt, Philoromus receiver-general at Alexandria, Peter bishop of Alexandria, and the Milesians.

[r] Ibid. p. 91 to 95.

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In an advertisement, prefixed to the volume, our author expresses his apprehensions that some persons might be ready to charge him with prolixity in the conduct of his undertaking. But he hath offered such reasons for the method he has pursued, as will satisfy every reflecting mind. Among other things, he observes, that the particular design of his work, was to enable persons of ordinary capacities, who had not an opportunity of reading many authors, to judge for themselves concerning the external evidence of the facts related in the New Testament. 'I write,' says he, 'chiefly for gentlemen, 'and such others as are not possessed of large libraries; and 'therefore I produce passages of ancient authors at length, 'and oftentimes transcribe also the original words at the bot-'tom of the page, that this evidence may at once appear in a 'clear and satisfactory light.'

In the same year the world was indebted to Mr. Lardner for another valuable performance, the title of which was, 'The Circumstances of the Jewish People an Argument for the Truth of the Christian Religion.' It consists of three discourses on Romans xi. 11; in which the grand points insisted upon by our author, and maintained with great perspicuity and success, are, that the present state of the Jews was foretold by our Lord; that it is agreeable to many prophecies in the Old Testament; that it affords reason to believe, that the Messiah is already come; that it furnishes an argument for the divine authority of the gospel; and that it exhibits an attestation to divers things, upon which some evidences of christianity depend.

Mr. Lardner sustained this year a domestic affliction, in the decease of his brother-in-law, the Reverend Daniel Neal, M. A.; and in the next year (1744) he had the calamity of losing a most intimate and beloved friend, and a distant relation by marriage, Dr. Jeremiah Hunt. This gentleman died on the 5th of September, and was justly lamented by many of the most respectable dissenters in the city of London. Mr. Lardner preached his funeral sermon, from John xiv. 2; and hath drawn his character at length, and with great affection. Indeed, he appears to have deserved every encomium. Among his other qualities, he had an uncommon talent at communicating instruction by conversation, which he carried on in so perspicuous and pleasing a manner, that it mightily engaged the attention and won the hearts of young people. I have seldom known more enlightened and judicious christians than those who enjoyed, in early life, the friendship of Dr. Hunt. The Doctor, whose learning was very extensive, and whose

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knowledge of the Scriptures was profound, entertained a great contempt for infidels, who pretend to condemn revelation, without ever having applied to it a careful study and consideration. Though they are apt to give themselves airs of superior knowledge, he looked upon the whole body of them as a sort of men, who had only a superficial acquaintance both with scripture and antiquity. To this ignorance of theirs he in part ascribed their infidelity; for he used to assert, that all antiquity confirms and corroborates revelation.[w] These sentiments of Dr. Hunt have their foundation in reason. It cannot, indeed, be denied, that a number of ingenious men, of extensive knowledge in certain respects, are sceptical with regard to religion. But then they have not examined this particular subject with a becoming seriousness and impartiality. They have not thoroughly studied the various external and internal evidences which have been urged in proof of christianity; and especially, they have not searched into the Scriptures themselves, thence to deduce the real doctrines of the gospel; but have assumed their ideas of them, and conceived a dislike to them, from the abstruse systems and formularies which all establishments have adopted. Dr. Hunt had a strong persuasion that the age succeeding that in which he lived would be as remarkable for enthusiasm, as his own was for infidelity. His prediction hath already, in some degree, been accomplished. Enthusiasm hath strongly seized a part of the people, while infidelity has prevailed among others; so that, betwixt them both, rational religion has suffered not a little. But let not her friends be discouraged; for, in the due order of Providence, she will, I doubt not, revive with fresh lustre and beauty, and at length draw all men after her.

In 1745, Mr. Lardner favoured the public with another volume of his great work, being the sixth of the second part. Excepting one chapter, relative to Archelaus bishop in Mesopotamia, the whole volume was devoted to the Manichees; and the account of them is eminently curious and instructive. When our author began his work, he declined writing the history of the heretics of the two first centuries, because of the difficulty of the subject, and for some other reasons; not intending to omit it entirely, but deferring it till another opportunity. But when he came lower these reasons no longer operated; and, therefore, from the beginning of the fourth volume, he introduced, as occasion offered, a number of writers who were deemed heretical, and whose testimonies contributed to his main design.

[w] See Vol. ix. p. 112

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In the same year, Mr. Lardner revised and published a volume of posthumous sermons of the Rev. Mr. Kirby Reyner, of Bristol. This was done at the request of the family; and in serving the family he did service to the cause of religion; for, if I am not mistaken in my recollection, Mr. Reyner's discourses are of that plain and practical nature, which renders them excellently adapted for the use of common christians.

It was in the beginning of this year, that Mr. Lardner received a diploma from the Marischal college of Aberdeen, conferring upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity. The diploma was voted in the most obliging manner, and was rendered agreeable by its having the cordial and unanimous signature of the professors of the college. This was an honour which our author did not solicit, but which, when it was bestowed upon him, he did not think it unbecoming in him to accept: preserving herein the due medium, between seeking for such a distinction, and despising it when offered. His own remark, in the case of Dr. Hunt, deserves notice. 'In the 'year 1729,' says he, 'the university of Edinburgh, out of a 'regard to his distinguished merit, complimented him with 'the highest honorary title in their gift; *a piece of respect, not 'to be slighted by any man of letters.*'[x] When we consider Dr. Lardner's extraordinary attainments and learning, the reflection which he made on receiving his degree, displayed an extraordinary humbleness of mind. 'I pray God,' said he, 'I may not be elevated by any acceptance my labours 'meet with; but that I may proceed with humility, diligence, 'and integrity, in the whole of my life.'[y]

With relation, in general, to this academical distinction, it may be observed, that when it is conferred without merit, it cannot give honour; that when it is bestowed upon merit, it becomes a proper mark of respect; and that merit, untitled, can shine by its own lustre. Though the friends of the late Reverend Hugh Farmer did not procure for him a diploma, his abilities and learning will carry down his name with reputation to posterity. The title of Doctor could not have added to the celebrity of such men as Richard Hooker, John Hales, Joseph Mede, and William Chillingworth, in the church of England; or of Matthew Poole, John Howe, and Richard Baxter, among the dissenters.

Dr. Lardner, in 1746, was appointed one of the correspondent members at London of the Society in Scotland, for propagating christian knowledge, and protestant principles, in the northern parts of that country, and the numerous islands

[x] See Vol. ix. p. 107. [y] Memoirs of Lardner, ubi supra, p. 96.

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which are situated near its coasts. This tribute of respect was probably the result of some service or benefaction to that excellent and useful Society.

In 1748, our author was engaged in superintending a new edition of the two first volumes of the second part of the Credibility; and in the same year he published the seventh volume of that part. The persons of whom an account was given, and whose testimonies were recited in this volume, were Arnobius, Lactantius, Alexander bishop of Alexandria, Arius and his followers, and Constantine the Great, the first christian emperor. There were, likewise, two chapters on the Donatists, and on the burning of the scriptures, in the time of Dioclesian's persecution. It will appear from the names I have mentioned, that most of these articles are of peculiar importance. The character of Constantine is stated and estimated with equal candour and judgment; and the observations on the story of that emperor's having seen in the heavens, nearly at mid-day, the trophy of the cross, placed above the sun, consisting of light, with an inscription annexed, BY THIS CONQUER, are very sagacious and convincing. Credulity not having been Dr. Lardner's foible, he was on that account the more eminently qualified for the execution of the great work he had undertaken. There was an Appendix to this volume, in answer to some remarks which Mr. Jackson had made upon our author's fifth volume, relative to the rise of Sabellianism, and the name of Novatus. Whoever is disposed to look into the Appendix, which in the present edition is subjoined to that part of the Credibility to which it more immediately belongs, will have little hesitation in determining on what side lay the advantage of the argument.

This year Dr. Lardner lost his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Neal; whose decease drew from him the following pious and affectionate reflections. 'I am the oldest of the three children which 'God gave to my honoured parents. I am still preserved: 'but now all worldly friendships fade, and are worth little. I 'have lately published the seventh volume of the second part 'of the Credibility: but a temper and conduct worthy the doc-'trine of the gospel, are more valuable than any written de-'fences and apologies for it, or explications of it. I beg that 'I may be more and more possessed of that temper of humility 'and meekness which shall bear good fruits: and I have great 'reason to think of another world, and the change which I 'must pass under. I cannot expect, any more, such 'tenderness and affection as have been shown me by my

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'father, mother, brother, and sister, now no more in this 'world.'[a]

A new edition of the third volume of the second part of the Credibility was called for in 1750; and in the course of the same year appeared the eighth volume. This volume began with the council of Nice, and then proceeded to Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea. The other persons and objects treated of were, Marcellus bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, Eustathius bishop of Antioch, Athanasius bishop of Alexandria, a dialogue against the Marcionites, Juvencus, Julius Firmicus Maternus, Cyril of Jerusalem, the Audians, Hilary of Poictiers, Aerius, the council of Laodicea, Epiphanius bishop in Cyprus, and the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons. In this volume, the two first articles are of peculiar importance. At the conclusion of the account of the council of Nice, are some admirable reflections on the conduct of that council, and on the pernicious effects of introducing subscriptions, authority, and force, into the christian church. In the history of Eusebius, which is very copious, we meet with a number of excellent observations concerning the divisions of the sacred books, the character of the writers of them, and the employment of the apostles, and apostolical men. With these bishop Secker was highly pleased; but he was not equally satisfied with what our author had advanced in relation to the council of Nice. The letter which his lordship wrote to Dr. Lardner upon the occasion, together with the Doctor's answer, may be seen in the Appendix.[a] Dr. Secker's letter marks the turn of his mind, and will furnish matter of reflection to the curious reader, who has a talent at discerning the nice discriminations of character.

In this same year, our author published a volume of sermons, the subjects of which are entirely of a practical nature. These sermons, as might be expected from Dr. Lardner, are very judicious and instructive, and the perusal of them cannot fail of being acceptable and useful to candid and serious christians. Our author having presented these discourses, together with the eighth volume of the Credibility, to Dr. Doddridge, that gentleman wrote a letter of acknowledgment in return, which is inserted in the Appendix.[b] Dr. Doddridge's letter is rather curious; partly as it displays something of the sentiments and disposition of that excellent man; and partly as it exhibits a small foible in his character, which

[a] Ibid. p. 97. [a] Appendix, No. VII. [b] Appendix, No. VIII.

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was that of representing with too much parade the various employments and business wherein he was engaged.

Dr. Lardner, in 1751, resigned the office of morning preacher at Crouched Friars. His reasons for this determination were, the continuance and even increase of his deafness, the smallness of the morning auditory, and the importance of redeeming time for carrying on his long work. Dr. Benson, whom he had acquainted by letter with his purpose of resignation, wrote thus to him in return. 'I was so much affected, 'on Monday evening, upon reading your letter, that I had very 'little sleep that night; and my mind still remains greatly af-'fected with the thoughts of parting with you. For though 'I cannot but own I feel the weight of your reasons, yet I 'must frankly tell you, I do not expect ever to have an assist-'ant in whom I can place so thorough a confidence, and for 'whom I can entertain so warm an affection, and so high an 'esteem. I thank you heartily for all your friendly, kind, and 'obliging treatment of me, especially since I came to Crouched 'Friars: and I earnestly desire that our friendship may never 'be interrupted.'[a]

Our author, adhering to his resolution, preached his last sermon on the 23rd of June; having been assistant at Crouched Friars nearly twenty-two years. His farewell discourse was taken from 2 Cor. iv. 18. "While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." These words afforded a fine subject for the conclusion of Dr. Lardner's pious and faithful labours in the pulpit. In a letter written to him by a friend, in 1748, are some observations, concerning his character as a preacher, and the cause of his not being generally acceptable, which it may not be amiss to transcribe. 'It has often grieved me to see so few persons attend your 'public administrations, and puzzled me to assign a reason for 'it. When I consider the simplicity, propriety, and purity 'of your language; the justness of your sentiments; the im-'portance of the subjects you handle; the seriousness and 'solemnity that animates every part of your performances; 'that you never meddle with any of the disputable points that 'divide and alienate protestants; nay, have treated even 'popery itself in such a manner as shows you to be indeed an 'imitator of the meekness and gentleness of Christ; what 'can be the reason? I can think of none but this, that there 'is some little imperfection in your speech. Your voice is

[a] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 107.

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'naturally strong, clear, and agreeable; but it is not difficult 'to perceive, in forming some sounds, that the organs of 'speech are weak. But I take this to be the least part of the 'defect; which, from long and careful observation, I think 'consists in two things, viz. Indistinctness, or slipping over 'now and then a word or syllable; or running them too close 'together, especially at the end of a sentence; and usually 'at the same time lowering your voice. This is most re-'markable in your prayer, less so in your sermon, and still 'less in your reading.'[d]

It is certain, that Dr. Lardner's mode of elocution must have been very unpleasant. That, from his early and extreme deafness, he could have no such command of his voice, as to give it a due modulation, those who were personally acquainted with him well knew. When to this it is added, that he dropped his words greatly in the pulpit, it cannot be a matter of surprise that he was not popular. Some few judicious persons, who could raise their minds above all external advantages, admired him extremely: but such hearers can never be numerous.

The ninth volume of the second part of the Credibility appeared in 1752. In the preface to it our author assigns the reason why, with regard to a few names, he had been obliged to transgress the order of time. He was desirous that Ephrem the Syrian should be in the former volume; and the chapter was completed as far as it could be done from the Greek edition of his works at Oxford, and the two first volumes of the edition then begun at Rome. But Dr. Lardner having been informed that the remaining volumes of the Roman edition might be expected in a short time, he determined to wait for them; and they did not come to his hands till several months after the publication of the eighth volume. Ephrem being laid aside, he took Epiphanius; and the Apostolical Constitutions naturally followed, which requiring a long chapter, some other articles, of smaller consequence, were for the present excluded. The persons treated of in the ninth volume were, Rheticius bishop of Autun, Triphyllius, Fortunatianus, Photinus, Eusebius bishop of Vercelli, Lucifer bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, Gregory bishop of Elvira, Phæbadius bishop of Agen, Caius Marius Victorinus Afer, Apollinarius bishop of Laodicea, Damasus bishop of Rome, Basil bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Gregory Nazianzen, Amphilochius bishop of Iconium, Gregory bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia, Didymus of Alexandria, Ephrem

[d] Memoirs, p. 107 to 109.

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the Syrian, Ebedjesu, Pacian bishop of Barcelona, Optatus of Milevi, Ambrose bishop of Milan, Diodorus bishop of Tarsus, Philaster bishop of Brescia, Gaudentius bishop of the same city, Sophronius, and Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia, in Cilicia. There is, also, a long and curious chapter concerning the Priscillianists, and a shorter one relative to a Commentary upon thirteen of St. Paul's epistles, ascribed by many to Hilary deacon of Rome. To this volume were subjoined, 'Remarks upon Mr. Bower's account of the Manichees, in the second volume of his History of the Popes.' Mr. Bower had retailed the common calumnies with regard to these heretics, which are refuted by our author with his usual candour, good sense, and knowledge of antiquity. The remarks, in the present edition, are annexed to the history of the Manichees. In this year (1752) a second impression was called for, of the Discourses on the Circumstances of the Jewish People.

The next year produced the tenth volume of the second part of the Credibility; in which the persons treated of are few in number, but very important with respect to their character, works, and testimony. They are Jerom, Rufinus, Augustin bishop of Hippo Regius in Africa, and John Chrysostom bishop of Constantinople. A short chapter is introduced, on the Third Council of Carthage. Two other publications came from Dr. Lardner in the same year. The first was 'A Dissertation upon the two Epistles ascribed to Clement of Rome, lately published by Mr. Wetstein; with large extracts out of them, and an argument showing them not to be genuine.' At the close of this judicious and elaborate dissertation, our author has made some observations concerning the design of his great undertaking, which the reader will probably not be displeased with perusing. 'When,' says he, 'tidings were first brought hither, that Mr. Wetstein had received two new epistles of Clement out of the East, several 'of my friends and readers signified their desire, that when 'they should be published, I would observe the testimony 'therein afforded to the books of the New Testament; which 'service I have now performed, according to my ability. 'They supposed it to be a necessary part of the work, in 'which I have been long employed: which is not barely a 'bibliotheque of ecclesiastical authors, or memoirs of ecclesiastical history, but was begun, and has been carried on, 'with a view of showing the truth of the christian religion; 'particularly, the truth and credibility of the evangelical history, and the antiquity, genuineness, and authority of the

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'books of the New Testament, the original records of the 'doctrine and miracles of our Saviour and his apostles. And 'all along great care has been taken, to distinguish genuine 'from supposititious writings; which I now reflect upon with 'much satisfaction. In this method, witnesses, when pro- 'duced, appear in their true time and character; and every 'one is able to judge of the value of their testimony.'

The other production of Dr. Lardner which came out in 1753, appeared without his name, and was entitled, 'An Essay on the Mosaic Account of the Creation and Fall of Man.' By the misfortunes of the bookseller, almost the whole impression was lost; so that, in the present edition, it has the recommendation of novelty. Our author adopts the literal sense of the history of our first parents, and, after having critically explained the narration, deduces from it a variety of important observations.

Dr. Lardner was now drawing to the conclusion of the second part of the Credibility. In 1754, the eleventh volume of it was published, containing a succinct history of the principal christian writers of the fifth, sixth, and following centuries, to the beginning of the twelfth century; with their testimony to the books of the New Testament. The persons introduced in this volume were more than forty in number, it not being necessary to make the articles so large and particular, as had been requisite at a more early period. An Appendix was added, giving an account of the ecclesiastical histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret.

It had begun to be suggested by some persons, that our author had carried down his testimonies lower than was needful to the purpose of his main argument. But such a suggestion was not the result of a due consideration of the matter. The Rev. Dr. Henry Miles, of Tooting, an eminent dissenting minister, and a respectable member of the Royal Society, expressed his sentiments to Dr. Lardner upon the subject in so judicious a manner, after reading the eleventh volume, that they well deserve to be inserted. 'I thank God,' says he, 'who has enabled you to finish your design in a collection of 'ancient testimonies, &c. for the service of the christian 'cause; the benefit of which the present generation and 'future ages will reap. The more I consider the characters 'of the writers cited by you, in the former and this volume, 'the more am I satisfied you did right to bring your work 'down so far as you have done. Those who have been or 'are otherwise minded, do not seem to me to have well con- 'sidered the distance of time at which we are removed from

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'the period to which your last volume reacheth; nor how far 'it was necessary to preclude the cavils and exceptions, which 'our enemies, and their successors, may be ready to make to 'the truths of the Gospel History: nor is it considered, that 'the distance will be continually growing. For my part, '(setting aside the consideration of your principal view,) I 'cannot help looking upon it as a very useful and desirable 'undertaking, if we regard it as a branch of ecclesiastical 'history; of which we have nothing in our language that can 'render it unnecessary; and, moreover, if we consider it as 'containing a variety of important instructions, which no 'careful reader can overlook, in the characters and conduct 'of the writers, mentioned by you. Sure I am, this lesson 'all may naturally be taught; how absolutely necessary it is 'for us to regard the inspired writings as the rule of our faith 'and practice, and not the dictates or conduct of fallible men 'in former or later ages.'*

As such a quantity and variety of matter were comprehended in our author's great work, an epitome of it became very desirable, to assist the recollection of the memory, and to display in one view the force of the argument. Accordingly, this was undertaken by Dr. Lardner himself, who, in the twelfth and last volume of the second part, which was published in 1755, gave a general review of his design, and an admirable recapitulation of the eleven preceding volumes, with some new additional observations. Lists were added, of various readings, and of texts explained; together with an alphabetical catalogue of christian authors, sects, and writings, and an alphabetical table of principal matters.

About this time, Dr. Lardner, in conjunction with Dr. Chandler, Dr. John Ward, and the Rev. Mr. Edward Sandercock, was engaged in perusing, and preparing for the press, some posthumous dissertations of the Rev. Mr. Moses Lowman, a learned dissenting minister at Clapham. Various works were written by this gentleman, among which three have been held in considerable esteem by the public. These are, a Treatise on the Civil Government of the Hebrews, another on the Ritual of that People, and a Commentary on the Revelations. He wrote also a short piece, drawn up in the mathematical form, to prove the being and perfections of God by the argument a priori. Dr. Chandler, in his funeral sermon for Mr. Lowman, asserted that it was an absolute demonstration. Perhaps it came as near to it as any thing that has been written upon the subject: but I dare not pronounce

* Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 110, 111.

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that there is no flaw in the reasoning, or that it will produce undeniable conviction. It was as an author that Mr. Lowman excelled, and not as a preacher. His discourses in the pulpit were so obscure, that a gentleman of great intelligence, one of his congregation, said he could never understand him.

Early in the spring of the year 1756, I had the happiness of commencing an acquaintance with Dr. Lardner, and the honour of its being sought for on his side, in consequence of the favourable opinion which his candour had led him to form of me, from the first sermon I ever printed, on the advantages of religious knowledge. In the same year the Doctor published the first and second volumes of the Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History. It fell to my lot to be the monthly reviewer of these volumes; and the accounts which I gave of them were so fortunate as to obtain our author's approbation. He did not know, at the time, from whom they came. To what circumstance it was owing that the review of the work was consigned to me, I cannot now recollect, it not being till long after, that I could with any justice have been deemed a periodical critic. When the third volume of the Supplement appeared, which was in 1757, Dr. Lardner himself drew up a short and simple statement of the contents of it, which was inserted in the Review, with a slight addition by way of encomium; for nothing that had the least tendency to praise came from his own pen.

The first volume of the Supplement contained general observations upon the canon of the New Testament, and a History of the Four Evangelists, with the Evidences of the Genuineness of the Four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, and an Examination of the Times in which these books were written. There is, likewise, a chapter concerning the time when the Apostles left Judea, to go and preach the Christian Religion to other countries; which event, our author thinks, could not have taken place until after the council at Jerusalem. He concluded the volume with a discussion of the question, whether any one of the first three Evangelists had seen the gospel of the others before he wrote his own? and here Dr. Lardner hath determined, with great appearance of reason and argument, that St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, did not abridge or transcribe from each other, but are distinct, independent, and harmonious witnesses. The second volume comprehended the history of St. Paul, displayed the evidences of the genuineness of his fourteen Epistles, particularly that to the Hebrews, and ascertained the times in which they were written. Through the whole

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were interspersed many curious remarks; and the two concluding chapters were employed in showing, that the Epistle inscribed to the Ephesians was actually addressed to them, and that the churches of Colosse and Laodicea were planted by St. Paul. In the third volume the seven Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation of St. John, were considered, and histories given of St. James, St. Peter, and St. Jude. The order of the books of the New Testament is examined, and proofs afforded that they were early known, read, and made use of by christians. In conclusion, it is shown, that there is no reason to believe that any of the sacred books of the New Testament have been lost.

It would not be easy to say too much in praise of the Supplement to the Credibility. The several questions discussed in this work are determined in consequence of a depth of investigation, and an accuracy of judgment, which are highly worthy of admiration. It is remarkable, that in various points the opinions of our author are very different from those which his former colleague, Dr. Benson, maintained, in his History of the Acts of the Apostles, the prefaces to his Paraphrases, and the dissertations annexed to them. True criticism, we believe, will usually decide in favour of Dr. Lardner.

I cannot avoid strongly recommending the Supplement to the Credibility to the attention of all young divines. Indeed, I think that it ought to be read by every theological student before he quits the university or academy in which he is educated. There are three other works which will be found of eminent advantage to those who are intended for, or beginning to engage in, the christian ministry. These are Butler's Analogy, Bishop Law's Considerations on the Theory of Religion, and Dr. Taylor's Key to the Apostolical Writings, prefixed to his paraphrase on the epistle to the Romans. Without agreeing with every circumstance advanced in these works, it may be said of them, with the greatest truth, that they tend to open and enlarge the mind; that they give important views of the evidence, nature, and design of revelation; and that they display a vein of reasoning and inquiry which may be extended to other objects besides those immediately considered in the books themselves.

It must not be forgotten, that the Supplement to the Credibility has a place in the excellent collection of treatises in divinity, which has lately been published by Dr. Watson, bishop of Landaff. For a collection which cannot fail of being eminently conducive to the instruction and improvement of younger clergymen, and for the noble, manly, and

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truly evangelical preface by which it is preceded, this great prelate is entitled to the gratitude of the christian world.

May I not be permitted to add, that there is another collection which is still wanted: and that is, of curious and valuable small tracts, relative to the evidences of our holy religion, or to scriptural difficulties, which by length of time, and in consequence of having been separately printed, are almost sunk into oblivion, or, if remembered, can scarcely at any rate be procured? The recovery of such pieces, and the communication of them to the public, in a few volumes, and at a reasonable price, would be an acceptable, as well as an useful service to men of inquiry and literature.

The Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History completed one grand part of Dr. Lardner's design, which was, to produce, at large, the testimonies of christian writers to the books of the New Testament. What he had already executed had employed him thirty-three years; and it was contrary to his expectation that his life was spared to the accomplishment of so much of the eminently important scheme which he had in view. Providence, however, preserved him for still further usefulness. There was one part of his plan which he never carried into effect. It was his intention to allege the testimonies of christian writers, not only to the books, but also to the principal facts of the New Testament, such as the birth, miracles, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the mission of the Apostles, and the miracles wrought by them: to which were to be added such considerations as might give weight to these testimonies, and confirm their truth. This our author designed to be the second book of the second part of the Credibility, and he supposed that it might be comprised in a single octavo volume; on which account it is rather the more surprising that it was not completed. Perhaps, upon reflection, he might judge, that almost every thing which he wished to say in this respect, would be found in the volumes already published.

This year, (1757,) Dr. Lardner, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. Caleb Fleming, revised for publication, and introduced with a preface, a posthumous tract of Mr. Thomas Moore, entitled, 'An Enquiry into the Nature of our Saviour's Agony in the Garden.' Mr. Moore was a woollen-draper, in Holy well-street, near the Strand, a thinking man, and studious in the scriptures. The design of his pamphlet was, to account for our Lord's agony, from the series of events which befell him during the latter part of his ministry, without supposing it to have been the result of any preternatural inflictions.

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In the year 1758 appeared two productions from the pen of our author. The first was, 'The Case of the Demoniacs, mentioned in the New Testament; being four discourses upon Mark v. 19, with an Appendix for the further illustration of the subject.' Dr. Lardner, in this work, maintains the hypothesis which was supported by Mr. Joseph Mede in the last century, by Dr. Sykes and others in the present, and still more recently, in a very elaborate manner, by the late Rev. Hugh Farmer. This scheme, which supposes the demoniacs to have been only diseased or lunatic persons, and not actually possessed by evil spirits, seems to gain ground: and will probably be found to be most agreeable, not only to the principles of sound philosophy, but to the genuine language of antiquity and scripture, when rightly understood. The Treatise on the Demoniacs having been considered by our author as an Appendix to the first part of his Credibility, relative to the facts occasionally mentioned in the New Testament, is subjoined to that work in the present edition.

The other publication of Dr. Lardner's this year, was a short one, without his name, the title of which was, 'A Letter to Jonas Hanway Esq.; in which some reasons are assigned, why houses for the reception of penitent women, who have been disorderly in their lives, ought not to be called Magdalen Houses.' Mary Magdalen, as our author shows, was not the sinner who is recorded in the seventh chapter of St. Luke, but a woman of distinction and excellent character, who for a while laboured under some bodily indisposition, which our Lord miraculously healed. To call, therefore, a hospital for repenting prostitutes a Magdalen House, was, he thought, a great abuse of the name of a truly honourable and valuable woman. If Mary's shame had been manifest, and upon record, she could not have been worse stigmatized. Such was the delicacy of Dr. Lardner's mind, that, independently of the case of Mary Magdalen, he disliked the use of the word "prostitutes," in the title of a place of reception for females who had been of bad characters. Speaking of a proper inscription, he says, 'I shall propose one, which 'is very plain: A Charity House for Penitent Women: 'which, I think, sufficiently indicates their fault; and yet is, 'at the same time, expressive of tenderness, by avoiding a 'word of offensive sound and meaning, denoting the lowest 'disgrace that human nature can fall into, and which few 'modest men and women can think of without pain and uneasiness. Or, if that title is not reckoned distinct and 'particular enough, with a small alteration it may be made,

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'for Penitent Harlots.'[f] The letter to Mr. Hanway produced no effect; and perhaps it came too late. Besides, though the highest regard ought ever to be paid to the memory of that gentleman as a most excellent and philanthropic citizen, he was not, I believe, easily disengaged from what he had once adopted.

In 1759, Dr. Lardner published, but without his name, 'A Letter written in the year 1730, concerning the question, Whether the Logos supplied the place of a human soul in the person of Jesus Christ.' To this letter, which I have mentioned before, and which is supposed to have been originally addressed to Lord Barrington, were now added, 'two Postscripts: the first containing an explication of those words, the Spirit, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, as used in the Scriptures: the second, containing remarks upon the third part of the late bishop of Clogher's Vindication of the Histories of the Old and New Testament.' In this treatise our author opposes the Arian hypothesis, to which he acknowledges that he had once, for a while, been much inclined, but which he now entirely disliked, thinking it to be all amazing throughout, and irreconcileable to reason. The point which he labours to prove is, that Jesus is a man appointed, anointed, beloved, honoured, and exalted by God above all other beings. It is observable, that Dr. Lardner did not derive his opinions upon this subject from the study of the Socinian authors. 'I have not,' says he, 'been greatly conversant with the writ-'ers of that denomination. I have never read Crellius de 'uno Deo Patre; though I believe it to be a very good book. 'There is also, in our language, a collection of Unitarian 'Tracts, in two or three quartos. But I am not acquainted 'with it, nor can I remember that I ever looked into it. I 'have formed my sentiments upon the scriptures, and by 'reading such commentators, chiefly, as are in the best repute. 'I may add, that the reading of the ancient writers of the 'church has been of use to confirm me, and to assist in 'clearing up difficulties.'[g] In the preface, our author declares, that though he is not without a just concern for such things as appear to him to be of importance, he hopes the whole is written in the way of reason and argument, with meekness and candour, without acrimony and abuse. The truth of this declaration will not be denied by those who disagree the most with Dr. Lardner; and surely it is not saying too much to add, that he has displayed great knowledge of the Scripture, and of scriptural phraseology. His intimate

[f] Vol. x. p. 248. [g] Ibid, p. 77, 78, 104, 105.

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friend Mr. Hallet did not adopt his opinion; and several letters were exchanged between them on the subject. Their different views with regard to what they apprehended to be divine truth, did not, however, produce the least diminution in their mutual affection. One of Mr. Hallet's letters was concluded in terms which reflect honour on his character. 'The consideration of these matters,' says he, 'is so far from 'lessening my friendship and regard for you, that I reverence 'and esteem you more than ever; and you shall never find me 'say one word inconsistent with the highest respect and 'friendship.—May God long preserve your usefulness!'[h]

I do not recollect that the letter on the Logos made any great impression at the time of its first publication. The sentiments advanced in it were then confined to a few persons; and others were not readily disposed to embrace them. It is not necessary to inform my readers, that a period of less than thirty years has produced a surprising alteration in this respect. The fact is equally allowed by those who rejoice in, and by those who deplore, the progress of Socinianism. What are the doctrines of the New Testament, with regard to the person and pre-existence of Christ, is the grand controversy of the day; a controversy that is warmly agitated, and which is not likely to be soon brought to a conclusion. Were I to indulge to the observations which arise to my mind on this occasion, I should be led into a digression incompatible with my present undertaking. If Providence should spare my life, it is my wish, when certain pressing engagements are discharged, to impart to the public a few candid reflections on some late, and indeed still subsisting theological disputes. I cannot, however, dismiss the subject, without remarking the coincidence of opinion which sometimes takes place between persons extremely different in their religious professions and connections. The celebrated Father le Courayer, author of the Dissertation on the Validity of English Ordinations, continued to the end of his life in the communion of the Roman Catholic Church. Nevertheless, in the declaration of his last sentiments on the doctrines of religion, recently published, he has delivered such views of things respecting the Trinity, as Dr. Lardner himself must have highly approved. The passage is so striking, and breathes so liberal a spirit, that I shall insert it below.[i]

[h] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 113.

[i] The doctrine of the unity of God, so true, and so evident, has served for a pretext to many, to try to inspire aversion at Christianity, as if it affected this truth by its doctrines of the Trinity, and the Incarnation. The writings of

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A second volume of Sermons, on various subjects, was published by our author in 1760. The discourses in this

some of the fathers, and the wretched philosophy of the schools, may, in fact, have given ground to some people to draw such a consequence: but there is nothing in the gospel which does not tend, on the contrary, to confirm us more and more in the knowledge and worship of one God; and nothing is less opposite to this truth than the doctrines which are thought to destroy it effectually.

Of all the modes of explaining the doctrine of the Trinity, I know of none more contrary to the true doctrine of christianity, than that which supposes in the Deity an existence of three substances distinct, however collateral, however subordinate. It is, in my apprehension, to re-establish Polytheism, under the pretext of explaining a mystery. The unity of God is the foundation of the gospel; and every thing that may in any way affect this truth is dangerous. As Jesus Christ and his apostles have laboured, on the one hand, to reclaim the gentiles from the belief and from the worship of many gods, and have supposed, on the other hand, that the Jews thought soundly in the article of Deity, in which they never distinguished different substances; it seems to me a departure from the simplicity of the gospel, and a voluntary inclination to corrupt the idea of a clear truth, by singular explications, which it becomes necessary to abuse at least, in order to combat.

I believe, therefore, that there is but only one God; that his Spirit is not a substance distinct from him; and that Jesus Christ, to whom divinity was very intimately united, is his Son in virtue of that union. This is all the Trinity that I find in the gospel; and I cannot conceive that any other Trinity can accord with the Unity of God. I know that many ancient writers have had recourse to the multiplication of substances, to give us an idea of this mystery; and others have imagined other systems, more philosophical than evangelical, that have less served to clear up this matter than to obscure it. But I distinguish these systems from that of the gospel: and, inasmuch as I find this last worthy of respect, it therefore appears to me little essential to adopt notions which often have much obscurity, and sometimes are even involved in contradiction.

The Incarnation has nothing any more contrary to the doctrine of the Unity of God, than the Trinity. Accordingly, it is extremely remarkable, that neither Jesus Christ nor his apostles have ever represented to us these mysteries as including incomprehensible things, and which it was impossible to reconcile to reason. God, willing to draw men from their errors and to purify them from their sins, filled Jesus Christ with his wisdom, invested him with his power, communicated to him his authority, and gave him his spirit,[a] not by measure, as to the prophets, but united himself so intimately with him, that Jesus Christ appeared in the form of God;[b] that he was made Lord and Christ;[c] Prince and Saviour;[d] that he was filled with wisdom and with grace;[e] that all the fulness of the godhead resided corporeally in him;[f] and that he received the glory, the honour, the virtue, the strength, and the blessing, of his Father;[g] who, by the participation which he gave him of his power and authority, made him enter, at the same time, into a participation of his glory, in such a manner, that he who honours the Son, honours the Father who sent him.[h] Thus God, referring always every thing to himself, and not terminating in Jesus Christ, who is no otherwise regarded than as the organ and the instrument of the mercy of his Father, is always God alone, who is the

[a] John iii. 34. [b] Phil. ii. 6. [c] Acts ii. 36. [d] Acts v. 31.
[e] Luke ii. 40. [f] Coloss. ii. 9. [g] Apoc. v. 12. [h] John v. 23.

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volume, though always applied to practical purposes, are more curious and critical than those which he gave to the

object of our adorations; and there is nothing that shocks us in conceiving, that he can communicate himself to a man as fully, and as intimately, as he judges it necessary for his own glory, and for the salvation of mankind.

This is the explication of that intimate union of divinity with humanity in Jesus Christ, which, perfectly simple as it is, has so much divided all Christendom. From a willingness to find, in this intimate union of divinity with humanity in Jesus Christ, all that we experience in the union of the body with the soul, we have been thrown into embarrassments and contradictions, which it is impossible either to explain or to conciliate. We talk of hypostasies, of personalities, of idioms, and of every thing that a dark philosophy could imagine, to render things credible, of which it was unable to give us any notion. Some have made a ridiculous mixture of the divinity with the humanity. Others, in discriminating too nicely the difference, have seemed to place Jesus Christ only in the rank of ordinary prophets. Hence the Nestorianism, the Eutycheism, the Apollinarism, and the Monothelisme, which have excited such fatal schisms in the church, and which have perhaps as much favoured the progress of Mahometanism in the east, as the ignorance of these nations, and the victorious arms of the Saracens.

To avoid these excesses, we must abide in the simplicity of the gospel, and content ourselves with acknowledging, that God, to bring the world back to his knowledge and to his worship, gave birth to Jesus Christ in a miraculous manner, and united himself to him in a way the most close and intimate, so that it might be said, that Jesus Christ was in God,[t] and God in him; that all that appertained to the Father[k] was in the disposition of the Son, by the communication which the Father had given him of his power; that he had resigned all judgment to him;[l] that, as the Father could raise the dead to life, the Son could do so also;[m] that the doctrine of Jesus Christ was not his own, but that of his Father who sent him;[n] that he was only the same thing with him;[o] that it was the Father who abode in him, and who did all his works;[p] in one word, that he was the Son of God,[q] because, that God, on sending him into the world, had sanctified him to such a degree, that he who saw him,[r] saw his Father, and that he who believed in him, believed also in God.

When one has once acknowledged the truth and the holiness of the gospel, all this doctrine concerning the person of Jesus Christ appears to me so simple, that I cannot conceive how it was possible to corrupt it by so many explications, which are good for nothing but to make christianity appear less reasonable, and full of contradictions. In consequence of a continual desire to find new mysteries, an infinitude of imaginations have been consecrated; and it is still more lamentable that these imaginations are become a part of religion, by the authority of some, and by the acquiescence of others; so that a man passes for an unbeliever, or an irreligious person, if he does not subscribe to the predominant system, and if he happen to have too much understanding to submit to received prejudices, or too much fortitude to be overawed by violence.

It is not so much the person of Jesus Christ as his doctrine, that is the object of the christian religion; and though we ought to honour the Son as we honour the Father, because he had his mission, and was clothed with his authority, it is, however, to God only that Jesus Christ reclaims our attention; and he assumes no other consequence to recommend himself to the Jews, than as having been sanctified by his Father, to come and announce his doctrine, and

[t] John x. 38. [k] John xvii. 7, 10. [l] John v. 22.
[m] John v. 21. [n] John vii. 16. [o] John x. 30.
[p] John xiv. 10. [q] John x. 36. [r] John xi. 44, 45.

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world ten years before. Several important circumstances, relative to the history of our Saviour, and the doctrines of the gospel, are considered and explained; and it would not be easy to find in the same compass, a greater treasure of christian knowledge. This year a second edition was demanded of the eleventh volume of the Credibility, and of the two first volumes of the Supplement. The fifth volume had been reprinted in 1756, and the fourth and sixth in 1758.

Deeply engaged as Dr. Lardner was, in preparing his own works for the press, he could not resist the solicitations which were made to him to revise occasionally the productions of other persons. About this time, at the request of his friend, Mr. Caleb Fleming, he corrected the manuscript of 'A Criticism upon modern notions of Sacrifices; being an examination of Dr. Taylor's Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement, examined.' The author of the tract here mentioned, was a Dr. Richie, a physician, and a dissenting minister, somewhere in the north of England. By the same gentleman was afterwards published, in two volumes, quarto, an elaborate work concerning the peculiar doctrines of revelation, relating to piacular sacrifices, redemption by Christ, and the treatment of moral characters by the Deity. It was the production of a man who had applied himself diligently to the study of the scriptures, and who has taken immense pains to ascertain his own views of things; notwithstanding which, it is now little known, and still less read. The different fate of books would furnish matter for a curious and a copious disquisition.

Another work, the manuscript of which Dr. Lardner revised, at the desire of the writer, for whom he had a particular esteem, was a Treatise on the true Doctrine of the New Testament concerning Jesus Christ. This treatise, which has come to a second impression, was the composition of the Rev. Mr. Paul Cardale, a dissenting minister at Evesham, in Worcestershire. It is introduced by a long discourse on free inquiry in matters of religion, and contains a full defence of what is called the Socinian scheme. I believe that it has been of some considerable influence in drawing over persons to the author's opinion. Mr. Cardale, I remember, is very large in endeavouring to show, that the great blessings of the gospel do not depend upon the question concerning our Lord's pre-existence; and that no stress is laid upon it, in the account which is given in the New Testament of the benefits we de-

to instruct us in truths unknown to the Gentiles, and very much altered by the Jews.—Le Courayer's "Declaration of his last Sentiments on the different Doctrines of Religion." The English Translation, p. 14—26.

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rive from our divine Master. A sentiment which I should earnestly wish to be generally impressed is, that the glory of our holy religion stands firm on every scheme. Writers are apt to express themselves, as if the christian revelation would be of little value, unless their particular systems are adopted: but this is a kind of language which is extremely injudicious, and which ought to be avoided and discouraged. The apostle St. Paul, speaking of Jesus Christ, saith: "Who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."[k] To this account of things every christian, of every denomination, gives a most ready and cordial assent. But can any man be said to think meanly of the evangelical dispensation, or to detract from its excellence and dignity, who believes that God is the author of it, that it was communicated by Jesus Christ, and that he conveys to us knowledge, pardon, holiness, and eternal life? These are blessings of unspeakable importance; blessings which render the gospel a pearl of invaluable price: and such it will be esteemed by all who assent to its truth and divine authority, whatever sentiments they may embrace concerning matters of more doubtful disputation.

In 1761, and 1762, Dr. Lardner condescended to make some communications to a periodical work, then carrying on, entitled 'The Library,' which consisted entirely of original pieces, and was conducted by some of the younger dissenting ministers of the city of London. His papers, which were four in number, are inserted at the end of the volume of tracts, in the present collection.[l] A new edition of the tenth volume of the second part of the Credibility came out in 1761, and of the twelfth volume in 1762. Not again to resume the subject, it may here be mentioned, that the eighth volume was reprinted in 1766.

It was in 1762 that our author published his 'Remarks on the late Dr. Ward's Dissertations on several Passages of the Sacred Scriptures; wherein are shown, beside other things, that St. John computed the Hours of the Day after the Jewish Manner; who are the Greeks, John xii; who the Grecians, Acts vi; the Design of the Apostolic Decree, Acts xv; that there was but one sort of Jewish Proselytes; wherein lay the Fault of St. Peter; and how St. Paul may be vindicated.' Of these remarks it is sufficient to say, that they display Dr. Lardner's usual skill in whatever relates to the critical knowledge of the New Testament. He has particularly confuted the notion of two kinds of proselytes, which had

[k] 1 Corinth. i. 30.

[l] Vol. x. of this edition.

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not only been adopted by Dr. Ward, but which, for some time before, had been a favourite opinion with Lord Barrington, Dr. Benson, and other writers, so as to lead them into various mistakes. A long intimacy had subsisted between Dr. Ward and our author; and accordingly, throughout the whole of his remarks, he has treated the memory of his friend with the greatest regard and respect.

Dr. Lardner, in 1764, communicated to the world, without his name, some strictures on another eminent New-Testament critic, Dr. James Macknight, who had recently published his Harmony of the Four Gospels. The arrangement of the circumstances relative to our Lord's resurrection, had for several years engaged the attention of christian writers. Mr. Gilbert West had treated the subject very much at large, and was supposed to have thrown great light upon it, by having recourse to a different interpretation of some of our Saviour's appearances, recorded by the evangelists, from what had hitherto been given. A new vein of criticism was opened by him, which was pursued by other persons. Dr. Macknight, in particular, bestowed extraordinary labour upon the matter, in the conclusion of his Harmony. The efforts of his ingenuity and diligence had not the good fortune to satisfy Dr. Lardner. It appeared to him, that certain suppositions, which had been made by Dr. Macknight, were altogether without foundation. He thought proper, therefore, to publish, in a letter to the author, Observations upon his Harmony, so far as related to the History of our Saviour's Resurrection. It cannot be denied that this tract is a piece of masterly criticism. The account which is given in it, of the various appearances of our Lord after his resurrection, comes recommended by such a simplicity of truth, as calls for the warmest approbation. I have reason to believe, that there were other points in which Dr. Lardner did not agree with Dr. Macknight. In matters liable to difficulty, and involved in some degree of obscurity, a diversity of sentiments will take place between the most upright, able, and serious inquirers after truth.

Amidst these various productions of a smaller nature, Dr. Lardner continued the prosecution of his grand object. Accordingly, soon after the publication of his Observations on Dr. Macknight's Harmony, and in the same year, he gave to the world, in quarto, the first volume of 'A large Collection of ancient Jewish and Heathen Testimonies to the Truth of the Christian Religion.' This volume contained the Jewish testimonies, and the testimonies of heathen authors of the first

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century. In the preface, Dr. Lardner has given an account of those who had gone before him in the same design; from which account it will appear, that the subject, comparatively speaking, had hitherto been but imperfectly considered. As he was apprehensive that his work might be charged with prolixity, he has made an apology for it, which must effectually silence every objector. 'I am,' says he, 'to be distinct and 'particular. These things have already been slightly touched 'upon by many. I propose to enlarge, and set them in a 'fuller light. I allege passages of ancient authors at length: 'I settle their time: I distinguish their works, and endeavour 'to show the value of their testimonies. I intend likewise to 'allege the judgments of divers learned moderns, who have 'gone before me in this service. All the persecutions of this 'time are a part of my subject, as they were appointed by 'edicts of heathen emperors, and were carried on by heathen 'governors of provinces, and officers under them. I shall 'have an opportunity to show the patience and fortitude 'of the primitive christians, and the state of Judaism, gentil-'ism, and christianity in the four first centuries. As most of 'the authors to be quoted by me are men of great distinction 'in the republic of letters, some occasions will offer for criti-'cal observations, which cannot be all declined: but nice and 'intricate questions will be carefully avoided, that the whole 'may be upon the level with the capacities of all who are in-'quisitive, and disposed to read with attention.' Such is our author's representation of his purposes; and it will be almost deemed superfluous to add, that they are executed with the greatest accuracy, learning, candour, and judgment.

The heathen testimonies, considered in the first volume, were, the pretended epistle of Abgarus, king of Edessa, to Jesus, and the rescript of Jesus to Abgarus; the knowledge which the emperor Tiberius had of our Saviour Jesus Christ; a monumental inscription concerning the christians in the time of Nero; Pliny the elder; Tacitus; Martial; Juvenal; and Suetonius. But this volume began with, and was chiefly employed upon, the Jewish Testimonies: among which the famous historian Josephus is the principal object. The third chapter, relative to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of the temple and the city of Jerusalem, and the miseries of the Jewish people, is of peculiar importance; and accordingly it has justly obtained a place in Bishop Watson's collection. It was a necessary part of Dr. Lardner's plan, to examine the celebrated passage with regard to the Lord Jesus Christ, which is now found in all the copies

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of Josephus. This passage therefore, our author has discussed with his usual sagacity and diligence; and he has pronounced it to be an interpolation. Dr. Samuel Chandler, who was not convinced by what he had advanced upon the subject, wrote to him a letter on the occasion, to which he returned a short answer. The letter and the reply may be seen in the Appendix.[m] Several learned writers among us were disposed, about this time, to maintain the authenticity of the passage in question. Dr. Chapman had done it in his Eusebius. The same cause had been defended by Dr. Nathaniel Foster, in a dissertation published at Oxford, in 1749. Nor is it without very eminent support in the present day. Mr. Bryant has exerted all the efforts in vindication of the passage, which ingenuity and literature could supply: he has done every thing but producing conviction. I have been favoured with a letter from the Rev. Mr. Henley, of Rendlesham, in Suffolk, containing a communication from the Abbé de Voisin, and some observations by the late Abbé Bullet, relative to the testimony of Josephus, which I insert with great pleasure in the Appendix.[n]

Without taking it upon me to decide concerning the authenticity of this famous passage, I must be permitted to remark, that it can never be of any real advantage in a controversy with the enemies of our holy religion. Of what avail can it be to produce a testimony so doubtful in itself, and which some of the ablest advocates for the truth of the gospel reject as an interpolation? An infidel must revolt at such an argument. It ought, therefore, to be for ever discarded from any place among the evidences of christianity, though it may continue to exercise the ingenuity and critical skill of scholars and divines.

The second volume of the Collection of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies appeared in 1765; containing the heathen testimonies of the second century. In the preface to this volume, some farther observations were made upon the paragraph in the works of Josephus, concerning our blessed Saviour. Dr. Foster's dissertation, and Dr. Chandler's private letter, furnished the occasion for these additional observations; in which our author strenuously defends his former opinion. The persons treated of in this volume are, Pliny the younger, and Trajan; Epictetus the stoic philosopher, and Arrian; the emperor Adrian; Bruttius Præsens; Phlegon, Thallus, and Dionysius the Areopagite; the emperor Titus Antoninus the pious; the emperor Marcus Antoninus the

[m] Appendix, No. IX. [n] Appendix, No. X.

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philosopher; Apuleius; the early adversaries of christianity, and particularly Celsus; Lucian of Samosata; Aristides the sophist; Dion Chrysostom; and Galen. Of the chapters relative to these persons, the longest and most important are those concerning Pliny, Marcus Antoninus, and Celsus. Whoever peruses them, will find in them a noble treasure of curious and valuable information. I cannot forbear transcribing a short passage, from the article on Pliny and Trajan, which beautifully displays the candid mind of Dr. Lardner. The evidence before him had obliged him to say some things that are unfavourable to Trajan's character; after which he adds: 'It ought not to be thought by any that I take pleasure in 'detracting from the merit of those who have been distin-'guished by their high stations, or their eminent abilities, or 'their useful services to mankind of any sort. For, indeed, 'the disadvantageous part of this detail has been made, and 'carried on, not without great reluctance, much diffidence, 'and tenderness; whilst commendable things have been cheer-'fully acknowledged. And if we now think, and judge, and 'act better than many in former times, it is owing to our su-'perior advantages; such especially as we have received from 'the Christian Revelation, by which our minds have been 'enlightened and enlarged: for which we ought to be ever 'thankful, still thinking modestly of ourselves, and giving 'God the glory of all.'*

The third volume of the Collection of Testimonies was published in 1766, containing an account of the heathen writers and writings of the third century, whence arguments may be deduced in support of the truth of the christian religion. This volume, which extended to the conversion of Constantine the Great, abounded, like the two former ones, with much valuable information. The persecutions to which the professors of the gospel were exposed, and particularly that under the emperor Dioclesian, are here amply considered. A peculiar attention is likewise paid to Porphyry, and to his objections against the authenticity of the book of Daniel. In the chapter that relates to Diogenes Laertius, our author has introduced a very curious Criticism on the Altar to the Unknown God, at Athens, which is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.

The fourth volume of the Testimonies appeared in 1767. In this volume were contained the testimonies of heathen writers of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries; to which was added, the state of gentilism under christian emperors.

* See the present edition of Dr. Lardner's works, Vol. vii. p. 71.

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Among the persons who here passed in review before Dr. Lardner, Julian, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Libanius, are particularly distinguished. The accounts of these, and of contemporary authors, are very entertaining; though, as witnesses in favour of our holy religion, they are not so important as Celsus, and other writers of an earlier period. Nevertheless, they deserve to be collected, and to be put together in their proper order. Hence our author had an opportunity of displaying the last struggles of expiring gentilism, and of relating some attempts to restore it, after it had been for a while exploded with scorn and disdain. He has, likewise, introduced to the acquaintance of his readers, not a few men of great learning, and fine abilities, who were still tenacious of the ancient rites, and fond of all the fables upon which they were founded, and by which they had long been upheld and encouraged.

In the copious article concerning Julian, a very important point came under Dr. Lardner's consideration, which was, the account of that emperor's attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, and of the defeat of the attempt, by a divine and miraculous interposition. This account has been given not only by three contemporary christian writers, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and Ambrose, but also by the heathen historian Ammianus Marcellinus. It is mentioned, likewise, by Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and other ancient authors. Accordingly the story has obtained an almost universal credit; and scarcely any learned man had dared to suggest a doubt concerning it, excepting Basnage, in his History of the Jews. It is well known that Bishop Warburton wrote a very elaborate treatise in defence of the miracle; and that this treatise has been esteemed one of his capital productions, in point of judgment as well as of literature. Dr. Lardner, however, after the fullest examination, was obliged to hesitate upon the subject. His difficulties he has stated with his usual simplicity and candour; and it must be acknowledged that the considerations proposed by him have great weight. Perhaps many who read them will be induced, for the future, to lay but little stress upon a narration, which has heretofore been so generally admitted. I need not say that our author had no intention to weaken the evidences of Revelation. He was influenced by nothing but that sacred and impartial regard to truth which he maintained in all his inquiries. Some of the reflections which occur in his criticism will probably here be read with pleasure, as they finely display the temper of his mind. 'Let not any be offended,'

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'says he, 'that I hesitate about this point. I think we 'ought not too easily to receive accounts of miraculous inter- 'positions, which are not becoming the Divine Being. There 'are many things said of Julian, which all wise and good men 'do not believe.—The truth of history is not at all affected 'by rejecting improbable relations. Nor is the cause of 'christianity at all hurt, by our refusing to assent to some 'things which christian writers have said of Julian. That 'he pretended favour for the Jews, and sometimes talked of 'rebuilding their city and their temple, is allowed. But that 'he actually attempted it and ordered money for the work out 'of the public treasury, when he was setting out upon the 'Persian expedition, and that his attempt was frustrated by 'many miraculous interpositions, is not so certain. Though 'these things should be contested or denied, it can be of no 'bad consequence. Other histories, which are void of the like 'improbabilities, are not affected by it. And the evangelical 'history remains firm and inviolate, having in it all possible 'marks of truth and credibility.

'Finally, to put an end to these critical observations. Ju- 'lian's favourable regards for the Jewish people, and his in- 'tention (or desire at least) to rebuild the city of Jerusalem, 'and the temple there, are manifest, and fully attested by 'contemporary witnesses, and by his own writings. It is as 'manifest, that his design to rebuild Jerusalem and the Jewish 'temple, was never accomplished, but was frustrated and de- 'feated. Whether it was owing to miraculous interpositions, 'or to his expensive preparations for the Persian war, and 'other circumstances of his affairs, and to his death and defeat 'in that war; the overruling providence of God ought to be 'acknowledged in the event. And the argument for the truth 'of the christian religion, taken from the fulfilment of our 'Saviour's predictions in the destruction of Jerusalem, and 'the overthrow of the Jewish people by Vespasian and Titus, 'and their continued dispersion, remains in all its force. It 'is an argument which I never intended to weaken: it is, I 'think, a demonstrative argument for the truth of the christian 'religion; and, as I have often hinted in this work, deserving 'the attentive regard and serious consideration of all mankind.' [p]

The fourth volume of the collection of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies completed another capital part of our author's original design. It was published ten years after he had finished his Credibility; so that this grand object, with the interruption arising from some smaller productions, occupied

[p] Testimonies, Vol. vii. p. 619, 621.

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him during the space of forty-three years. A reflection presents itself on this occasion; which is, that works of great consequence are not of speedy execution. Although Dr. Lardner led a very retired life; though he entered but little into public business; though he was a stated minister only twenty-one years, and that but once a-day; yet we see how long a time he was employed, and diligently employed, in accomplishing the end he had in view. Those who are not themselves engaged in important and extensive literary undertakings, can have but an imperfect conception of the difficulties to be surmounted, the disappointments to be incurred, the books to be procured and waited for, the dates to be settled, the facts to be ascertained, and the various other causes which often occasion delays, that must be far more unpleasant to the writer than they can possibly be to any reader whatever.

Though our author's life and pen were so ardently devoted to the public good, he never received any thing that could deserve to be regarded as a recompense for his labours. The salary he had, whilst he continued to be a preacher, was very inconsiderable; and his works were often published by him to his loss, instead of his gain. This was particularly the case with respect to the latter volumes of the Credibility. At length he parted with the copy-right of that performance, together with all the remaining printed copies of it, for the trifling sum of a hundred and fifty pounds. Such a sum was by no means an equivalent for the expenses he had incurred; but he consented to the agreement, in the hope that the work would be rendered more extensively useful, when it became the immediate interest of the booksellers to promote its sale.[q] From the scarcity of the separate volumes, and the immense price to which complete sets of the Credibility have since arisen, it is to be presumed that these gentlemen have had no reason to repent of their bargain. As to Dr. Lardner, his work is with the Lord, and his reward with his God.

Whilst our author submitted patiently to various disadvantages, in order to serve the interests of truth and virtue, and to maintain the truth of the christian religion, he was not insensible that he had not met with the support and encouragement to which he was entitled. He particularly complained of the neglect of the rich dissenting laity, in purchasing his volumes.[r] This I remember his having once mentioned to

[q] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 129.

[r] That excellent and munificent citizen, Thomas Hollis, Esq. must be exempted from this charge. In 1764, Dr. Lardner requested him, by letter, to subscribe to his Collection of Heathen and Jewish Testimonies. Upon this

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me in a letter; in which he took notice, that he had never received any mark of favour from the dissenters; 'not,' said he, 'so much as a trust.' He here referred to Dr. Daniel Williams's charities and library, the trustees of which consist of thirteen ministers and ten lay gentlemen. It was not to the honour of that body, that Dr. Lardner was never chosen to be one of their number. His deafness, I believe, was considered as an objection, but surely without sufficient reason; for no person could have been better qualified to give advice on most occasions, and especially with reference to books. If I had not believed that his nephew, Mr. Nathaniel Neal, was influenced by a principle of extreme delicacy, I should have thought him somewhat to blame in the affair. That gentleman was not only a trustee, but agent for the trust, and had a great sway in all its concerns. If, therefore, he had intimated, that the election of his uncle would be a desirable measure, it could scarcely have met with an objection. I should be unwilling to suppose that any little bigotries, with regard to Dr. Lardner's theological sentiments, contributed to his being neglected. It is certain that no such narrowness of spirit is found in the present trustees.

The last work of our author, that was published during his life-time, was the fourth volume of his Testimonies. As, however, some posthumous pieces of his have since made their appearance, I shall mention them in this place. There came out, in 1769, Memoirs of the life and writings of Dr. Lardner, to which were annexed, eight sermons upon various subjects. The four first of them had by himself been transcribed for the press. On the fifth and sixth, though not fairly transcribed, he had written as follows; 'Perused, and, 'so far as I am able to perceive, all is right; and I humbly 'conceive ought to be published.' These two discourses are on the internal marks of Credibility in the New Testament, and are admirably worthy of perusal. They are sermons which he had preached in 1723 and 1724, at the Tuesday evening lecture, and contain, in some degree, the outlines of his great work, and especially of that part of it which relates

application, Mr. Hollis sent the good man a bank-note of twenty-pounds, which the Doctor told to a friend, was the greatest sum he had ever received from any of his benefactors.[a] There can be no doubt but that several of the wealthy dissenters purchased our author's writings, though this was not done by them so generally as might have been expected, and as the merit of the works deserved.

[a] Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq. Vol. I. p. 253.

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to the facts occasionally mentioned in the Evangelical and Apostolical writings.

In 1776 was published a short letter, which our author had sent in 1762, to Mr. Caleb Fleming, upon the Personality of the Spirit. It was printed at the end of Mr. Cardale's Enquiry whether we have any Scripture Warrant for a direct address either to the Son or to the Holy Ghost.

It was a part of Dr. Lardner's original design, with regard to the Credibility of the Gospel History, to give an account of the heretics of the two first centuries. To this arrangement, therefore, of his collections upon this subject he applied himself, after he had finished his Heathen and Jewish Testimonies; but he did not live to complete his intentions. Some parts, indeed, of the work were fitted for the press, having received his last corrections; whilst in other parts only a few hints were written. It was doubted, for a time, whether the progress he had made in his undertaking was sufficient for it to be laid before the public. However, upon mature deliberation, his papers were put into the hands of the Rev. Mr. Hogg, a worthy, learned, and judicious dissenting minister at Exeter, who, in the additions which he made to Dr. Lardner's materials, did not introduce a relation of any person, excepting where the Doctor himself had drawn up a part of it, or had left some hints or references. In consequence of Mr. Hogg's revisal and assistance, there appeared, in 1780, in one volume, quarto, 'The History of the Heretics 'of the two first centuries after Christ: containing an 'account of their time, opinions, and testimonies to the 'books of the New Testament. To which are prefixed, ge-'neral observations concerning Heretics.' Though this volume is not, upon the whole, so valuable and important as some of the former ones, it is possessed, nevertheless, of very considerable merit. It recites the testimonies of heretics, rectifies a variety of mistakes concerning them, and refutes many groundless charges to which they were exposed, from the ignorance, false zeal, and bigotry of their adversaries.

The last posthumous publication written by Dr. Lardner appeared in 1784. It is entitled, 'Two Schemes of a Trinity considered, and the Divine Unity asserted.' This work consists of four discourses upon Philippians ii. 5 to 11. The first represents the commonly received opinion of the Trinity, the second describes the Arian scheme: the third treats on the Nazarean doctrine; and the fourth explains the text according to that doctrine. Our author had himself transcribed these sermons for the press, with particular directions designed

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for the printer. The manuscript having come into the possession of Mr. Wiche, a very respectable dissenting minister, of the Baptist persuasion, at Maidstone in Kent, he gave it to the public. Even those who are far from agreeing in sentiment with Dr. Lardner, have applauded the candour, the simplicity, and the love of truth, which these discourses evidently discover. Indeed, they are chiefly estimable for the temper and spirit with which they are composed. It was not to be expected that they could contain much new matter, on points which, of late years, have been so frequently and copiously discussed.

Providence spared the life of Dr. Lardner to a long term; and, his hearing excepted, he retained, to the last, the use of his faculties, in a remarkably perfect degree. At length, in the summer of 1768, he was seized with a decline, which carried him off in a few weeks, at Hawkhurst, the place of his nativity, and where he had a small paternal estate. He had been removed thither, in the hope that he might recruit his strength by a change of air, and relaxation from study. The day of his decease was the twenty-fourth of July, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. His remains were conveyed to town, and deposited in Tindal's burying-ground, commonly called Bunhill Fields. At his particular request, no sermon was preached on occasion of his death.[s] Thus did his modesty and humility accompany him to the last moment of his earthly existence. Some time after his decease, a stone was erected to his memory, with an English inscription.

In looking back upon the life and character of Dr. Lardner, and comparing them with those of other men, we shall find few names that are more truly entitled to be remembered with veneration and applause. The sincerity of his piety has been seen in a variety of circumstances, which I have had occasion to mention. Indeed, a regard to God appears to have been ever the governing principle of his actions. His piety, too, was of the most rational kind, being founded on just and enlarged views concerning the nature of religion. What his ideas were in this respect will be found in many parts of his writings, and may be discerned in two extracts from letters of his to Lord Barrington, which are inserted below.[t]

[s] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 136.

[t] The Extracts are as follows:

'I have ever had a good deal of curiosity, which, I apprehend, usually accompanies a love of truth. But I have learnt a necessity of restraining, or at least of regulating and governing that curiosity. The capacities of men are limited, and even small in comparison of the whole compass of things. The most

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Correspondent to our author's piety was his love of truth, as is manifest from the whole of his works. No one seems

important matters ought to be preferred. A few certain principles are better than a great many, if only obscure and uncertain. When evidence is not full and clear, it is best to suspend and doubt. Religion is the concern of all men; it ought therefore to be clear and plain. And obscure religion is of little or no value: indeed, it seems to be one of the greatest absurdities that can be conceived. If God make a revelation, intended for the general benefit of mankind, one would expect it should be clear. We find in the Old-Testament predictions of a dispensation, under which men should not need to teach one another, saying, "Know the Lord: for all should know him, from the least to the greatest." I have a strong persuasion that the gospel was plain at first. It is contained in the four gospels and Acts, which are plain books. If Christianity is not plain now, I apprehend it must be our own fault, some way or other. A doctrine that contains plain directions of duty, and plain promises of a reward, sufficient to encourage to duty in all circumstances, to strengthen against temptations, to give comfort under afflictions, to calm the affections, and can be easily proved to be certain, is indeed an excellent doctrine. This is true religion. This is a pearl of great price, a treasure indeed, for which a man may reasonably part with all that he has to buy it. I say, easily proved to be certain. But it requires a sincere and honest disposition. Such a mind, with good instruction, will learn more in a few hours, than the prejudiced and selfish in an age. Indeed, such as these can never receive the truth, unless mixed with other matters that subvert it.

"I am the more discouraged in the pursuit of speculations in matters of religion, because I observe our blessed Saviour (who knew all things) and his apostles enter not into many particulars of the future life, and deliver no abstract notions about any thing, nor say any thing whatever to gratify mere curiosity, but only matters of the utmost consequence to the happiness of men. I have also observed, that the obscure and difficult principles of the philosophers, the great variety of opinions they had, and the uncertainty of them, were great defects in their philosophy, and objections against it. And I have been not a little concerned to see the state of christianity among us resemble so much the state philosophy was in at the time the christian religion first appeared in the world. There is still the more reason for those who sincerely desire the interest of religion, to keep to plain, certain truths, if possible; because of the prodigious, the almost universal indolence of mankind, who continually catch at every thing, that may countenance their neglect of inquiry and examination; who seek nothing but this world, how they and their families may enjoy ease, riches, and grandeur. For all which reasons, it may be best not to advance any obscure and uncertain matters in religion; or, if for some special reasons they are advanced, that they be proposed as uncertain and doubtful, and that little stress be laid upon them."

In a subsequent letter, he thus writes:

"A principal occasion of my writing as I did about curiosity, was, (as far as I remember,) the subject-matter of debate or inquiry, the future reward of good men. I apprehend some ill consequences from too nice and curious inquiries about that, since God has not plainly revealed to us, as I supposed, the place of that happiness. But whatever I said about curiosity, I never intended to discourage a diligent and careful search after truth. There is scarce any thing more disagreeable and offensive to me, than the common indolence of mankind about religion, and truth in general. And therefore another reason why I spake against needless inquiries, was, because I feared that the rendering religion abstruse and difficult, and multiplying questions in divinity,

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ever to have preserved a greater impartiality in his inquiries, or to have been more free from any undue bias. He followed truth wherever it led him; and for the attainment of truth he was admirably qualified, both by the turn of his disposition and his understanding. With a mind so calm and unprejudiced, with a judgment so clear and distinct, he could scarcely fail of forming right apprehensions concerning most of the subjects which the course of his studies enabled him to investigate.

The candour and moderation with which Dr. Lardner maintained his own sentiments, constituted a prominent feature in his character. Those he differed from in opinion, he always treated with gentleness and respect; and in the controversies he carries on with them, there is no severity of censure, no harshness of language. This circumstance is the more worthy to be mentioned and applauded, as it is so different from what we often meet with in the present day. Many of our writers seem to be reverting to that abuse of each other, which was common among scholars some time after the revival of literature. They are not satisfied without casting illiberal reflections on the persons of the men whose tenets they oppose, and arraigning the motives of their conduct. What renders this disposition the more ridiculous is, that it is frequently exerted on the most trivial occasions. Apprehended mistakes in philology, or diversities of judgment in matters of mere taste, are treated with as great a bitterness as if they were crimes of the deepest dye. How much more beautiful, and more worthy of imitation, was the manner of conducting disputable questions which was pursued by Dr. Lardner! Such a method will be found, in the end, more favourable to the diffusion of truth, and more conducive to a lasting reputation. Circumstances, indeed, may arise, in which a sharpness of chastisement may appear to be justifiable. Uncommon insolence and uncommon bigotry may deserve to be strongly exposed: and yet, even here, a manly neglect and contempt of unmerited censure may be the most honourable and the most useful mode of behaviour.

Benevolence, as well as piety, entered deeply into Dr. Lardner's character. Though his retired life prevented him from taking a very active part in public designs, he was ready to promote every good work. To persons in distress he was

(especially in those things which are of importance,) might be improved by mankind, as a pretence to countenance their lazy and indolent disposition. *

* Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Lardner, p. 130—134.

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ever willing to contribute, to the highest degree which his fortune would admit. On some occasions he exerted himself with great vigour and success. When a gentleman came to London, in 1756, to solicit contributions towards building a church for the protestants of Thorn in Poland, our author was particularly serviceable to him, both by his advice and recommendation. He, in a great measure, took upon himself the management of the affair; on which account he afterwards received the thanks of the president and fellows of the college of Thorn, in an elegant Latin letter. Near the time of his decease, he was engaged in assisting and recommending the Rev. Mr. Finman, minister of the reformed congregation at Rutzow, in the dutchy of Mecklenburgh Schwerin, who had come over to England for a like purpose. Upon this occasion, a letter was written to Dr. Lardner, by Dr. Secker, archbishop of Canterbury, which was the conclusion of a very long correspondence between two eminent persons, who were now each of them on the verge of dissolution.[u] As this letter displays the archbishop's state of mind at that time, and the continuance of his regard for our author, it will be inserted below.[v]

In his private deportment, Dr. Lardner was very amiable. His manners were polite, gentle, and obliging; and he was attentive, in every respect, to the laws of decorum. It has been justly remarked, that he 'seemed carefully to observe the rules laid down in his Counsels of Prudence.'[w] Perhaps it may not be disagreeable to my readers, to be informed of the mode in which he carried on conversation. Paper, pens, and ink, being immediately brought in when visitors came to his house, they wrote down such intelligence as they had to communicate, or the observations and questions which they

[u] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 127, 128.

[v] 'Good Dr. Lardner,

'I would have seen Mr. Finman, and answered your first letter, if I had been 'able. But it hath pleased God to afflict me, for many months past, with so con-'stant, and so severe a pain in one of my hips, that I am almost incapable of 'any attention to any thing else. Become quite useless, and nearly worn out, 'I beg you will pray God to give me patience, and such degree of ease as 'he shall think fit: and can only add, that as I hope my spirit is truly chris-'tian towards all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity, so I am, with particular 'esteem and thankfulness for the whole of your obliging behaviour to me 'through life,

'Your faithful friend and servant,

'Lambeth, July 13th, 1768. 'THOMAS CANT.'[x]

[x] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 128, 129.

[w] Memoirs, p. 130.

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wished to propose. To these, as they were severally written, he replied with great cheerfulness, and in a way that was both instructive and entertaining. As the paper contained the unconnected answers and remarks of the different guests, upon different subjects, it formed what would have appeared to a stranger to be a very heterogeneous mixture. It was, however, carefully preserved by the Doctor, to be perused by him when his visitors were gone; and the perusal of it often led him to objects of farther consideration and inquiry.

Our author was not one of those scholars who are unacquainted with mankind. He had seen much of life during his residence with Lady Treby; he was continually visited by persons of various professions and countries; and he possessed that sagacity of observation, which is the principal requisite towards obtaining a knowledge of the world. Nor is it uncommon for eminent men, who live in retirement, to have some people near them, who are fond of conveying to them every kind of information which it is in their power to collect. Whether such information may not occasionally derive a tincture from the mistakes and prejudices of the communicators, I stay not to examine.

On the learning of Dr. Lardner it is not necessary to enlarge, since his character in this respect is known to all the world. With regard to that species of literature which was cultivated by him, he was accurate and profound in the greatest degree. Some branches of knowledge there were to which he did not apply his attention; for who is adequate to every object? But as a divine, and especially with relation to his acquaintance with the New Testament, and with christian antiquity, perhaps he never had his equal. The works of our author being thus valuable, and relating to objects of the highest importance, it is not surprising that they should be held in great esteem, not only at home, but abroad. I have already mentioned, that the first part of the Credibility was translated into Low Dutch by the Rev. Mr. Cornelius Westerbaen of Utrecht, and into Latin by the Rev. Mr. John Christopher Wolff of Hamburgh. A German translation of it appeared at Berlin and at Leipsic, in 1750, by the Rev. Mr. David Bruhn of Memel in Prussia, and Mr. John David Heilman; and it was accompanied with a large preface, by the Rev. Professor Seigmund Jacob Baumgarten. The second part of the Credibility was likewise translated both in Holland and in Germany. In 1751, the German translation of the fourth volume was printed, and the whole design may probably have since been completed. The Vindication of

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the three Miracles was also translated into German, by the Rev. Mr. Meyenberg, and published at Zell, in 1750, together with a preface, written by the Rev. Dr. Plesken. A translation of the Discourses on the Circumstances of the Jewish People, appeared at Halle, in 1754; and of the Treatise of the Demoniacs, at Bremen, in 1760.[x]

The literary connections of Dr. Lardner were extensive; and he was particularly on a very friendly footing with his learned contemporaries among the dissenters. This has already been sufficiently apparent in the notice which, in the course of the present narrative, there has been occasion to take of Lord Barrington, Dr. Hunt, Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Hallet, Dr. Ward, Dr. Benson, Dr. Chandler, and Dr. Doddridge. Our author had a high regard and esteem for Mr. Mole, and they freely communicated to each other their opinions and remarks on subjects of religion and literature. He corresponded with Mr. Breckell of Liverpool, the writer of some valuable tracts on points of biblical criticism. In the latter part of his life, Dr. Lardner's greatest personal intimacy was with Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Caleb Fleming. This gentleman lived within a few doors of him, and there was a perfect conformity betwixt them with respect to their theological sentiments. Residing so near to each other, for between twenty and thirty years, their intimacy grew up to the most unreserved confidence. My friend Dr. Towers has favoured me with the perusal of a series of letters, written to Dr. Fleming by Dr. Lardner, in which he freely disclosed his thoughts concerning men and things. Dr. Fleming was a man of great integrity, and of an acute and vigorous understanding, but in regard to learning, not by any means to be named with his friend. He was for a time minister to a small congregation at Bartholomew Close, after which he succeeded the celebrated Dr. James Forster at Pinner's Hall. Few people have written a greater number of pamphlets, some of which being published without his name, were but little noticed by the world. Others of his tracts were better received, and several of them are curious and valuable. There are instances in which he was singular, not to say whimsical, in his positions. His writings might have been more generally acceptable and useful, if they had been free from a certain quaintness and obscurity of style. Aiming at originality and strength of expression, he often lost perspicuity, and never attained to elegance. He was a determined enemy to civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, and a very zealous Socinian.

[x] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 125, 126.

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Dr. Lardner's connections and friendships were not confined to persons of his own religious communion. He was conversant with several respectable clergymen of the church of England, and received from them testimonies of their esteem for his character, and approbation of his works. The letters which passed between him and bishop Waddington, and his long and uninterrupted acquaintance with archbishop Secker, have already been mentioned. He maintained a large correspondence both at home and abroad: and particularly in America and Germany. In consequence of the reputation he had acquired by his publications, he was visited by most of the learned foreigners who came over to England; and, after their return to their own countries, many grateful acknowledgments were transmitted to him of the friendly reception he had given them, and the assistance they had derived from him in their literary designs and pursuits.[y]

Such being the excellences which Dr. Lardner possessed, both as a writer and a man, it was natural that he should often be spoken of in terms of respect and applause. Lord Barrington concluded his correspondence with him, concerning Jairus's daughter, in the following language: 'Thus I think 'our controversy ends. But our friendship and correspond-'ence I hope never will, but with our lives: and our 'friendship, I hope, then but for a season. I have had so 'much satisfaction and instruction from your great learning 'and judgment, and from your patience, candour, openness, 'and obliging manners, that, whenever I have difficulties to 'put, in the future course of my inquiries, or want to see what 'difficulties my sentiments are liable to, I shall take the liberty 'to trouble you, unless you forbid me; or (if your great civility 'will not allow you to do that) I forbear, from the sense I have 'of how much I rob the world, in the result of the learned 'pursuits they justly expect from you, by such kind of inter-'ruptions as those I have given you.'[z]

This was a tribute paid to Dr. Lardner's merit in early life: since which he has been justly applauded by a variety of respectable writers. Dr. Benson speaks of our author as 'his highly esteemed friend;' and refers his readers to the Credibility, as a fair, full, and impartial account of the testimonies of the ancient fathers.[a]

'With respect to the external evidence of christianity,' says Dr. Jebb, 'it may be observed, that the works of the 'very learned and ingenious Dr. Lardner, are calculated to

[y] Ibid. [z] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 41, 42.
[a] Benson's Paraphrases, vol. i. p. 326, and vol. ii. p. 376, second edition.

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'produce a firm persuasion of the truth of those historical 'facts which form the foundation of the christian institution.'[b]

The bishop of Carlisle (Dr. Law) has prefaced a quotation from our author in the following terms: 'I shall only beg 'leave to introduce the testimony of a candid and judicious 'writer, who appears to entertain right notions both of the 'nature of the christian institution, and of the best means for 'the propagation and support of it; and who has supplied us 'with the most valuable collection of ancient evidences of its 'truth.'[c]

In an anonymous tract, known to be written by Mr. Lindsey, that gentleman observes, 'that the publication of the 'Letter on the Logos, in 1759, soon made a great revolution 'in the opinions of learned men.[d] For the piece was soon 'known to be his, though without his name; and his numerous 'writings were already in the highest request; his character 'also for probity, impartiality, for critical skill, and the know-'ledge of the scriptures and of ecclesiastical history, inferior 'to none; and in some of these respects, superior to any of 'the age.'

The same gentleman, in the same publication, has drawn Dr. Lardner's portrait somewhat at large; and it is with particular pleasure that I present it to my readers. 'To praise 'the living would be invidious and awkward: but of those who 'have finished their course well, we may speak freely and be 'heard. Is there a literary character that stands higher upon 'the lists of fame, as a man, a christian, and a divine, than the 'late Dr. Lardner? After an education in a university abroad, 'at that time not inferior in learned tutors to either of our own, 'on his return to his own country, he became early acquaint-'ed with the worthy and learned in the church established, 'and out of it. Archbishop Secker, bred a dissenter like 'himself, cultivated and courted his friendship through life. 'His Vindication of some of our Lord's miracles against Mr. 'Woolston's attacks, is among the first upon that occasion, 'and the most candid. But his Credibility of the Gospel, in 'seventeen volumes, octavo, and Jewish and Heathen Testi-'monies to its Truth, in four volumes, quarto, have exhibited 'such a mass of evidence for it, and established it on so broad

[b] Short Account of Theological Lectures, quarto, 1772, p. 17, note.

[c] Considerations on the Theory of Religion, p. 30, note, seventh edition.

[d] I do not agree with the learned and worthy writer in this assertion. It does not appear to me that the influence of the Letter on the Logos was speedy, but slow and gradual, and in conjunction with other publications; among which may be mentioned Mr. Cardale's Treatise on the true Doctrine of the New Testament concerning Jesus Christ.

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'a foundation, as nothing can shake. In this he gives con-
'tinually curious and useful instances of critical skill and
'judgment: but his love of truth and impartiality are without
'example, in fairly representing every argument and objec-
'tion, without the least discernible bias to any opinion or
'party. His piety and humility are conspicuous in all his
'writings, and particularly in his sermons, some of which are
'among the best models for pulpit-discourses in our language,
'in explaining important passages of the gospel, and pointing
'out the easy and natural instruction to be deduced from it.'[e]

Bishop Watson, in his catalogue of books of divinity, having mentioned Dr. Lardner's Letter on the Logos, immediately subjoins some reflections, which are so admirable, that they cannot be omitted. 'Newton and Locke,' says his lordship, 'were esteemed Socinians, Lardner was an avowed 'one; Clarke and Whiston were declared Arians; Bull and 'Waterland were professed Athanasians. Who will take 'upon him to say that these men were not equal to each other 'in probity and scriptural knowledge? And if that be admit-'ted, surely we ought to learn no other lesson, from the 'diversity of their opinions, except that of perfect moderation 'and good-will towards all those who happen to differ from 'ourselves. We ought to entertain no other wish, but that 'every man may be allowed, without loss of fame or fortune, '*et sentire quæ velit, et quæ sentiat dicere.* This absolute 'freedom of inquiry, it is apprehended, is the best way of in-'vestigating the sense of scripture, the most probable mean 'of producing an uniformity of opinion, and of rendering the 'gospel dispensation as intelligible to us in the eighteenth 'century, as, we presume, it was to christians in the first.'

The ingenious writer of the Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq. has mentioned a short, but beautiful encomium, which was passed on Dr. Lardner, and one of his eminent contemporaries, by a very learned person, who has often said, that if he were sentenced to imprisonment for seven years, he would not desire to take any books with him into his confinement besides the works of Jortin and Lardner.[f]

As several of our author's publications were of course subjected to the examination of the different literary journals which this country produces, the conductors of them were necessarily led to give, on various occasions, their sentiments

[e] Examination of Mr. Robinson's Plea for the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Preface, p. xviii. xxvi. xxvii.

[f] Memoirs of T. Hollis, Esq. vol. i. p. 254.—I am indebted to my excellent friend, Dr. Disney, for collecting and presenting me with the preceding testimonies.

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concerning him; which, I believe, has uniformly been done in terms of approbation and respect. In one place, the Monthly Review thus speaks; 'Before we present our readers with a 'view of what is contained in this volume, (the first volume 'of the ancient Jewish and Heathen Testimonies,) we cannot, 'as friends to the religion of our country, forbear expressing 'the grateful sense we have of the eminent service our learned 'and worthy author has done to the cause of christianity, by 'his excellent writings in defence of it. Of the many able 'writers that have appeared in the present age, as advocates 'for the truth of the christian religion, there are none, in our 'opinion, that deserve to be preferred to Dr. Lardner; few, 'indeed, that can be compared with him. In point of learn-'ing, his merit is very considerable: but what is much more 'valuable than mere learning, there is a pleasing simplicity in 'his manner of writing, and a very uncommon degree of can-'dour and impartiality. He seems to have nothing in view 'but the discovery of truth; scorns the mean and contempti-'ble arts of misrepresentation, or concealing objections and 'difficulties, and gives his readers a clear and full view of the 'subject. How amiable is such a character! how worthy of 'imitation!'[g]

In another place, the Monthly Reviewers have expressed themselves in the following language: 'From the great ser-'vice rendered to christianity by the laborious pursuits and 'learned compilations of Dr. Lardner, his name will ever be 'distinguishedly honoured in the history of the christian church. 'Dr. Priestley, when he speaks of this most learned and excel-'lent man, generally calls him, 'the prince of modern divines;' 'and we think this tribute to his illustrious merit not impro-'perly paid. To the most elaborate and extensive investiga-'tions of ecclesiastical antiquity he added all that knowledge 'of Greek and Roman literature, which enabled him so 'thoroughly to discriminate the comparative worth and excel-'lence of the sacred and profane writers. To the learning of 'the scholar he added also the veracity of the historian; 'while the amiable candour and humility of the christian 'gave a pleasing lustre and embellishment to his more eminent 'accomplishments.'[h]

Language to a like purpose occurs in different parts of the Critical Review; but I shall content myself with referring to one place, in which Dr. Lardner is described as master of a great extent of reading; as possessing a clear head to collect and state facts and evidences, and a sound judgment to deter-

[g] Monthly Review, vol. xxxii. p. 1. [h] Monthly Review, vol. lxiv. p. 33.

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mine concerning the weight of them; and as having spared no time or pains in his laborious task.[i]

In consequence of the recent original of the English Review, it hath had but one opportunity of characterizing our author; but that opportunity it hath embraced with distinguished zeal and energy. 'The name of Lardner,' says the Reviewer, 'is well known in the literary world. No writer, 'from the very existence of christianity, ever conferred so 'essential a service upon true religion, or contributed more 'to clear up its evidence and elucidate its antiquities. Ac- 'cordingly, there is no country, where the christian religion is 'professed, in which his name is not held in the greatest esteem. 'Every church would have been proud to boast of him as their 'member, and his voluminous productions have been trans- 'lated into almost all the languages of Europe.

'Dr. Lardner certainly possessed a very clear and sound 'understanding, and great shrewdness of judgment. His in- 'dustry in the pursuit, and perseverance in the investigation, 'of truth, are without example. But the quality by which he 'was chiefly distinguished, and which was perhaps of more 'service to him than all the rest, was the candour and inge- 'nuity of his mind. He examined every thing without preju- 'dice. Seated, as it were, in a more elevated sphere than 'other men, he was not subject to have his understanding 'darkened by the clouds, and jaundiced by the noxious 'mediums, of partiality, bigotry, and enthusiasm. He has, 'therefore, been as successful in refuting the false and sub- 'orned evidences of christianity, as in asserting and illustrat- 'ing the true. Thus he has contributed, more than all the 'mistaken zeal and the pious frauds of a thousand saints and 'pontiffs could have done, to the rendering it that simple, 'venerable, attractive, and engaging structure which God and 'Jesus intended it. It is no longer obscured by impostures, 'and disfigured by the false props and buttresses that were 'brought to support it.'[k]

A manuscript eulogium on Dr. Lardner has been put into my hands by a friend, Ebenezer Radcliff, Esq. the principal part of which is inserted at the end of this narrative.

I have only recited the testimonies given to our author by writers of our own country; but foreigners have not been deficient in spreading forth his praise. Those who have translated his works have introduced them with proper encomiums on their merit; and different learned men have taken

[i] Critical Review, vol. iv. p. 517.
[k] English Review for December, 1785, p. 423.

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occasion to express their sense of the excellence and value of his productions. Walchius, in his Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta, calls the 'Credibility' *insigne opus*; and it is highly spoken of in the Bibliotheca Germanica, and the Bibliotheque, ancient and modern, of Le Clerc.[1]

Every well-disposed reader must contemplate with pleasure, on a life which was so admirably and usefully spent as was that of Dr. Lardner. Such a life presents us with a beautiful proof of the dignity to which the human mind is capable of ascending, when it is formed on right views of the Supreme Being, and on the true principles and spirit of the gospel. Nor may a character like this be reflected upon with pleasure only, but with the greatest advantage. The private virtues of Dr. Lardner may justly be recommended to universal imitation. His love to God and benevolence to man, his regard to truth, his integrity, his purity, his moderation, his candour, his meekness, and his humility, it would be the honour and happiness of christians in general to select as the models of their temper and conduct.

Dr. Lardner may be held out, in particular, as a fine example to those of his own profession. It is not, indeed, in the power of every one to attain to the same extent of learning, or to perform the same services to christianity; but it should be the ambition of such as are engaged in the work of the ministry, to follow after him with diligence and zeal, though they may not be able to do it with equal steps. As the dissenters had the honour of producing Dr. Lardner, he will naturally be the object of emulation to the dissenting clergy. They will so far look up to him as their pattern, as to endeavour to qualify themselves for appearing, when occasions call for it, in the great departments of literature, and especially in the cause of religious truth and liberty, and in the defence and explication of the sacred writings. Some among them, at least, will, it is hoped, always be inspired with this disposition; in consequence of which they will not only gain reputation to themselves, and reflect credit on the body to which they belong; but, what is of infinitely greater importance, will unite with the wise, the learned, and the good of every denomination, and of every country, in promoting such a knowledge of religion in general, and of the christian religion in particular, as will be found eminently conducive to the truest improvement and comfort of the present life, and to the everlasting felicity of human beings.

[1] From the obliging information of the Rev. Dr. Gosset.

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EXTRACT

FROM A

MANUSCRIPT EULOGIUM

ON

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D. D.

BY

EBENEZER RADCLIFF, ESQ.

THE christian religion being founded on facts, to establish them, and the credit of their relaters, is of the utmost consequence. Our author, therefore, thought the highest respect he could pay to it was, to bring it to the test of history; and the result of his inquiries was, that, so far from depending upon the forged miracles, pious frauds, and spurious testimonies of the ancient fathers, or the metaphysical casuistry of modern defenders, he found it to be the weaker for their alliance; and like a skilful engineer, he demolished the buttresses, which an officious or timorous zeal erected, that the gospel, having nothing to defend but its own fortress, might be the more firm and impregnable.

So delicate were his sentiments respecting religion, and so jealous was he of its honour and purity, that, so far from conniving at any flaws in its character, he could not bear it should be suspected; and, I am persuaded, he would not, even for the immortality it proposes, have consented to admit one unfair or unsound argument in its defence.

While his extensive learning qualified him to try the merits of every evidence, his unbiassed integrity, and sacred veneration for truth, enabled him to pass an impartial sentence.

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As his testimony was honest, so it was disinterested. He had none of that literary pride and ambition which are a disgrace to the pursuit of truth, and lessen the credit of its champions. His profession debarred him from worldly emoluments and honours, and he aspired to no recompense, but that which flows from the nature of true religion, and the approbation of its Divine author. So that, if I were disposed to rest my faith on any human authority, it should be his.

I should regard the sanction of his decision as the next in credibility to inspiration itself, and almost entitled to implicit veneration. But this was what he never wanted; and he has so clearly and candidly represented the grounds of his own belief, that every person has an opportunity of judging for himself: and if there are any who, after such a discussion, can remain enemies or neuters, we must leave them to God and their own consciences, without entering into their hearts, or determining the motives by which they have been governed.

It must be acknowledged that revelation has met with many able and learned advocates, who have set the various evidence of it in the most striking points of view. Its internal excellence, and consistency with the divine perfections, have been clearly illustrated. The expediency of divine interposition has been fairly deduced from the errors and imperfections of philosophy. The propriety of the time of Christ's appearance has been proved from a concurrence of a multitude of circumstances; and the agreement betwixt reason and scripture has been fully ascertained: and many other arguments strongly presumptuous, though not decisive, in its favour, have furnished occasion for the display of much ingenious but unnecessary reasoning.

Let but the faithfulness of the sacred records be established, and the truth of those extraordinary facts which attested the divine mission of Christ be confirmed, and we may challenge the world to dispute the conclusions which are deducible from them.

The gospel he taught must be the oracle of truth, the rule of our faith and conduct, and the ground of our immortal hopes and expectations.

This important task was reserved for this learned author, and providence seems to have blessed him not only with talents and fidelity, but with an extent of life equal to the execution of it.

To vindicate the evangelical historians from ignorance, incapacity, and collusion; to fix the credit of the sacred records by the concurrent testimony of Jews and gentiles, scoffers,

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and apostates; to trace the progress of the church through several successive ages; and to show the regular and faithful transmission of the scriptures without innovation or corruption, were the great objects of his studies for many years: and such is the perspicuity with which he describes and illustrates the transactions of Christ's ministry, that he appears more like a contemporary with the apostles than an inhabitant of later ages.

If to this we add, that cloud of witnesses which he collected from all quarters, to give their sanction to the miracles, doctrine, moral sublimity, and wonderful effects of the christian religion, it must be allowed, that he has erected a monument to his great Master and himself, which shall last as long as the world endures.

As his writings justified and explained the leading facts of the New Testament, his character was a living pattern of its rules and precepts. His heart was full of the generous warmth of its benevolent spirit; but his sentiments were cool and dispassionate, the result of calm inquiry and steady conviction.

When he thought it his duty, and for the honour of revelation, to call in question common opinions, he did it with unaffected candour and modesty, and, at the same time, with that integrity and simplicity, which, if it did not bring over his adversary, never offended him. He was respectful without ceremony, friendly without officiousness, and obliging without mean compliances. He preserved a dignity of character without reserve, and united the acuteness of the critic with the manners of a gentleman and the spirit of a christian.

The goodness of his temper excited a prejudice in favour of his principles; and as his writings were free from acrimony, his life was clear of reproach.

On the whole, when I consider his ardour for truth, yet tenderness for error, his learning mixed with so much diffidence and humility, his zeal tempered with so much prudence, and his faith accompanied with so much benevolence; when I observe the simplicity of his deportment, his uniform and unaffected piety, his attachment to his Divine master, and goodwill to mankind, I cannot help saying, "This was the disciple whom Jesus loved."

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

LETTERS BETWEEN DR. WADDINGTON, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, AND MR. LARDNER.

Eton, near Windsor, Nov. 14, 1729.

Reverend Sir,

I HAVE received at this place your most agreeable present of a Vindication, &c. against Mr. Woolston, and do beg leave to return you my most sincere and hearty thanks for it: you have certainly took a very proper and christian way with him, and I wish it may have the designed effect upon him: I have no manner of objection to make against any one line in the book; you have pursued both him and his Jew very closely; and if they are capable of conviction, you seem to be the man whom God has raised up for that great service: I cannot say less of your excellent performance; and what I have said comes, I assure you, from the sincerity of my heart.

Will you then, dear Sir, give me leave, as sincerely, to take notice of a passage or two in your preface which as yet I cannot so well digest, if I take you right in them, and I am sure I have no intention to mistake you wilfully.

Page 4, you have these words, 'If by way of such a reply he 'means a reply without abusive, railing terms, or invoking the 'aid of the civil magistrate;' and a line or two after you oppose 'solid reasons and arguments' to 'pains and penalties:' Now these are passages that I own I cannot perfectly approve of: you seem in the first to put abusive, railing terms, upon the same foot with invoking the aid of the civil magistrate; and in the latter, to intimate as if pains and penalties had been demanded by somebody or other to be inflicted upon Mr. Woolston, to supply the place of solid reasons and arguments. If I am right in putting this interpretation upon your words, I must beg leave to say, that, in my poor opinion, there is no occasion for them; I don't know any one person of character, who, in writing against Mr. Woolston, has invoked the aids of the civil

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magistrate to inflict pains and penalties upon Mr. Woolston, for being an infidel, or writing against the christian religion; but only for writing against it in such a blasphemous, abusive, scandalous manner, as I think may very justly raise the indignation and resentment of every honest man, whether christian or not. The two bishops of London and St. David have expressly declared this in print: and I believe it is the sentiment of many more of that order in the church, if not of all, that (as you very well express it in the 11th page of your preface) 'it is the pleasure of Christ that men should not be compelled to receive 'his law by the punishments of this life, or the fear of them; 'but that they should be left to propose their doubts and objections——provided it be done in a grave, serious manner.' But give me leave, dear Sir, to ask you, with some concern, whether Mr. Woolston has proposed his doubts and difficulties in a grave, serious manner? and if you say he has not done it, as I believe you will, do not you seem to intimate yourself, by putting in that reserve, as if you thought the civil magistrate might punish him for not observing it; or at least, that there is nothing, in punishing him for the breach of all the laws of christian charity and common decency, contrary to the will and pleasure of Jesus Christ? This then is the difficulty that sticks with me in respect to these passages in your preface: and as I have very freely, and yet, I hope, in a very friendly manner, mentioned them to you, so I doubt not but you will, in the same free and kind way, endeavour to remove them; which will make me perfectly easy; for I am sorry to meet with any thing in your writings, (so truly serviceable to the christian religion,) that may give the least occasion of offence to the sincere lovers of Jesus Christ and his gospel. I am, with the utmost respect, esteem, and gratitude,

Reverend Sir,
Your affectionate
faithful friend,
EDWARD CHICHESTER.

To this Mr. Lardner answered as follows:

My Lord,

I HAVE received the favour of your very kind and friendly letter, for which I am greatly indebted to your Lordship. As your approbation of what I have written in the defence of christianity affords me the highest satisfaction, so it is no small concern to me that there has been any thing said in the preface

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which is offensive to a person of your Lordship's known judgment and integrity; who have also expressed so much kindness to me, beyond my desert or expectation.

I believe, (and think I may be positive,) that when I wrote those expressions, (preface, page 4.) I had no regard to a demand made by any one, of a punishment on Mr. Woolston for his writings. I only intended to disown, in plain terms, which might not be mistaken, the principles of persecution, which he had charged upon so many of his adversaries. As when I mentioned a reply without abusive terms, I had no reference to any reply written in that way; (for I have seen no such, nor has he complained of any thing of that nature, that I know of, besides his being called an infidel, whereas, he says he is a christian;) so, when I wished his conviction without pains and penalties, I had no reference to any demand made of them. But I do own, that, in the first paragraph of page 11, I had a reference to a demand, which I thought had been made for punishing him for his writings. And, I suppose, if he should be punished it will be for writing against christianity, and not for his manner of doing it.

I am far from thinking that Mr. Woolston has written in a grave and serious manner: and I have strongly expressed my dislike of his manner in the latter end of page 11, and page 12.

Your Lordship freely declares, he ought not to be punished for being an infidel, nor for writing at all against the christian religion; which appears to me a noble declaration. If the governors of the church and civil magistrates had all along acted up to this principle, I think, the christian religion had been before now well-nigh universal. But I have supposed it to be a consequence from this sentiment, that if men have an allowance to write against the christian religion, there must be also considerable indulgence as to the manner likewise. This has appeared to me a part of that meekness and forbearance, which the christian religion obliges us to; who are to reprove, rebuke, and exhort with all long-suffering. The proper punishment of a low, mean, indecent, scurrilous way of writing seems to be neglect, contempt, scorn, and general indignation. Your Lordship has observed (in my opinion) extremely well, that this way of writing is such as may justly raise the indignation and resentment of every honest man, whether christian or not. This punishment he has already had in part, and will probably have more and more, if he should go on in his rude and brutal way of writing. And if we leave all further punishment to Him, to whom vengeance belongs, I have thought it might be much for the honour of ourselves, and of our religion. But if he should be punished farther, the stream of resentment and indignation will turn; especially if the punishment should be severe; and it is likely, that a small punishment will not suffice to engage to silence, nor to an alteration of the manner of writing.

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I truly think, that the christians of this nation are at present under a great trial; and I heartily wish we may behave so under it, as may be most for the lasting honour of our religion. It seems to me much better for us, as christians, to err somewhat (if it be an error) on the side of tenderness and meekness, rather than on the side of severity; nothing having done the christian cause greater prejudice, than the severities practised by some who have borne the name of christian. It has seemed to me (as I have said) to be a consequence of permitting men to write against christianity, that we must also show indulgence toward the manner, in some measure. But no one is to be allowed to say any thing injurious to men's characters; this is properly a breach of the peace. I am persuaded, that no man has been more sensibly grieved and offended than myself, at the abusive treatment that has been given to men of the highest order, and greatest merit in the church. And if any thing of this kind has been said, cognizable by the laws, no man can complain of a just punishment.

I have, my Lord, freely represented my sentiments, which are submitted to your Lordship's consideration with the greatest humility and deference. I hope I have nothing more at heart, than the general interest of the christian religion. And if I have declared in favour of too great lenity, it has been purely because I have supposed it would be in the end most for the advantage of that good cause.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most obliged, most humble,
and obedient Servant,
N. LARDNER.

Nov. 22, 1729.

To which his Lordship answered:

Eton College, Nov. 25, 1729.

Reverend Sir,

I HAVE received yours of the 22d, and am very well satisfied with the explication you have been pleased to give me of your meaning in those passages in the 4th page of your preface, which, upon the first reading, seemed to me to have a more particular view than you now declare they had; and I can very readily believe what you now assert to be true, and should indeed beg your pardon for my mistake, (though it was by no means a wilful one,) if the candour that appears in every part of your letter did not tempt me to think you have granted it without my asking.

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I don't see that you and I are likely to differ much as to any other points touched upon in your letter; our general principles, with respect to the true method of propagating and defending our holy religion, are, I believe, the same; and I wish as heartily as you can do, that no other had ever been followed by ecclesiastical or civil governors; but still I am at a loss how to understand what you are pleased to say, 'That there must be likewise 'considerable indulgence allowed as to the manner of writing 'against the christian religion.' I am not sure whether, if Mr. Woolston heard this, he would not say, it is all the indulgence he desires; for he has declared, 'that he cannot write otherwise 'than he has done already;' and if for that reason, because he cannot write otherwise, he must be indulged in writing in his own way, there is no doubt but that he will go on in writing after such a manner, as you seem to think may justly raise the indignation and resentment of every honest man, whether christian or not; and for which I cannot, I own, think that bare contempt is a sufficient punishment; considering the great mischief such a way of writing must do, and daily does in the world: I am willing to indulge such writers as far as ever christian meekness and charity require me to go; but I would just beg leave to ask, what opinion you think St. Paul, or any other truly primitive christian, would have had, of any person writing in *those* days (and that while he still professed himself a christian) in such a manner as Mr. Woolston does in *these?* what do you imagine their conduct would have been? whether they would have carried the christian principles of meekness and tenderness so far as to have indulged him in such a manner of writing, in hopes of working his conviction in that way? It does not appear, by those instances we have in the epistles of the exercise of christian discipline in those days, that they were then indolent in matters of such consequence to the christian religion; nor do I think we are under any obligation to do so now, and therefore I should be unwilling to give any indulgence at all to 'such a manner' of writing, much less a 'consider-'able one,' as your words (considering the occasion on which they are used, and to which they must refer) seem to imply that we should. You, indeed, add afterwards, 'That no man is to be 'allowed to say any thing injurious to men's characters, and that 'if any thing of this kind has been said, no man can complain 'of a just punishment, for this is properly a breach of the peace.' Now no one who has read Mr. Woolston's books or prefaces can surely have the least doubt upon his mind, but that he is in this respect guilty to the highest degree; and therefore, in your opinion, deserves a just punishment; but besides this, I think a sincere christian may and ought to go farther; he may very justly be concerned for the honour of his blessed Saviour, and have some real stirrings in his breast for preventing such abuses of that holy name as have no sort of argument in them to persuade and convince; cannot be the result of any fair reasoning against the chris-

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tian religion, but must necessarily proceed from a spirit fit to be abhorred by all mankind, and can never be a humane way of 'propagating truth,' whether for or against christianity. These, dear Sir, are my free and impartial thoughts upon that particular passage in your letter, which mentions the 'considerable indulgence' that ought to be made as to the 'manner' of writing against christianity. And I hope, upon the whole, that you and I don't differ so much even on this point, as we may seem to do. What punishments are proper for such a manner of writing, or whether it may be looked upon as a breach of the peace in a 'christian society,' and so by your own allowance punishable by the civil magistrate, are points I shall not enter into now, any farther than to declare freely my opinion, that such a writer ought to be punished by the ecclesiastical censure of the church, and declared excommunicate by a proper authority; and if he could be farther restrained from writing on in the same 'outrageous manner' by the civil magistrate, (with a liberty still to use reason instead of railing,) I don't see how this could be any prejudice to the christian religion, any contradiction to the true forbearing spirit of it, any injury to the just liberties of mankind, or any injustice to the writer himself, but in my poor opinion the greatest kindness that could possibly be done him. I heartily thank you, good Sir, for the present you have made me of your additions to your former excellent book, which, I am sure, I shall read with a great deal of profit, as well as pleasure, as soon as they come to hand. You will be so good as to excuse me in not transcribing this long letter, which indeed (considering the many corrections in it) I should do, but such compliments between friends will, I hope, not be expected, nor am I sure if I should attempt it, not to commit again as many faults as I mend. I am, therefore, without any more ceremony, and with the greatest sincerity and respect,

Reverend Sir,
Your very faithful Friend,
and humble Servant,
EDWARD CHICHESTER.

Mr. Lardner answered:

December 2, 1729.

My Lord,

I HAVE the favour of your letter of the 25th of November, which, I hope, your Lordship will permit me to say, is a pattern of condescension and goodness; nor can I help esteeming it an honour to me, that my sentiments are so agreeable to that truly christian spirit expressed in your letter.

The reasons of my saying that it was a consequence of permitting men to write against the christian religion, 'that there

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'must be likewise considerable indulgence as to the manner of writing,' were chiefly these: that the permission of writing against the christian religion contained in it so much, that the 'manner of it also should be borne with, in a considerable degree: and secondly, the cause of those who oppose christianity is so bad and desperate, that they who argue against it are naturally, and almost necessarily, led into an unfair way of arguing. If men are so weak, or so wicked, as to write against christianity, I expect to see them make use of some bad arts to support their cause. The fact has been agreeable to this supposition. The writers in the defence of christianity have actually exceeded their adversaries, not only in their arguments and reasons, but also in the manner of arguing and reasoning.

If what Mr. Woolston says, that he 'cannot write otherwise,' be true, it farther confirms this supposition, and is a shameful truth for him and his cause, publicly acknowledged by himself.

To your Lordship's question, What I think would have been the conduct of St. Paul, and other primitive christians, in a like case? I readily answer, my Lord, that, I believe, they would have pronounced a sentence of excommunication, and it would, in my opinion, be justly pronounced upon Mr. Woolston. The sentiments advanced by him, and his manner of defending them, do both together, and each of them singly, deserve that sentence.

Mr. Woolston has writ in a most abusive and injurious manner to men's characters, but I did not know that he had been prosecuted for it, though I thought he well deserved it.

I have also the honour to agree with your Lordship, that we ought to have a very great zeal and concern for the honour of our blessed Saviour, and an abhorrence of all ways, 'not humane, of propagating truth, whether for or against' christianity; or that have a plain tendency to destroy a sense of religion and virtue in men's minds.

I conclude with humbly acknowledging your Lordship's goodness in communicating to me your sentiments upon these matters in so kind and friendly a manner.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's
most obliged, most humble,
and obedient Servant,
N. LARDNER.

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APPENDIX, No. II.

LETTER OF MR. LARDNER TO LORD BARRINGTON.

March 7, 1729-30.

My Lord,

I AM very sensible of the honour done me by your Lordship's approbation of the "Vindication of three Miracles, &c." and have a great deal of reason to rejoice, that the manner in which the argument for free writing is managed in the preface is not unacceptable to your Lordship; for, as to the principles themselves, I had no doubt but they would be agreeable to your judgment, however they may be suspected or disliked by others, who have less studied the christian doctrine; a true christian may suffer on account of his religion, but he can never make others suffer on account of theirs. Whatever may be the consequence of it, we are not to support christianity by force. Our blessed Saviour, rather than make use of compulsion, would choose to be without a follower. John vi. 67.

I will briefly go over all your Lordship's difficulties relating to the death of Jairus's daughter, and then offer some considerations in favour of the common opinion.

I. 'There is not the conclusive evidence that Jairus's daughter was dead, &c.' The evidence is conclusive and satisfactory here. If they might be mistaken in her case, so they might in Lazarus, when buried: and if buried, while in a deliquium or sleep, he might have continued in it several days.

II. Σωθήσεται in the text is a general word. It does not directly express healing barely, but that she should do well, let the case be never so desperate; and this was as much as it became our Saviour to say at that time.

III. Our Saviour, your Lordship knows very well, did not speak in Greek, but in Syriac. Probably he used one and the same word, when he said "Lazarus sleeps," and the "maid sleeps." That the evangelists have used καθεύδω in one place, and κοιμάομαι in another, is of no manner of importance; since the disciples understood him to speak of natural sleep, when he said, "Lazarus sleepeth."

IV. The saying, she was "not dead," as well as she "sleeps," does not appear to strengthen the assertion. It is all one and the same thing. I think we ought to make no scruples here, now we have the story of Lazarus, in which it is related, First, that Christ said, this sickness is not "unto death," and yet he did die: and then "our friend Lazarus sleeps:" meaning at the same time, that Lazarus was dead, and he would raise

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him up. As when he said Lazarus's sickness "was not unto death," he must be understood of a final death; so when he said, the maid "is not dead," he must be understood also of a final death, since all her friends knew she was dead.

V. The matter of the fifth objection serves, in my opinion, to show the propriety of the common interpretation. "Be gone," for there is no occasion for you; the maid is not to be buried, she is not finally dead, but will be raised up, as out of a sleep; therefore your lamentations are not seasonable.

VI. The last objection is taken from the circumstances. I perceive no impropriety at all in the action of taking her by the hand, supposing her to be dead; nor in the ordering 'meat to be set before her.' This last indeed would have been very improper in the case of the two other persons raised to life, who were abroad, but she was at home. Their life, health, and strength, would also appear sufficiently in walking home before the company present, with all the vigour and agility becoming men. But as this other case was in a woman, who cannot with decency show strength and vigour by leaping, or agility in walking, and as she was at home, eating was a very proper sign to be given of her health and strength. Moreover, as her resurrection was performed before so few witnesses, it was very proper to have some more near, close witnesses of her life and health; and such the servants and friends of the family would be, when they immediately saw her eat.

The considerations whereby I would support the common opinion are these:

I. If Jairus's daughter was not dead, Matthew and Mark have given no instance of a resurrection to life by our Saviour; which would be very strange, since there were several, and they appear to know there were. Another consequence is this: If it be supposed, that Jairus's daughter was not dead, 'tis impossible to prove to an infidel, that the other two persons were dead. Her friends supposed her dead; Matt. ix. 24. When Jesus said, the maid was not dead, "they laughed him to scorn:" Mark v. 40, "And they laughed him to scorn." Luke viii. 53, "They laughed him to scorn, knowing she was dead." We must take the cases of those Christ healed or raised as they are brought to him, or represented to him by those who may be reasonably supposed to know what their cases are; or we overthrow all evidence, and weaken the credit, not of this only, but of all the other miracles of our Saviour.

II. Matthew and Mark thought she was dead, and that this miracle was a resurrection to life, or else they would have related some other miracle of this sort.

III. All the three evangelists represent her dead. Matt. ix. 18, 24; Mark v. 35, 40; Luke viii. 49, 53.

IV. The common paraphrase of, "the maid is not dead," &c. that is, she is not finally dead, so dead as to be buried, but shall

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be raised, as out of a sleep, is very agreeable to our Saviour's way of speaking upon some other occasions; and is extremely suitable to silence those weepers and lamenters to whom he spoke.

I intended to have concluded here: but, upon a review, I fear your Lordship may think I have not paid a sufficient regard to the first circumstance of the sixth objection, viz. 'that our Saviour takes her by the hand, before he says, "Arise!" which is not an action suited to raise one absolutely incapable to help herself.' There is no more assistance given to a lame man than to a dead man by taking him by the hand to enable him to walk alone. No action or word is used in working a miracle, because there is any virtue in the word spoken, or the action used, of taking hold by the hand, or in any other action assignable. All the virtue is owing to the infinite, almighty power of God alone, who graciously performs the work, when those words are spoken, or those actions are done by his servants, by his orders.

Again, 'That our Saviour takes her by the hand, before he says, Arise!' Perhaps, the taking by the hand, and the word arise, were simultaneous, or the word arise was spoken immediately after Christ took her by the hand, as soon after as could be. But I shall show presently (as I apprehend) the propriety of the different method taken by Christ and Peter; though it is by no means necessary, that we should be able to assign the precise propriety of every word or action recorded in the history of these matters. It seems to me, not becoming Peter to make use of any action, that looked like helping a man perfectly impotent, (such as taking him by the hand,) before he first pronounced these or the like words: "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, arise and walk:" but after that it was proper enough for him to use an action, which is a sort of token of kindness, and take him by the hand.

When Peter raised Dorcas, he first went to prayer, and did not take her by the hand till after she had opened her eyes, and sat up; that is, was perfectly restored to health and life by the Divine Being. It is too arrogant for an apostle, in the case especially of a dead person, to use an action that has an appearance of giving help, before he has been at prayer, or made some other address to God. But in our blessed Saviour it was highly proper and becoming, to take by the hand, in a kind and friendly manner, even a dead person, as if she were alive. Though no one would reasonably say there was any impropriety in Christ's saying, Arise! to Jairus's daughter, before he took her by the hand, yet there does appear to me a peculiar propriety in our blessed Saviour's taking by the hand this dead young woman, before, or at the very instant, that he said, Arise!

I hope there is no reason for me to add a caution, that it ought not to be objected to me, that there was no such action used in

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the case of Lazarus, or the young man at Nain; because the circumstances of these cases are perfectly different. It would have been the highest impropriety for Christ to take Lazarus by the hand, whether he had himself gone into Lazarus's sepulchre, or Lazarus had been first brought up to him; it would also have been highly improper for our Saviour to have gone so near the young man at Nain, as to be able to touch him. He did as much as was proper before he raised him, in ordering the bier to stop. But as the young woman was laid in her chamber, and Jesus was brought thither, near to her, his taking her by the hand is highly proper; it is one of the beauties and proprieties of our Lord's actions in this story, which ought not to have been omitted, and with which I am now much delighted, and heartily thank your Lordship for helping me to it. It demonstrates the plenitude of divine power, and divine goodness, that were and are in him. It is an affecting, endearing specimen of the love and friendship of the Son of God, and in him of God himself, to poor mortal men.

But whether I am in the right or not in those thoughts just mentioned, with which I now please myself, (but, however, do not think them of any great importance,) I apprehend I may except against an interpretation of a single phrase or expression, which is inconsistent with the rest of the narration. And I own, that I think this way of interpreting scriptures would lead us into innumerable mistakes. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble and obedient servant,

N. LARDNER.

APPENDIX, No. III.

LETTER SENT BY MR. LARDNER TO MR. LA ROCHE.

Sir,

THE exact care with which you read the books of the New Testament, appears not only in the judicious remarks and observations, which I have received from you, but also in the difficulties which you sometimes propose to me. As for the difficulty mentioned in your last, concerning the omission of the history of our Saviour's ascension, in the gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, though related by St. Mark, xvi. 19, and St. Luke, xxiii. 51, I might say, in behalf of St. John, that he had read St. Mark's

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and St. Luke's gospels: and that one main view he had in writing was, to put down those things which the other evangelists had not mentioned: but I do not insist upon this. This omission may be accounted for by other considerations, which will justify St. Matthew as well as him.

'I. The design of all the evangelists in their gospels, was to 'write such a history of Jesus, as would prove him to be the 'Christ.' That this was their design appears from the gospels themselves. And St. John has expressly said, that it was his, chap. xx. 31, "These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God."

'II. That Jesus is the Christ, is sufficiently shown by his 'miracles, the extraordinary appearances from heaven in his 'favour during the course of his ministry, and by his resurrec-'tion from the dead, recorded by all the evangelists.' Our Saviour had himself put the truth of his mission upon his resurrection, as a decisive proof of his claim; Matt. xvi. 4, compared with Luke xi. 29, 30; John ii. 18—22. And St. Paul says, Rom. i. 4, that Jesus was "declared to be the Son of God by the resurrection from the dead." See also Acts xvii. 3.

'III. By our Saviour's resurrection is always intended a resur-'rection to an endless life, without dying any more; and his 'ascension to the Father follows thereupon;' unless this had been the case, his resurrection, without any mention of his ascension, could not have been made (as it often is) the principal article of the christian doctrine. "To be a witness with us of his resurrection," Acts i. 22.—"With great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus," chap. iv. 33.—"If thou shalt confess with thy mouth, and believe in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved," Rom. x. 9. See also Acts xxvi. 23; 2 Tim. ii. 8.

But I will detain you a little longer upon this head, to show both these things particularly.

'I. By our Saviour's resurrection is always intended a resur-'rection to an endless life, without dying any more.' This is sometimes expressed; when not expressed, it is implied. "Whom God has raised up, (saith St. Peter,) having loosed the pains of death, because it was not possible that he should be holden of it," Acts ii. 24.—St. Paul at Antioch, in Pisidia: "And as concerning that he raised him from the dead, now no more to return to corruption," Acts xiii. 34.—"Knowing that Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him," Rom. vi. 9.

When not expressed, it is implied. St. Peter, in his discourses to Cornelius, makes no express mention of Christ's ascension, but preaches only his resurrection, as a proof that he was made Lord of all. Acts x. 40, 42. And the same apostle saith, that "God has begotten us again to a lively hope, by the resurrection of Christ from the dead," &c. 1 Pet. i. 3, 4. St. Paul often

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argues in the same manner. At Athens he proves a future judgment by Christ, from his resurrection. Acts xvii. 31. And, Rom. xiv. 9, "To this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the quick and dead." And 1 Cor. xv. 12, and 20. Once more, 2 Cor. iv. 14.

I might likewise show this to be agreeable to the style of the evangelists, in their gospels. When our Lord, in St. Matt. xii. 40, publicly foretells his resurrection, saying, "As Jonas," &c. it is implied that he should be no longer in the state of the dead. This is implied also in what he said to the disciples, Matt. xxvi. 32. It would be tedious to refer you to all the passages to this purpose in our Saviour's last discourses with his disciples, recorded by St. John: "I go to prepare a place for you," John xiv. 2. "Because I live, ye shall live also," ver. 19.

'II. Our Lord's ascension to heaven was also supposed to 'follow upon his resurrection.' This is evident from John xx. 17, when he says to Mary Magdalen, "Touch me not! for I am not yet ascended to my Father," or, I do not immediately ascend to my Father. It seems, she supposed that, being risen, he would presently ascend to heaven: he therefore assures her, that there would be other opportunities for her to converse with him, and to examine whether it was really he himself, or not; and for him to communicate to her, or others, what was needful they should be further informed of by him: "But go to my brethren, and say unto them, that I ascend to my Father, &c.;" which words show, that, "I am about to ascend" to God, or, "I am risen," are in a manner equivalent terms. This is also evident from Acts ii. 23—35, particularly ver. 32, 33. God's "raising him up," was an assurance that he was also exalted, or very soon to be exalted.

'III. There was no absolute necessity, that the disciples, or 'any other persons, should see Christ ascend, or leave this 'earth.' For his exaltation to power was fully ascertained to the disciples by his resurreetion, (of which they had distinct proof,) and by the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them: to others, by the testimony of the disciples, concerning his resurrection, by the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them, and by the miracles they performed.

'IV. But though there was no necessity of it, yet there was 'great wisdom and goodness in our Saviour's granting the 'disciples a sight of his ascension from this earth;' as hinted by St. Mark and St. Luke in their gospels, and somewhat more particularly related, Acts i. 9—11;—because it was of use to confirm them, and to encourage them in the difficult work they were soon to enter upon. It is also of use the more to satisfy us, and all in after times, of the truth of his resurrection, and exaltation, though there are other things sufficient without it.

Upon the whole, it seems to me, that the evangelists have acted wisely, and as the case required, in insisting chiefly on

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more important matters, than the sight the disciples had of Christ's ascension from this earth. And the conclusion of St. Matthew's gospel (to say nothing more of St. John's) after the evidences of our Saviour's resurrection, is a very proper conclusion of a history of Jesus, written to prove that he was the Christ. "And Jesus came, and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

I am your's, &c.

N. LARDNER.

APPENDIX, No. IV.

LETTER FROM DR. MORGAN TO MR. LARDNER, WITH HIS ANSWER.

Reverend Sir,

I HAVE lately read your Credibility of the Gospel History, with a great deal of pleasure and profit: I observe in it a spirit of candour and impartiality, not very common in works of this kind; and I think you have deserved very well of the learned world, by removing several considerable difficulties, which might seem to affect the evangelical history. It is a great unhappiness to your friends in general, and to me as much as any man, that, by the nature of your disorder, we are deprived of the advantages we might otherwise reap from your conversation.

From what I had heard of your work, and of your known character, I had a curiosity to see what you had offered towards removing the difficulties concerning the historical and chronological account of Christ's birth and baptism, as related by the two evangelists Matthew and Luke, or rather of St. Luke himself; for, as the matter now stands, the whole difficulty rests upon him, who places the birth of our Saviour in the days of Herod the Great, and at the time of the first taxation of the whole country of Judea by Cyrenius, and this by a decree issued out under the sole authority of Augustus, without the least mention of Herod's name; and with this farther chronological character, that Jesus was full thirty in the fifteenth of Tiberius. I must own that this has always appeared an insurmountable difficulty to me, and that I am not yet able to get rid of it, after

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a careful consideration of all that you have observed and offered concerning it.

That any taxation, enrolment, or census should be laid upon the whole country by the sole authority of Augustus, while Herod was still king of Judea, and in high favour with the emperor, seems to me incredible; and I think no such instance can be given, or any thing parallel to it, with respect to any country where the Romans owned a king.

The thing here speaks itself, and no man could doubt of it if he had not some prejudice or prepossession to the contrary. But our chronologers, in this point, have been forced to offer violence to Josephus, and to give up all his historical and chronological characters relating to the death of Herod the Great, and the nativity of Christ, though they are infinitely fond, at the same time, of maintaining the authority of Josephus in most other cases.

But what I lay the main stress on here is, the authority of Eusebius, towards the middle of the fourth century; who maintains that the taxation recorded by Luke, was the very same which was laid by Augustus upon the whole country of Judea after the banishment of Archelaus. And this is a decisive point, and even a demonstration with me, so far as history can be reduced to any thing of certainty, that Luke, Josephus, and Eusebius were in the right; and that there was no gospel extant in the time of Eusebius, and owned as authentic by the catholics, which placed the birth of our Saviour in the days of Herod. For it is not to be imagined that Eusebius should contradict the genuine, authentic, and recognized gospels of his own times, or that he should make the Roman census laid upon Judea, as mentioned by Josephus and Luke, to have been the same, if this had been repugnant to the scriptures of that age.

The first chapter of Luke, from verse 4 to the end, is plainly a parenthesis, as it interrupts the course of the story in order of time, and besides, contains, as I think, several plain marks of ignorance, superstition, and forgery: for this parenthesis seems to have been taken from the pseudo Matthew, with some farther additions and improvements, which made the matter look still worse.

In Luke i. ver. 28—33, the angel Gabriel is introduced as appearing to the Virgin Mary, to assure her, by a revelation from God, that she should conceive, without the knowledge of man, in a miraculous way; and that the child born of her, should be that great Prince or temporal Deliverer who had been foretold by the prophets. "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David. And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end." Ver. 32, 33.

This, one would think, should have been a sufficient de-

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claration from God, to put Joseph and Mary out of doubt, that the child was to restore the kingdom to Israel, and settle an everlasting dominion in the house of David, as God had declared by the mouths of all the prophets; and as the whole nation had ever understood them, and founded their expectations upon them. And yet, afterwards, when Zacharias the father of John, Simeon, and Anna the prophetess, came to prophesy the same thing, Mary was very much astonished, she "kept all these sayings, and pondered them in her heart," but knew not what it would come to, or what such predictions should mean, though she had been let into the secret by a revelation from God before her conception. Matthew mentions nothing of this revelation from God to Mary by the angel, but places the whole credit of the story upon Joseph's dream, that which his spouse had declared to him, or should have declared, was true.

There is another remarkable difference between the pseudo Matthew, and Luke's annotator, which seems to discredit the whole story of Christ's being born under Herod. Matthew tells us, that soon after the nativity of our Saviour, Joseph, being warned of God in a dream, took the young child and his mother, and fled into Egypt till the death of Herod. But his emendator in Luke assures us, that after the parents had been at Jerusalem, and performed the ceremony of purification in the temple, "They returned again to Galilee, to their own city Nazareth," Luke, chap. ii. 39, without the least mention of Herod, or any apprehensions they were under from him.

The genealogy of Christ in Matthew and Luke, supposes plainly that he had some natural descent, and that he was, as St. Paul affirms, according to the flesh, of the seed of Abraham, and descended from the fathers of the Jewish nation. But the story of our pseudo Matthew cannot possibly be reconciled with this.

Our modern chronologers, in attempting to justify this piece of false history, have been obliged to offer violence to Josephus, and give up all his historical and chronological characters with respect to the reign and death of Herod. And had it not been for such a prejudice, they could have found no difficulty at all in Josephus as to this matter. That he was made or declared king of Judea in the 5th Julian year, or in the year of the Julian period 4673, and that he died in the 42d Julian year, or the year of the Julian period 4710, would have been thought very plain from Josephus, had there been nothing else in the case. In the Julian year 42, March 13th, about three in the morning, there happened a great and remarkable eclipse of the moon, which is mentioned by Josephus as falling out a little before the pascha, when Herod's life was despaired of; and he died that year before the feast. This eclipse happened on the full moon before the pascha; and besides this, there is no other eclipse of the moon which can stand in competition with it,

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within the time that Herod's death may be disputed; I mean no eclipse visible in Judea, or within the observation of that country.

You may here observe, that this supposed revelation from God to Mary by the angel Gabriel, was the declaration of a thing false in fact, though such hope or expectation had been deeply rooted and confirmed in the whole Jewish nation for near one thousand years, or from the time of the revolt of the ten tribes. For after this, all their prophets had promised and foretold the restoration of the kingdom to the house of David, and the perpetual duration of it in that family after such a restoration.

But Christ himself always disclaimed this Messiahship, and declined all the overtures made to him about it; and he would not be received and owned as that branch from the root of Jesse, who was to restore the nation to their ancient liberties and independency, as had been declared to them from the mouths of all the prophets.

When our Saviour came upon his trial before Pilate, he renounced this Jewish character of the Messias, and declared that he had never set up any such pretensions, that he had made no such claim among the Jews, and that though this was what they charged him with, and he must die for it, yet they could bring no proof of it.

But surely, had the revelation of the angel to Mary, and the prophecies of Zacharias, Simeon, and Anna, been now produced and proved, the evidence must have been very strong against him, and he had been justly put to death as an impostor and false prophet.

I know not what you may think of me, Sir, for the freedom of these observations; but I can assure you, that I am not at all interested in the matter, and therefore should not be sorry if the quite contrary should happen to be true.

You may keep this correspondence as deep a secret as you please, for I shall discover the subject of it to nobody without your leave.

I thought I could not talk to any man of greater impartiality and integrity, or who might be more likely to remove my scruples; and therefore I shall beg leave to subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your most sincere friend,

and humble Servant,

T. MORGAN.

May 10th, 1735.

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Mr. Lardner answered:

Hoxton Square, June 17th, 1735.

Sir,

I AM honoured with your letter of the 10th of May. It is a great satisfaction to me, that the Credibility, &c. has been so far approved by a person of your learning and acuteness. I know, that I did not willingly dissemble, or lessen any objections against the Evangelical History; and was in hopes I had removed them to the satisfaction of the attentive and candid, who will make but just allowances for the loss of ancient writings.

I shall offer a few things in answer to your letter, with a design of giving farther satisfaction, or receiving farther light myself.

You say, 'that any taxation, enrolment, or census should 'be laid upon the whole country, by the sole authority of 'Augustus, while Herod was king of Judea, and in high favour 'with the emperor, seems incredible.' I apprehend that this ought not to be thought incredible, considering the few remaining accounts of the treatment of dependent princes, or provinces. You indeed put it, 'in high favour:' but I have plainly shown, that Herod was for some time under the displeasure of Augustus. And it is evident from Josephus himself, that there was an oath exacted, and an enrolment made, at the latter end of the reign of Herod; an affair that answers very well to that mentioned by St. Luke.

But you say, the 'main thing is the authority of Eusebius.' This ought not to be so. For it is not reasonable to suppose that Eusebius was fully master of the state of every province of the Roman empire, almost three hundred years before his own birth, scarce of any one. A learned Englishman might be mistaken about the time of some governor of Jamaica, or even of Ireland, who had lived two or three hundred years ago. And it is likewise possible, that Eusebius, though honest in the main, might have some partiality for the evangelical history. Therefore he applied that passage, which relates to the taxation after the removal of Archelaus, to the enrolment in St. Luke; that is, he was willing to have St. Luke's history confirmed by a passage of Josephus, which makes express mention of Cyrenius: and therefore he took that, relating to Archelaus or the time after his removal; but very injudiciously, to say nothing worse. For Eusebius, in that very chapter, places the birth of Christ in the 28th year of Augustus, after the conquest of Egypt, and the death of Antony. And according to all our gospels, Jesus must have been born in the time of Herod, or at least before the removal of Archelaus: how otherwise could he have been crucified under Pontius Pilate, after a ministry of

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some years, which ministry could not begin till he was thirty years complete, or in his thirtieth year?

You think it incredible, that there should be a taxing in all Judea, in the time of Herod the Great. But how should there be such a one afterwards? when the land of Israel was divided; part made a province, part remaining under the government of Herod the tetrarch, and his brother Philip. And if the taxation, after the removal of Archelaus, affected the territories of Herod the tetrarch, you allow taxations of dependent princes. But indeed that census made by Cyrenius after the removal of Archelaus was not universal, (for all the land of Israel,) nor would it have brought Joseph and Mary from Nazareth to Bethlehem.

I see no good reason to call all the latter part of the first chapter of Luke a parenthesis; it is a part of his history, and is quoted by Justin Martyr, and other writers of the second century. Mary might keep some things and ponder them, and be surprised, though she had before had general intimations of them. Luke ii. 19, is one of these places, where she is said to *ponder*, and with good reason. The song of the angels, which breathes nothing but peace and good-will, the mean circumstances of herself and her son at that time, might well lead her to serious meditation. Again, ver. 33, Joseph and Mary had reason to marvel, when Simeon spoke of the nature and extent of this benefit, and went on also to hint the disgraces and sufferings of Jesus. Nor are these things contrary to those related in the first chapter, but only some farther explications of things there spoken by the same spirit, for the instruction of Joseph and Mary, and the forming them to a becoming temper and conduct. For, chap. i. ver. 75, the design of this blessing now vouchsafed, is said to be, that we "might serve God in holiness and righteousness."

In all the gospels Jesus is the king of Israel, and the son of David. He no where disclaims these characters, though he was not such a prince as some fondly expected and imagined, and others maliciously charged him to be. Matt. xxi. 15. There were many at the temple, who said, "Hosanna to the Son of David;" whom he justifies, though the Pharisees were displeased. Matt. xxii. 42, &c. he speaks of the Messiah as David's Son and Lord, so as to claim those characters to himself.

Though Luke says nothing of the journey into Egypt, it may have been performed according to the account in Matthew. The words of Luke amount to no more than an omission of that affair, without denying it to have been done. Such omissions are common in the evangelists. Don't you, Sir, plainly perceive many things related in St. John's Gospel, between the baptism of Jesus, and the time when the other evangelists begin their history of our Lord's public ministry?

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In my Appendix it is largely shown that Herod died in the Julian year 42, or 43; I have not determined which; though I suppose the arguments there proposed appear strongest for the year 42. But the matter is of no great consequence, which of those two years be right.

St. Luke's words concerning Cyrenius, ought, by no means, to incline us to think, that he meant the census made in Judea after the removal of Archelaus, but rather the contrary. These words are a parenthesis, and you know, Sir, that they admit of various senses. Whatever is the sense of that parenthesis, it is probable that the design of it is, to distinguish the enrolment there mentioned, from that made after the removal of Archelaus.

These things I submit to your consideration. I enlarge no farther upon them to a person of your learning and judgment.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

N. LARDNER.

APPENDIX, No. V.

REMARKS UPON SOME DIFFICULTIES CONCERNING THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

AS to the excellence and usefulness of the rules of christianity, several strong objections have been made. The substance of them is as followeth.

Obj. In the gospel there are many excellent precepts; but since they are the effect of heavenly inspiration, should not they have been rather supported with short and clear reasons, than delivered in the way of authority?

Ans. I. It cannot be improper for a person who has a heavenly inspiration, or divine commission, to speak sometimes, or even often, in the way of authority.

II. When our Saviour delivers precepts in the way of authority, the fitness of so doing may be perceived. Particularly, this is observable in the 5th chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, where he represents the design of his commission, and the nature of his doctrine. The Jews expected not a reformation under the Messiah, but great earthly advantages and great sensual indulgences. He therefore says, Matt. v. 17, "Think not, that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." The design of my commission is not to abrogate or weaken, but rather to confirm, strengthen,

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and enlarge the moral precepts and obligations contained in, or taught by, the law and the prophets. Then, at ver." 21, " Ye have heard that it has been said of them of old time, (it should be rendered to the ancients, ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις,) " Thou shalt not kill." This is the sixth commandment, delivered by divine authority in the law of Moses, forbidding in express words actual murder only. And it is likely, that many of the Pharisees taught, that forbearing the sin expressly forbidden in the law was sufficient. When, therefore, Christ taught the restraint or moderation of anger, as a necessary duty, and as a completing, fulfilling, or enlarging that law; was it not fit to speak in the way of authority, as a divine teacher, furnished with a commission from heaven, as he does, ver. 29; " But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause," and what follows. This observation ought to be applied to the other precepts of the law of Moses, afterwards insisted on, and in a like manner fulfilled by our Saviour.

III. The laws or precepts of Christ being in themselves all reasonable, need not to be demonstrated. When once they are proposed with authority, the mind assents to them immediately; they have an internal and manifest reasonableness and equity. Is not this evident in that rule, Matt. vi. 12, " Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them?" The reasonableness of all Christ's other precepts is alike evident.

IV. Nevertheless Christ does reason sometimes, and gives such short and clear reasons as the objector requires. He heaps up reasons in a concise manner against solicitude or anxiety. Matt. vi. 25—34; and Luke xii. 15, he forbids covetousness in these words: " Take heed, and beware of covetousness:" and then adds that excellent reason, " For a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth:" and proceeds likewise to confirm and illustrate his doctrine by a parable. And in a like manner often. Thus when, Matt. v. 33, he improves or fulfils the precept or prohibition of the law, which says, " Thou shalt not forswear thyself," and forbids swearing at all, that is, in common conversation, he argues, and by reason shows, the folly and wickedness of those mincing oaths which were used by the Jews, who scrupled using the name of God expressly, ver. 33—37. Ver. 34, " But I say unto you, Swear not at all, neither by heaven, FOR it is God's throne, nor by the earth, FOR it is his foot-stool;" and what follows: giving a reason against every one of those oaths, and showing that they were each one of them equivalent to swearing by the name of God: and, then, lastly, shows the wickedness of all common swearing in ordinary conversation, ver. 37, " But let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay; FOR whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." This is the design of all the context.

Obj. It is farther urged, that many things are forbidden in

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the most strict and severe manner, which are innocent, indifferent, or however not directly criminal. Thus, calling Fool, and Raca, are offences against which the judgment of hell-fire are denounced. Looking on a woman and lusting after her are equally culpable with committing adultery. Is the venereal act more criminal than any other? Is it not equally natural and necessary? Can we forbear liking an agreeable object?

Ans. In the particulars first mentioned, Christ only forbids that anger, which is really evil and unreasonable; and those injurious and contemptuous expressions or names, which are really improper and unbecoming, and which we ought not to give each other at all, or not without very good and sufficient reason. And then these, or somewhat like them, may be used without contracting guilt. So St. Paul says, 1 Cor. xv. 36, "Thou fool:" and Christ says, Luke xiii. 32, "Tell that fox." However, it may be observed, that the two words forbid by Christ, are reckoned by commentators to be expressive of the utmost contempt; and therefore are not to be indulged by us.

As to what concerns the thing next mentioned, the objector proceeds too fast. The original word used by Christ for WOMAN, and the context, and every expression there made use of, shows that our Lord is speaking of a married woman; and the obvious literal sense of the words is this; 'That whosoever casts an eye upon a married woman, so as to desire' to have venereal commerce with her, 'has committed adultery with her already 'in his heart.' And is not this self-evident? Have not all mankind, that have been civilized, esteemed adultery a sin, or injurious? and if any action be criminal, the intention to do it is also criminal; and men who indulge criminal designs and intentions, must be guilty in the sight of God; for God, who is the governor of the world, and particularly of rational and intelligent agents, is judge of thoughts as well as actions. Civil magistrates can judge only of words and actions; but God can and does judge thoughts. All these things are evident beyond dispute. And no wise and good man, but, when he knows a woman is married, casts off his eye from her, or suffers not concupiscence to arise, and if it does, checks and condemns it; and every man ought to do so.

Obj. How impracticable and intolerable are some other precepts? such as these, "Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. If any man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also."

Ans. I. These precepts relate to small matters.

II. They are hyperbolical and proverbial expressions, and not to be explained or understood literally. That they are so, is evident. 'Tis said, John xviii. 22, "And when he had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by, struck Jesus with the palm of his hand." But our Lord does not offer himself to receive another blow. On the contrary, he remonstrates against

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the injury done him; ver. 23, "Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?" And St. Paul directs, 2 Thess. iii. 10, "We command you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat:" which sufficiently shows, that christians need not be imposed upon, though Christ has said, "Give to every one that asketh thee;" and St. Paul has earnestly taught diligence in the two epistles to the Thessalonians, as well as in other places.

Obj. And are we not forbidden to take thought for the morrow?

Ans. The precept is, Μη μεριμνατε; be not anxious or solicitous; or, be not anxiously thoughtful, or careful;—which is a reasonable precept.

Obj. In order to persuade to an unresisting submission and subjection to governments of the most cruel and absolute kind, is not the doctrine of the New Testament urged and pleaded?

Ans. St. Paul's directions, Rom. xiii. and St. Peter's 1st Ep. ii. 13, are very reasonable. There were some Jews at that time, whom christians were in danger of following, who refused obedience to heathen magistrates, especially to their inferior governors and officers. The apostles therefore charge their converts to be obedient to magistrates of every rank. And, as magistracy is necessary, and very useful, obedience thereto is very reasonable, and submission must be earnestly recommended. The apostles' instructions upon this head afford no support to arguments for unresisting submission to cruel and absolute governments, for their exhortations are founded in the benefit of government. St. Paul says, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers—for rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil—for he is the minister of God to thee for good—for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil."—St. Peter: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well." And it appears from the history in the New Testament, that the christians had a benefit from the Roman magistracy at that time; otherwise they would have been destroyed by the rudeness of the common people, and the Jewish malice. But yet, that some christians were in danger of pernicious notions of liberty, like the Jews of that time, is evident from what follows in the forecited context of St. Peter: "As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness," ver. 16.—St. Paul writes, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, that "prayers should be made for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty;" or that we may, without disturbance, profess the principles of true religion, and practise the several branches of piety

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and virtue. And certainly, if christians desire peace and tranquillity, and the protection of magistrates, they ought to be peaceable, and behave as good subjects. Nor has the christian religion been prejudicial to civil liberty. Look abroad in the world: Have the people more rights and privileges in Mahometan and heathen governments and constitutions than in christian?

Obj. Hath christianity had a more real and extensive influence than philosophy? The best precepts cannot command attention and regard. A plain useful rule is wanted, that may be suited to the multitude.

Ans. I. Since the publication of the christian religion, all immoralities have appeared more glaring and odious than in former times, which occasions complaints of misconduct and miscarriages, that gave none, or little offence among heathen people, though they were very common.

II. Men are always apt to complain of their own times, and make unfair comparisons between the ancient and present or later times. They take the bright side of the former, and the dark side of the latter, and so compare them together.

III. Christianity has had a real and extensive influence (far beyond philosophy) for reforming the manners and promoting the happiness of mankind. What miseries did the people suffer in the Roman republic! How terrible were their triumvirates and their proscriptions, and some other things at times, in an age as philosophical and polite as any before it! How barbarous and shameful the Roman diversions in the amphitheatre! 'Tis to christianity, which has abolished ancient heathenism, that Mahometans owe their better sentiments. Christianity has abolished human sacrifices, and obliged parents to bring up their children, which were formerly exposed in Greece and Rome without mercy, and are so still in heathen countries. In the city of Pekin, several thousand infants perish this way annually. There is no such thing among christians. If that number perish in one city, how many through all the Chinese empire, and this number counting on from year to year? Christianity took with the common people, or the multitude, in the first and purer ages, and in a short time, without the aid of civil power, made a progress, gained ground against superstition, which philosophy did not; had advantages of superstition, which philosophy never had.

I have answered particular objections, I hope to satisfaction. I desire leave to add some general observations.

Obs. I. It cannot be thought strange, that true religion, or a teacher of true religion, should recommend great meekness, forbearance, and a contempt of riches and honours. Many wise men and philosophers have seen, that there is necessity that good men bear and forbear; and they have said great and fine

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things of the vanity of riches and honours, and such like advantages. Indeed all earthly things deserve little value, considering their uncertainty, and the shortness of human life.

II. Christianity is reasonable throughout, or, to use a modern phrase, it is a republication of the law of nature, with the two positive appointments of Baptism and the Lord's supper, or the Eucharist. Therefore all its precepts are to be taken in a reasonable sense. You are required to show no more meekness than is fit and reasonable in this world of ours; you may defend yourselves, resist, remonstrate against all injuries, when you have any prospect of advantage; you may go to law, if the thing you contend for be worth it, and you have a prospect of success. But to resist, when you are in danger of perishing in the attempt; to go to law, when the thing desired will not repay the loss of time, if gained that way; or to appeal to judges, when they are ignorant, or partial and corrupt, what avails it? even though we have right, and the thing controverted be of some importance. The disciples were obliged to the greatest exactness of behaviour, and to as much generosity and self-denial as any men: yet our Lord teaches them to be wise as serpents, as well as harmless as doves. St. Paul insisted on his privilege of a Roman citizen, as often as it would be of any service. He humbled the magistrates of Philippi, and defended himself against the Jews to the utmost. In short, the christian precepts ought to be understood, as they are defined to be exactly suitable to men in the present state of things.

III. Though the gospel be allowed to be only a republication of the law of nature, it is of great advantage, because men, through indolence, love of pleasure, or some other means, did not trace out the great truths of religion, or the obligations of virtue, by the exercise of reason; and they needed to be awakened and excited to the practice of what they did know.

IV. True religion could not be discovered or recommended to men in a wiser and more effectual manner than it is, or has been, in the Gospel of Jesus Christ: or, there are the greatest advantages attending the method in which true religion has been taught by Jesus Christ. To have published the precepts of religion and virtue in a plain and clear manner, suppose, and with some few plain and clear reasons, in the most solemn manner conceivable, as the ten commandments at Mount Sinai; together with plain and express promises of future happiness; would not have been so effectual as the Gospel method. And all the truths of religion, and precepts of happiness and virtue, are better recommended and enforced by the example of Christ's life, the patience, meekness, and fortitude of his death, and divine testimony to the truth, and his after resurrection, than by the fore-mentioned method, or any other I can think of. However, to this Gospel-method belongs (beside what has been already mentioned) also the example of Christ's Apostles.

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V. It was therefore fit, that the publisher, or republisher, of true religion, with a commission from Heaven, should publish it in some particular country, and, as a public preacher, be liable to contradictions, opposition, and all kinds of sufferings, which passionate and prejudiced men might be disposed to bring upon him; and no place or time could be more fit than the land of Judea, and the time when Jesus appeared.

VI. It follows, that in order to understand true religion as published in the Gospels, or the New Testament, men should exercise their reason, and study the language, dialect, and customs of the times when Christ and his Apostles preached, of which times every one sees plain indications in the New Testament itself. Therefore christian clergy, and people, should endeavour to be as knowing as they can.

VII. I shall add but one thing more to the honour of the christian religion; that it is no enemy to learning, or any branch of science, that I know of. All religion supposes men rational: the christian religion was published in a learned and a polite age. St. Paul often recommends to christians to have the understanding of men; he prays to God for them, that they may increase in knowledge. Every branch of learning has flourished among christians. More of them, I believe, have understood a variety of languages, than any had done before. Natural philosophy has been cultivated by them. In the early age of christianity, there were such men as Clement of Alexandria, Pantænus; Julius Africanus, Origen, with other learned men, in the third century; Eusebius of Cesarea, and Jerom, in the fourth; men acquainted with history, chronology, criticism, never since such in spirit; not to mention the many learned men of the later ages, until the revival of learning in Christendom, about the time of the Reformation.

APPENDIX, No. VI.

CHARACTER OF THE REV. MR. RICHARD LARDNER.

THE Rev. Mr. Richard Lardner was born at Portsmouth, May 28th, 1653, and educated for the ministry, by the Rev. Mr. Charles Morton, of Newington-Green.

He entered upon his work in the year 1673, when he could have no other worldly prospect, but bonds, imprisonment, and the loss of all things, and which he was content to undergo; and accordingly had a large share in the sufferings of those times for conscientious nonconformity.

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Having had early impressions of religion on his spirit, he joined in communion with the church, under the pastoral care of the reverend and learned Dr. Owen, whom he always mentioned with the profoundest respect and veneration to his death.

His first settlement was at Deal in Kent; but after some years he removed to London, and some other places; in all which he was greatly beloved, and, as we have reason to believe, had many seals to his ministry, being made very useful for the conversion of some, and the edification of others, in the faith of the Gospel.

He was a little man, but a bold and undaunted soldier of Jesus Christ, being afraid of no dangers or difficulties in his Master's work.

His manner of preaching was lively, masculine, awakening like a son of thunder, and generally acceptable to the more serious part of his hearers, many of whom, and some yet alive, have dated their first impressions of religion from his ministry.

It pleased God to continue him a great many years in his service, till he might be justly esteemed the father of all the nonconformist ministers in England. He was a preacher of the Gospel for near sixty years, in all which time he was not only frequent, but fervent and unwearied in his work, till the providence of God, by a paralytic disorder, put an end to his labours in the eightieth year of his age, but not to his life.

He was a close walker with God, throughout the whole course of his long life, and always desirous to be useful. When it pleased God to raise him a family, he was particularly careful, not only for the temporal, but spiritual welfare of his children, endeavouring to secure and promote it by frequent instructions, and importunate prayers to God for them; in all which we hope his labour was not in vain with regard to any of them.

In the last seven years of his life, he had the pleasure of observing the goodness of God in the growing hopes of his posterity, enjoying much peace and composure, while he endured the consequences of his late disorder with an uncommon patience and firmness of mind; till at length, it pleased God to release him from the infirmities of his present life, to a better, January 17th, 1740; in the 87th year of his age. So that it may be said, in him have been fulfilled those words in the book of Job, chap. v. 26, "Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season."

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APPENDIX, No. VII.

LETTER FROM DR. SECKER, THEN BISHOP OF OXFORD, TO DR. LARDNER; WITH THE DOCTOR'S ANSWER.

St. James's, Westminster, December 6th, 1750.

Sir,

IF I had not of late been more engaged in business than ordinary, I should have returned you my thanks before now, for the kind and very acceptable present of your eighth volume. I have only been able, as yet, to take a cursory view of some parts of it: in doing which, I have been much pleased with your insertion of the long citation, page 83, &c. with your division of the sorts of books, page 108, &c. and with your excellent reasonings, page 124—137. As to the points, to which you occasionally digress, page 19, &c. I agree with you entirely in condemning all temporal punishments for any opinions, which are consistent with the welfare of society; all claims of submission to the government of church governors, whether separate or assembled; excepting such deference, as any one's distrust of his own abilities, or learning, may reasonably incline him to pay to guides set over him, whom he believes to be faithful and skilful; and, lastly, all terms of communion, which are not necessary articles of christianity, or indispensably required by decency and order. What the terms, thus necessary and requisite, are, all churches, and, so far as they are concerned, all persons, must judge for themselves; and there may be good and important reasons to submit, even without remonstrating, to what we do not approve; provided we are not obliged to do any thing which we apprehend to be unlawful. He who thinks more things necessary, should neither treat those ill who believe fewer, nor rank them with total unbelievers, nor entertain any harsher opinion of the future state of either, than serious and calm inquiry directs him to. And, on the other hand, he who believes fewer things to be necessary, should not censure those who believe more to be so, as tyrannical or uncharitable, merely because they dare not acknowledge him to be what, according to the best judgment they can form, he is not. The former of these faults I admit to be the more common: but the latter is by no means without example, and ought to be conscientiously avoided. The terms of admission to the ministry may with reason, I think, be made straiter than those of communion. For doctrines not necessary, may be very useful: and doctrines not destructive, may be very hurtful. And every church, both particular and national, hath much reason, both

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for its edification and its credit, to desire and endeavour to have teachers, who hold and will inculcate the former sort, and not the latter. Still a discreet moderation ought to be carefully preserved in this manner, not only to prevent hypocrisy, but for several other reasons. And yet, surely the danger of tempting men to dissemble, is no more a sufficient objection against requiring some declaration, in this case, than in many that civil life presents; where, however, I acknowledge, that this practice is carried much too far; nor perhaps is there less danger, both of dissimulation and farther inconveniences, in leaving every one to declare himself in his own forms, than in proposing a form to be subscribed. In either way, some will think more articles proper, some fewer. And those of greater latitude should be mild in their opinions of those who have less, as well as the contrary; and every one should labour to restrain and soften those, with whom he has weight. Otherwise, not only at some times power may be oppressive, as it often hath been; but at others a spirit of liberty may degenerate into one of bitterness, I had almost said of persecution.—I have run on into a long letter without designing it. In most, if not all, of what I have said, I am persuaded you will agree with me. But I am sure you will excuse me, if you see cause to think, as I hope you will, that the whole proceeds from a sincere zeal for universal charity; and a firm belief that you have the promotion of it deeply at heart: on which account, yet much more than on that of your great learning, accuracy, and diligence, I am, with high esteem,

Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

THOMAS OXFORD.

To this Dr. Lardner answered:

Hoxton Square, December 18th, 1750.

My Lord,

I AM greatly indebted to your Lordship for the favour of your letter of the 6th instant, and think it no small honour done me, that amidst your many engagements you have read so large a part of my work. I have reason to be well pleased, that so many things in it have obtained your approbation. It affords me some special satisfaction that the reasonings at page 124—137 have not been disliked by your Lordship; because I had flattered myself with some hopes, they might be approved by persons of good judgment. I am likewise obliged to your Lordship for your free, candid, and charitable observations, re-

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lating to the first chapter of this volume. It is very natural to oppose that extreme which is most apt to prevail: there have been particular persons, and some societies, that have advanced and maintained great extravagances; but oppressive power, on one side or other, has been very common, and produced extensive mischief. In the early ages, when catholics and heretics contended with reasons and arguments only, the juster sentiments usually had the advantage; which cannot be said of some later times.

I take this opportunity to congratulate your Lordship on your late preferment; which, though it adds nothing to your dignity, if it affords more leisure, may open a new sphere of usefulness. And your Lordship, I hope, will think of making more public some of those discourses, which have been heard with so much attention and applause. If it may not be too presuming, when I hear of your settlement at the deanery, I will order a volume of plain discourses to be left there by the bookseller. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble and obedient servant,

N. LARDNER.

APPENDIX, No. VIII.

LETTER FROM DR. DODDRIDGE TO DR. LARDNER.

Northampton, May 23rd, 1751.

Reverend and dear Sir,

AS soon as ever I had the honour of receiving the valuable present you were so good as to send me, of the two volumes you published toward the close of the last year, so elegantly bound, which I esteem doubly as a memorial of the friendship of the learned, pious, and generous author; I desired our good friend Mr. Neal to present you with my most respectful acknowledgments, but deferred writing to you myself till I had read them. I set about the sermons immediately, and read three or four of them every week till I had finished them; but having been something interrupted by my journey to St. Alban's, and the little additional labour of publishing good Dr. Clarke's funeral sermon: after such a delay, I waved writing to you, till I might have an opportunity of reading this last volume of the Credibility. But

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really, Sir, the labour of my Family Expositor, added to the other necessary business daily incumbent upon me, as a pastor and tutor, with the necessity I have been under of answering letters, of which I have since last Christmas received between four and five hundred, has so entangled me, that it is but very lately I have been able to secure the pleasure which that excellent volume had in store for me. And now my journey is so near, that it may seem almost superfluous to write to you; and yet, under the load of such obligations to so worthy a friend, I cannot bear to see his face till I have made this poor acknowledgment of his goodness; accept it, dear Sir, with your usual candour, and be assured, that though I am not able to express it as I would, I do actually feel a constant and deep sense of your goodness to me, and, which is much more, of your continual readiness to serve the public with those distinguished abilities, which God has been pleased to give you; and which have rendered your writings so great a blessing to the christian world. And I heartily pray they may be yet more abundantly so, for promoting the cause of virtue and piety, christian principles, and a christian temper. In the interpretation of particular texts, and the manner of stating particular doctrines, good men and good friends may have different apprehensions; but you always propose your sentiments with such good humour, modesty, candour, and frankness, as is very amiable and exemplary; and the grand desire of spreading righteousness, benevolence, prudence, the fear of God, and a heavenly temper and conversation, so plainly appears, particularly in this volume of sermons, that were I a much stricter Calvinist than I am, I should honour and love the author, though I did not personally know him. As to what you say of the council of Nice, I do not doubt but it will give umbrage to some who look on its decrees as the great bulwark of the orthodox faith; but I see nothing solid that can be objected to your remarks, and I think, there would have been much less Arianism in the world, and much less mischief done by that which there is, if it had been conducted in that more catholic manner you describe, as what might have been wished; and I have never seen any good done by severe anathemas, and secular punishments, so awkwardly listed into the service of christianity, opposite as they are to its true genius. Neither my time nor my paper will allow me to enlarge, &c.

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APPENDIX, No. IX.

LETTER FROM DR. CHANDLER TO DR. LARDNER, WITH THE DOCTOR'S ANSWER.

Old Jury, December 4th, 1764.

Reverend and dear Sir,

WHEN I received your proposals, I determined to purchase the work immediately on its publication, but am extremely obliged to you for ordering it as a token of your respect to me, on whose friendship and esteem I set, as I ought to do, the highest value. I have read the whole through with care, and to my great satisfaction and improvement. The only thing in which I am not fully satisfied, is your opinion about the testimony of Josephus concerning our blessed Saviour, which I have always been inclined to think, as to the far greatest part of it, genuine. I have not time to answer all the objections that are urged against the genuineness of the testimony, but you will give me leave to make two or three observations on the testimony itself.

That it is introduced with great propriety, as what happened under Pilate's administration, and as what was one occasion of the disturbances amongst the Jews in his time.

He testifies that 'he was a wise man.'

Is uncertain 'whether he was not something more than a 'common man,' which is the meaning of the words, ειγε ανδρα αυτον λεγειν χρη; for Josephus, upon Jewish principles, could not but think him a man, though he was uncertain whether he was not somewhat greater; a more extraordinary person, than any mere man.

And your own quotation from Josephus, about Moses, that 'he was a man superior to his own nature,' page 158, accounts for the character given to Jesus.

He says he was παραδοξων εργων ποιητης. That the Jews themselves, his contemporaries and enemies, acknowledged. Matt. xiii. 54.—xiv. 2, &c.

'He was a teacher of such men as received the truth with 'pleasure.' You ask, would he call the christian religion the truth? Yes certainly, as to the moral precepts of christianity; which is all, I suppose, that Josephus knew or regarded of it. Matt. xxii. 16.

'He drew over to him many Jews and Gentiles.' This was true in the time when Josephus wrote. I refer you to page 169 of your own excellent work, which justifies the expression.

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'This was the Christ.' 'Ο Χρίστος ουτος ην. I render the words, 'This, viz. Jesus, was the famous, or remarkable Christ,' Jesus was a common name, and would not have sufficiently pointed him out to the Greeks and Romans. The name by which he was known to them was, Chrestus, or Christus; as in Suetonius and Tacitus; and if Tacitus had read Josephus, as you justly think he had, I imagine he took this very name from Josephus. Josephus did not certainly believe him to be the Messiah, and therefore, when he wrote this history, he could never mean by Christus the Jewish Messiah, of which the Greeks and Romans knew nothing; but that he was the remarkable Christ, who was the founder of that people who were called christians. This appears to me to be the real meaning of the expression, and as such it was intelligible to the Heathens.

In the period that follows: 'When Pilate at the instigation, &c.' to the words, 'did not cease to adhere to him;' the whole is true, and what might be said by any man, though not a christian, who was acquainted with his history.

The next words, 'for on the third day, &c.' if he speaks only of what were the common sentiments of his followers, they may be allowed to be this. But, to speak my mind freely, I think them rather an interpolation of Eusebius, or some other christian; and that the connexion in Josephus runs thus.

'They who before had conceived an affection for him, did 'not cease to adhere to him; and the sect of christians, so called 'from him, (the Ο Χρίστος,) subsists to this day.' Such an addition he could not well avoid:

As to the remarks on the expression των Χρίστιανων φυλον, that φυλον is here put for *sect*, or must necessarily signify *sect*, I am not thoroughly clear in it. Josephus certainly uses the word φυλον frequently for nation, but I think also sometimes with greater latitude. Thus in a quotation from Strabo, he tells us, τοπον ουκ ἐστι ῥαδιως εὑρειν της οικεμενης, ὁς ου παραδεδεικται τουτο το φυλον, not 'this nation,' which is too extensive, but as it is in the Latin version, 'hoc genus hominum,' line 14. cap. 7. page 695. I also find in Dion Cassius, τους βουλευτικα φυλα γεγενημενους. 'Qui sunt senatoria origine.' Vol. ii. page 912, edit. Reimari. Φυλον εθνος γενος. Hesychius. Why then may we not render the words in Josephus Χρίστιανων φυλον, 'the sort of people called christians?' And I think it is not unlikely that Josephus should add, 'that 'they subsisted to his own time,' when he wrote this history, A. C. 93.

Give me leave just to add, that this paragraph, concerning Jesus, doth not seem to me so much to interrupt the course of the narration as is complained of; it is introduced under the article of Pilate, and placed between two circumstances which occasioned disturbances. And was not the putting of Jesus to death, and the continuance of the apostles and disciples after

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him, declaring his resurrection, another very considerable circumstance, which created very great disturbances? And though Josephus does not expressly say this, and perhaps had good reasons for not saying it, yet he intimates it, by placing it between the two causes of commotion, by giving so honourable a testimony to Jesus, and telling us, that he was crucified at the instigation of the chief persons of the nation. It would scarce have been decent in him to have said more on this head.

I have sometimes thought that this passage was originally in Josephus, and that Josephus himself omitted it afterwards in some other copies, at the desire of some of his own nation, as containing too honourable an account of Jesus, or that they falsified some other copies by omitting it; and I think, as you allow, with great reason, his testimony to the Baptist to be genuine, it is not to be accounted for, that he should wholly omit to say any thing of Jesus.

But I beg your pardon for giving you the trouble of so long a letter, especially as what I have urged may appear to be of little weight. I own I cannot wholly give up the passage, and yet I feel the weight of your objections against it. Your book will ever remain a solid proof of your learning, candour, and good judgment; and I pray God continue your life till you have finished your design, and every other view for the service of religion. I am, with the sincerest affection and esteem,

Reverend and dear Sir,

Your greatly obliged, and

most humble Servant,

SAMUEL CHANDLER.

To this Dr. Lardner answered:

Reverend and dear Sir,

I AM much obliged to you for your friendly and valuable letter of December 4, and for all your arguings therein upon the subject; which you have urged with great force, and to the best advantage: and I will further consider. In the mean time, you may be sensible, that I cannot be easily moved from an opinion, which I have long held agreeable to the sentiments of very judicious critics.

The testimony of Josephus to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions in the destruction of Jerusalem, is invaluable. His accounts of the state of things in Judea, before the commencement of the war, and during the ministry of our Saviour and his apostles, are also very valuable, indeed above all price. But I

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do not perceive, that we at all want the suspected testimony to Jesus, which was never quoted by any of our christian ancestors before Eusebius. Nor do I recollect that he has any where mentioned the name, or word, Christ, or Messiah, in any of his works, except the testimony above mentioned, and the passage concerning James the Lord's brother. If you recollect any place, where Messiah is mentioned by him, let me know it. If that word is never to be found in him elsewhere, he must have designedly and studiously declined it; for he had many occasions to mention it. It therefore is unlikely he should produce that word in speaking of Jesus. Explain the term as you please, it must be unaccountable, that it should be brought in here. This I now mention to you; but, as before said, I will further weigh your reasons.

You seem to be well acquainted with an argument proposed in a Dissertation, &c. published at Oxford some years ago, and ascribed to Dr. Nathaniel Foster. I shall be obliged to you, if you have leisure, to inform me whether that Dr. Foster be still living, and what are his preferments: if he be dead, what was his station, and of what other works was he author. For possibly I may be obliged publicly to make some remarks upon his discourse. If I do, a farther acquaintance with the writer of it will be expedient. For there have been several of that name, Foster.

Wishing you continued success in your studies and public labours, I remain, with the sincerest regard,

Your friend and servant,

N. LARDNER.

December 31st, 1764.

APPENDIX, No. X.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHUS.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. MR. HENLEY.

TO THE REV. DR. KIPPIS.

Rendlesham, Suffolk, Dec. 4th, 1786.

Sir,

THE testimony of Josephus concerning CHRIST having been considered in a new point of view, since the death of Dr. Lard-

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ner, by my learned friend the Abbé du Voisin, (who hath lately quitted the divinity chair, which he had filled for several years in the Sorbonne, with the highest reputation,) I take the liberty of transmitting to you his communication upon that subject, as a valuable Supplement to Dr. Lardner's remarks; and, at the same time, to subjoin the late Abbé Bullet's observations, which I doubt not will be the more acceptable to the public, as Dr. Lardner was long anxious to avail himself of the book which contains them, [Histoire de l'Etablissement du Christianisme, tirée des seuls Auteurs Juifs et Payens, &c.] but was never able to procure it.

I am, Sir,

With great respect,

Your obedient Servant,

S. HENLEY.

" MANY critics, since the time of Osiander, Blondel, Tanaquil Faber, and Le Clerc, have suspected, but, in my opinion, unwarrantably, the authenticity of this celebrated testimony: for—1. It is extant in all the copies of Josephus, both unpublished and published. Baronius, Annal. Ecclesiastic. ad an. 134, relates, that a manuscript of this historian's Antiquities was found in the library of the Vatican, translated into Hebrew, in which this passage was marked with an obelus; a thing that could have been done by none but a Jew. In an Arabic version preserved by the Maronites of Mount Libanus, the narrative exists entire: see the new edition of the Bibliotheque Françoise de Duverdier, par M. de Brequigny.—2. This testimony of Josephus has been applauded by Eusebius, (Hist. Ecclesiastic. lib. i. c. 10.—Demonstrat. Evangelic. lib. iii. c. 5.) Jerom, (Catal. Script. Ecclesiastic.) Rufinus, (Histor. lib. i.) Isidorus of Pelusium, Sozomen, Cassiodorus, Nicephorus, and many more, who all indisputably had seen various manuscripts, and of considerable antiquity.—3. The style of the passage so exactly resembles the other writings of Josephus, that, to adopt the expression of Huetius, one egg is not more like to another. Proofs of this assertion may be seen in the dissertation of Daubez, subjoined to Havercamp's edition.—4. Josephus not only mentions, with respect, John Baptist, (Antiquit. lib. xviii. c. 1.) but also James: 'Ananus assembled the Jewish Sanhedrim, and brought 'before it James the brother of Jesus who is called Christ, with 'some others, whom he delivered over to be stoned, as infractors 'of the law.' Lib. xx. c. 8. This passage, the authenticity of which has never been suspected, contains an evident reference to what had been already related concerning Christ; for why else should he describe James, a man of himself but little known, as the brother of Jesus, if he had made no mention of Jesus

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before ?—5. It is highly improbable that Josephus, who hath discussed with such minuteness the history of this period—mentioned Judas of Galilee, Theudas, and the other obscure pretenders to the character of the Messiah—as well as John Baptist and James the brother of Christ—should have preserved the profoundest silence concerning Christ himself, whose name was at that time so celebrated both amongst the Jews and the Romans. But in all the writings of Josephus not a hint occurs on the subject, except the testimony in question.—6. Let no one persuade himself that this passage was forged either by Eusebius, who first cited it, or any other earlier writer; for the christian cause is not only so far from needing any fraud to support it, that nothing could be more destructive to its interest, more especially a fraud so palpable and obtrusive.

It has been objected by Blondel, That what is here related of Christ could not possibly have been recorded by Josephus, who was not only a Jew, but rigidly attached to the Jewish religion: viz. 'That Christ could scarcely be said to be a man,' that is, that he was God, that he was a performer of wonderful works, a teacher of truth; moreover, Christ, or the Messiah, whom the prophets had foretold; and, finally, who appeared on the third day restored to life. These are not the expressions of a Jew, but a christian.

To this however it may be answered, That Josephus was not so addicted to his own religion, as to approve the conduct and opinion of the Jews concerning Christ and his doctrine. From the moderation which pervades his whole narrative of the Jewish war, it may be justly inferred, that the fanatic fury which the chief men of his nation exercised against Christ, could not but have been displeasing to him. He has rendered that attestation to the innocence, sanctity, and miracles of Christ, which the fidelity of history required. Nor does it follow that he was necessitated to renounce, on this account, the religion of his fathers. Either the common prejudice of the Jews, that their Messiah would be a victorious and temporal sovereign, or the indifference so prevalent in many, towards controverted questions, might have been sufficient to prevent him from renouncing the religion in which he had been brought up, and embraced a new one, the profession of which was attended with danger: or else, he might think himself at liberty to be either a Jew or a christian, as the same God was worshipped in both systems of religion. On either of these suppositions, Josephus might have written every thing which this testimony contains. By the expression, 'if it be right to 'speak of him as a man,' it is not meant to imply that Christ is God, but only an extraordinary man, one whose wisdom and works had raised him above the common condition of humanity. He represents him as 'a performer of wonderful works,' because miracles were wrought by him, as the Jews themselves were obliged to confess. He styles him 'an instructor of those who

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'gladly received the truth,' both because the moral precepts of Christ were such as Josephus approved, and also because the disciples of Christ were influenced by no other motive than the desire of discerning it. The phrase, 'this man was Christ,' or rather, ὁ Χριστος ουτος ην. 'Christ was this man,' by no means intimates that Jesus was the Messiah, but only that he was the person called Christ both by the christians and Romans, amongst whom Josephus wrote: just as if he should say, in our language, 'this was the same man as he named Christ.' As to the resurrection of Christ, and the prophecies referring to him, Josephus rather speaks the language used by the christians, than his own private opinion; or else he thought that Christ had appeared after his revival, and that the prophets had foretold this event: a point which, if admitted, and he had been consistent, ought to have induced him to embrace christianity. But there might be many circumstances to prevent his becoming a proselyte, as every one will readily imagine; nor is it either new or wonderful, that men, especially in their religious concerns, should contradict themselves, and withstand the conviction of their own minds. It is certain that, of our own times, no one hath spoken in higher terms concerning Christ than the philosopher of Geneva, who nevertheless, not only in his other writings, but also in the very work which contains this most eloquent eulogium, inveighs against the christian religion with acrimony and rancour.

It has been further objected, That no person before Eusebius ever mentioned this testimony; neither Justin in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew; nor Clemens Alexandrinus, who made so many extracts from ancient authors; nor Origen against Celsus; but, on the contrary, in the 35th chapter of the 1st book of that work, Origen openly affirms that Josephus, who had mentioned John Baptist, did not acknowledge Christ; and therefore it is inferred, that before the age of Eusebius this testimony had no existence in the copies of Josephus.

To this it may be answered, That there is no strength in this negative argument against Eusebius, drawn from the silence of the ancient fathers. The fathers did not cite the testimony of Josephus, either because they had no copies of his writings; or, because his testimony was foreign to the scope of their own; or because it could be of little use, especially in the earliest times, when the miracles of Christ were admitted by the Jews at large; or, because that for this very testimony the evidence of Josephus was disregarded by the Jews themselves. To this last consideration Justin apparently alluded, when he thus addressed himself to Trypho: 'Ye yourselves know, O Jews! that Jesus is risen 'again and ascended into heaven, according as the prophets 'foretold.' What Origen asserted was not, that Christ was unknown to Josephus, but only that Josephus did not acknowledge him as the Christ or Messiah, Ιησουν ο καταδεξαμενος ειναι Χριστον, and

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in his Commentary on Matthew, και τοι γε απιστων τω Ιησυ ὡς Χριστῳ: by which words it is manifest, that Jesus was known to Josephus, but not admitted by him to be the Christ, or Messiah. Thus much, however, Origen might say in perfect consistency with the passage in question, where the name of Christ, as hath been already observed, is an appellative, without ascribing to him who bore it the character of the Messiah, expected by the Jews."

A more diffuse and minute discussion of this subject may be seen in a dissertation by the excellent Vernet, professor of divinity at Geneva, entitled, Traite de la Vérité de la Religion Chretienne, tom. ix. Lausanne, 1782; and in Mr. Bryant's Vindiciæ Flavianæ, or a Vindication of the Testimony given by Josephus concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ. Printed for White, 1777. I mention the latter publication more particularly, as not only coinciding in many points with the preceding observations, but also as having made several converts, amongst whom Dr. Priestley, I have understood, may be mentioned as one. If, however, the defence set up by these learned writers shall be still thought insufficient, let us take the converse of the position, and consider the conclusions drawn from it by the late Abbé Bullet.

"I. JOSEPHUS, who was born about three or four years after the death of Jesus Christ, could not be ignorant that there had appeared in Judea a charlatan, impostor, magician, or prophet, called Jesus, who had either performed wonders, or found the secret of persuading numbers to think so. He could not but know that, in his own time, there still were in that province many who acknowledged this man as their master. When he was himself carried captive to Rome, it must have been notorious to him, that Nero had punished, in the most extraordinary and unheard-of manner, a great number of christians in that city; he must have been aware, that their martyrdom had been exhibited as a spectacle to the Roman people, and was a spectacle of so uncommon a kind, as to have been recorded by Tacitus and Suetonius in the annals of the empire. He must have seen that, under Domitian, the christians were prosecuted both in Rome and the provinces, and put to death publicly by the orders of the emperor.

II. Ought not Josephus then to have taken some notice of Jesus and his disciples, in his history? Or did he think the subject too inconsiderable to occupy a place in it? That he did not, may be concluded from the following reasons:

1. In the time of this historian, the christians were of themselves so numerous a society as to engage the attention of the Roman emperors. These sovereigns of the world enacted edicts against them, devoted them to death, and caused the magistrates every where to pursue them. The faith of history, therefore, required that they should not be passed over in silence. Thus thought Tacitus and Suetonius, to whom the christians, as a sect,

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were a much less interesting object than to a Jew, like Josephus. These two historians considered the rise and establishment of christianity as of sufficient magnitude to rank amongst the great events transmitted by them to posterity.

2. Josephus in his Antiquities, book xviii. c. 2, has mentioned three sects among the Jews, the Essenes, the Sadducees, and the Pharisees; though the two last had ceased to exist after the downfall of their nation, and at the time when he wrote. He ought not then to have been silent in respect to the sect of christians, which had been formed among the Jews, and not only subsisted in his own time, but had increased in a very different manner from the others he had mentioned, and was extended through the various provinces of the empire, and the capital itself; whilst they had scarcely exceeded the confines of Judea.

3. Josephus has given an accurate account of all the impostors, or heads of parties, which arose amongst the Jews, from the empire of Augustus to the ruin of Jerusalem.

He relates, that Judas of Galilee stirred up the Jews to an insurrection against the Romans; Antiq. book xviii. c. 1. And also, that the president Tiberius Alexander caused the two sons of this insurgent to be crucified. Book xx. c. 5.

He recounts that an impostor assembled the Samaritans upon mount Gerizim, under the pretence of discovering to them the sacred vessels which Moses had there buried.

He speaks of the preaching of John Baptist, and the concourse of people which flocked to hear him. He bears record to the sanctity of his life: and adds, that the Jews believed the defeat of Herod's army by Aretas king of the Arabs, to have been a punishment for the crime he had committed in putting this holy man to death. Book xviii. c. 7.

He relates that an impostor, named Theudas, seduced a great number of the Jews, and led them towards Jordan, under the promise that he would divide the river, and make them pass over dry-foot. Cuspius Fadus, president of Judea, having received notice of this expedition, despatched a party of soldiers, who slew Theudas, and brought back his head to the president. Book xx. c. 2.

He mentions that Felix, president of the province, having taken by stratagem Eleazar the son of Dinæus, the leader of a large gang of banditti, sent him in chains to Rome. Book xx. c. 6.

He recounts that an Egyptian, coming to Jerusalem, gave himself out for a prophet, and persuaded a mob to follow him to the mount of Olives, where they should see the walls of Jerusalem fall down at his command; but that Felix, on hearing of it, put himself at the head of the troops which were then in the city, and charging the misguided populace, killed four hundred, and took two hundred prisoners. The Egyptian having saved himself, was heard of no more. Book xx. c. 6.

He subjoins a narrative of a pretended magician, who drew

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the people into the desert, by promising them that under his conduct they should be safe from every kind of evil. The president Festus sent troops against them, which defeated and dispersed them. Book xx. c. 7.

Jesus was the founder of a party much more considerable, and which occasioned much greater noise, than all those whom this author has mentioned. These impostors, these ringleaders, these men who had collected mobs, had no followers beyond the precincts of Judea; their partizans and adherents were soon dispersed, and at the time when this history was written, nothing but the bare remembrance of them remained. It was far different with the sect, the assemblies, and community which Jesus had formed; it not only subsisted in the time of the historian, but was extended through every province of the empire, and flourished in the very capital. The sovereigns of the world exerted all their authority to suppress it. This party or sect, then, deserved, far more than all the others together, to have been noticed by Josephus in his history.

Josephus could not be ignorant of Jesus, nor the sect which had been founded by him: how then, consistently with the laws of history, and the method which he had prescribed to himself, of recording every thing he knew, could he preserve an entire silence on this head? Let us try to solve this ænigma.

Either this historian believed, that all which the disciples of Jesus had said of their Master was false, or else was true. If false, he could not have remained silent; every thing would have stimulated him to speak out on the occasion; the interest of virtue; zeal for his own religion, the foundations of which the christians had sapped by their impostures; the love of his own nation, whom the disciples of Jesus accused and upbraided with having, from a malignant and cruel jealousy, put to death the Messiah, the Son of God. By exposing the impostures of the apostles, Josephus must have overwhelmed with confusion the enemies of his own people; have ingratiated himself most effectually with his nation; conciliated the favour of those emperors who persecuted the growing cause of christianity; attracted the applauses of all who looked with horror on this new superstition; and undeceived the christians themselves, whom the first disciples of Jesus had so miserably misled. Can any person for a moment believe, that a man able to expose so gross an imposture, and who had so many powerful inducements to do it, should, in spite of every incitement, persevere in the most obstinate silence; especially when so natural an occasion solicited him to speak? If false miracles were propagated for the purpose of seducing the people of our days, with what zeal, with what ardour would our writers march forth to detect the imposture, and prevent the seduction! Should we not regard their silence, on such an occasion, as a criminal prevarication? It appears then indisputable, that if Josephus had believed the relations of the apostles, concerning

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their Master, to have been false, he would have taken care to declare his conviction: but, if he did not believe them to have been false, he must have known them to be true; and, for fear of displeasing his nation, the Romans and their emperors, held his peace. In this case, his silence is of more importance than his testimony, and equally serves to authenticate the truth of those facts upon which christianity is founded."

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THE

CREDIBILITY

OF THE

GOSPEL HISTORY,

OR,

THE FACTS OCCASIONALLY MENTIONED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT CONFIRMED BY PASSAGES OF ANCIENT AUTHORS, WHO WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH OUR SAVIOUR, OR HIS APOSTLES, OR LIVED NEAR THEIR TIME

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

CONCERNING

THE TIME OF HEROD'S DEATH.

PART I.

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PREFACE.

WHATEVER argument is insisted on in behalf of christianity, whether the purity of its doctrine, the fulfilment of ancient prophecies, the predictions and miracles of our Saviour and his apostles, or the peculiar circumstances of its propagation: it is necessary, that we be apprized of the truth of the things related in the New Testament.

The evidence of the truth of any history is either internal or external. The internal evidence depends on the probability of the things related, the consistence of the several parts, and the plainness and simplicity of the narration. The external evidence consists of the concurrence of other ancient writers of good credit, who lived at, or near the time, in which any things are said to have happened; and who bear testimony to the books themselves, and their authors, or the facts contained in them.

Every serious and attentive reader is able, in a great measure, to judge of the internal marks of the credibility of the history contained in the New Testament: though he may be very much assisted by the observations of others, who are more curious, or more judicious than himself. And for this purpose many excellent writings have been published with very great advantage in our own, and other modern languages.

The external evidence of the truth of any ancient history, and particularly of the gospel-history, lies not so much within the reach of the generality of mankind. And though in some modern defences of the christian religion, there have been appeals and references made to other ancient authors; yet those appeals have not been so distinct, full, and express, as might have been wished. The writer has supposed his readers learned; and, not producing at length the testimonies he appeals to, the faith of the unlearned, as to this part of the evidence for christianity, is still resolved very much into the credit and authority of the apologist.

The peculiar design of this work is to enable persons of ordinary capacities, who, for want of a learned education, or of sufficient leisure, are deprived of the advantage of

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reading over ancient writings, to judge for themselves concerning the external evidence of the facts related in the New Testament.

At present I offer only the evidence of the facts occasionally mentioned in the books of the New Testament, intending hereafter to treat of the principal facts in a like manner.

The method taken in this work is to set down in the first place the representation, which the sacred writers have given of persons, facts, customs, or principles; and then to produce passages of other ancient writers, which confirm or illustrate the account delivered in the New Testament.

Wherever the matter treated of is of any special importance, and wherever there is any ambiguity, or any peculiar beauty or emphasis in the style and expression of the authors I quote, I have placed their original words at the bottom of the page.

There are added likewise, here and there, some short notes for the benefit of the unlearned reader.

I presume it is needless for me to acknowledge particularly, that I am accountable for the translations of all the passages here transcribed: or to declare, that I have used the best care I could about them. I may have mistaken, but I am sure, that I have not, with a view to any particular purpose whatever, designedly misrepresented any fact, or given a wrong turn to any passage. My putting down the original words of my authors, or very particular references to them, will prevent all suspicions of this kind.

The reader is not to suppose, that I have exhausted the argument. The geography of the New Testament, and many facts, customs, and principles, besides those here insisted on by me, are also confirmed by testimonies of ancient writers. I apprehend, however, that what is here offered is sufficient to answer the end proposed. And though the positive part be not full and complete, and indeed could not be so without being tedious; yet I think I have, in the second book, taken in all the chief difficulties affecting that kind of facts I am now concerned with.

The point I was to make out is the Credibility of the Gospel-History. And to that I have confined myself. But no one may hence surmise, that I give up the inspiration of the books of the New Testament. Nor am I aware, that I have in the least weakened any argument, that they were written under a special direction and influence of the Spirit of God. I think, however, that if the Gospel History be credible, the truth of the christian religion cannot be contested.

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I flatter myself, my design will be approved. I wish the execution had been equal to the subject. Imperfect as it is, I hope what is here performed, may be of use to remove, or abate the prejudices of some; to confirm others upon a good foundation in the belief of the christian religion, and in their high esteem for the writers of the New Testament, and to enable them to read them with new pleasure and profit.

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CONCERNING THE SECOND EDITION.

I NOW allow, that the words of St. Luke, chap. ii. 2. are capable of the sense in which they are understood by Herwaert and Perizonius. But as I still dispute most of the examples alleged by those learned men in support of that sense, there is but a small alteration made in that article. The Rev. Mr. Masson[a] has given me occasion to consider afresh what I had said concerning Macrobius's passage. I hope what is now added will be to his and others' satisfaction. I have also taken this opportunity to add some farther observations on Josephus's silence about the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem. But the most important addition, is a curious observation on Josephus concerning the Egyptian impostor, which I received from Mr. Ward. These and the few other alterations and additions made in this edition, can need no apology with those who understand the nature of this design. And as they are printed by themselves, and may be had separate, I hope the first edition is not much prejudiced hereby.

HAVING in the following work made great use of Philo and Josephus, I here prefix a short account of those two writers.

PHILO was a Jew, of Alexandria in Egypt, brother[b] of Alexander the Alabarch, or chief magistrate of the Jews in that country. The Jews having been much abused by the Egyptians, and by Flaccus, the Roman president, in

[a] See his Slaughter of the Children in Bethlehem, as an historical Fact, vindicated, &c. In the dedication to the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield.
[b] Joseph. Antiq. 18. c. 9. sect. 1.

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the year of our Lord 39 or 40, Philo with others was sent to Caligula, the emperor, in the name of the whole Jewish people living in Alexandria. The embassy consisted of[c] five, and he[d] has assured us himself, that he was the eldest and most experienced person among them. It is reasonable to conclude therefore, that he was born at, or before the commencement of the christian æra. He was eminent for his wit and learning, as well as for his family. Many of his writings are still remaining, though some have been lost. The two books which I have chiefly quoted, are his discourse against the forementioned Flaccus, president of Egypt, and his account of the embassy to Caligula.

JOSEPHUS, the Son of Matthias, of the race of the priests, by his mother descended from the Asmonean family, which for a considerable time had the supreme government of the Jewish nation, was born at Jerusalem in the first year of the[e] reign of Caligula, A. D. 37. In the beginning of the Jewish war he commanded in Galilee. Vespasian, then general under Nero, having conquered that country, Josephus became his prisoner, and continued with him as long as Vespasian staid in those parts. When Vespasian, upon his being declared emperor, went to Rome to take possession of the empire, Josephus staid with Titus, was present at the siege of Jerusalem, and saw the ruin of his city and country. Josephus afterwards settled at Rome, and obtained the freedom of the city from Vespasian. Some time after the destruction of Jerusalem, he wrote his history of the Jewish war in seven books. After that he wrote in twenty books the Jewish antiquities, or, history of the Jews from the creation of the world to the twelfth of Nero, in which year the war began. This work he finished in the 56th year of his own age, in the 13th year of the reign of Domitian, A. D. 93. Besides these, we have his life, written by himself, and two books against Apion, an Egyptian author, who had calumniated the Jewish[f] people. The works of Philo and Josephus were written in the Greek language.

[c] Philo de legat. p. 1043. C. [d] Ibid. 1018. C. [e] In vit. sect. 1.
[f] Vid. Antiq. 20. c. 10. Vit. sect. 75, 76. De Bell. in Procem.

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AN EXPLICATION OF SOME TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

A. U. or, Anno Urbis, is the year of the foundation of the city of Rome, according to Varro's account.

The Julian year is an epoch, so called from Julius Cæsar. The first year of this epoch, when Cæsar's reformation of the Roman year took place, commences the first of January, A. U. 709.

A. D. Anno Domini, or the year of our Lord, or the vulgar christian æra. According to this account our Saviour was born Dec. 25. Julian year 45. A. U. 753. But the computation does not begin till the year following, viz. January 1. Julian year 46. A. U. 754. This computation all writers, as well as others, follow. But learned men are sensible it is defective. Our Saviour was born in the reign of Herod the Great. But it is certain, that Herod died before the passover, A. U. 752; very probable in A. U. 750, or 751.

The Reigns of the Roman Emperors, during the Period of the Evangelical History.

				A. U.	A. D.
Augustus having reigned from the death of Julius Cæsar 57 years and some months, and from the defeat of Mark Antony at Actium 44 years, died			August 19.	767.	14.
Tiberius began his reign - - - - -			August 19.	767.	14.
Caius Caligula - - - - - - -			March 16.	790.	37.
Claudius - - - - - - - -			January 24.	794.	41.
Nero - - - - - - - - -			October 13.	807.	54.
Nero died - - - - - - - -			June 9.	821.	68.
Galba, Otho, Vitellius	reigned from	June 9. A. D. 68. / Jan. 17. 69. / Jan. 2. 69.	to Jan. 15. / Apr. 16. / Dec. 21.	822.	69.
Vespasian reigned from July 1. A. D. 69. to June 24. - -				832.	79.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE History of the New Testament hath, in an eminent degree, all the internal marks and characters of credibility. The writers appear honest and impartial. They seem to have set down very fairly the exceptions and reflections of enemies, and to have recorded without reserve the weaknesses, mistakes, or even greater faults, which they themselves, or any of their own number, engaged in the same design with them, were guilty of. There is between the four evangelists an harmony, hitherto unparalleled between so many persons, who have all written of the same times or events. The lesser differences, or seeming contradictions, which are to be found in them, only demonstrate they did not write with concert. The other parts of the New Testament concur with them in the same facts, and principles. These are things obvious to all who read the books of the New Testament with attention. And the more they are read, the more conspicuous will the tokens of credibility appear.

But it must be an additional satisfaction, to find that these writers are supported in their narration, by other approved authors of different characters, who lived at or near the time, in which the facts, related by the evangelists, are supposed to have happened.

It is plainly the design of the historians of the New Testament to write of the actions of Jesus Christ, chiefly those of his public ministry; and to give an account of his death and resurrection, and of some of the first steps, by which the doctrine he had taught, made its way in the world. But though this was their main design, and they have not undertaken to give us the political state or history of the countries in which these things were done; yet in the course of their narration, they have been led unavoidably to mention many persons of note; and to make allusions and references to the customs and tenets of the people, whom Jesus Christ and his apostles were concerned with.

Here are therefore two kinds of facts, principal, and oc-

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casional. The principal facts are, the birth and preaching of John the Baptist; the miraculous conception and birth, the discourses, miracles, predictions, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ; the mission of the apostles, the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, and the other attestations which were given to the divine authority of Jesus Christ, and the truth of his doctrine. The things occasionally mentioned are the estate and character of the princes and governors, in whose time these events are placed; the state of the Jews, their opinions, and practices, and also those of other people, to whom the apostles came.

The facts related in the New Testament are all (except some few mentioned in the book of the Revelation) supposed to have come to pass before the destruction of Jerusalem, which happened in the seventieth year of the christian æra. And these historians do throughout maintain the character of persons perfectly well acquainted with the matters of which they write.

Two of these books, the gospels of Matthew and John, bear the names of persons, who are said to have been present at a good part of those transactions, which they give an account of. Mark writes as one fully master of his subject, and Luke affirms, expressly, that he "had per-"fect understanding of all things from the very first," Luke i. 3. and that he was able to write in order of those things he undertook to relate. In these four pieces we have the history of between thirty and forty years, from the vision of Zacharias in the temple at Jerusalem, to the ascension of Jesus Christ.

Besides these, we have also a book called the Acts of the Apostles, ascribed to the last mentioned writer; in which is contained the history of many wonderful events, which followed the resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ. If he had perfect understanding of all things from the very beginning of the gospel of Christ, he may be well supposed thoroughly acquainted with these late events, as nearer his own time. And indeed in a great part of this work he sustains the character of an eye-witness.

Omitting, for the present, the particular consideration of the principal facts of this history, and the direct and positive attestations given to the truth of them (as well as to the genuineness of these writings) by a great number of persons, who lived near the time in which they are supposed to have happened; and who, after a serious and diligent inquiry, were convinced of the truth of them, and upon the ground of that persuasion renounced the principles of their

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education, and ever after constantly maintained and confessed the truth of the facts and principles contained in these books, with great hazard of their ease, reputation, estates and lives: I shall now take a view of those facts only, which are occasionally mentioned in the New Testament; and inquire into the external evidences of the truth of them.

If it appear from other writers, that our sacred historians have mistaken the people and affairs of the time, in which, according to their own account, the things they relate happened; it will be an argument that they did not write, till some considerable time afterwards. But if upon inquiry there be found an agreement between them and other writers, of undoubted authority, not in some few, but in many, in all the particulars of this kind which they have mentioned; it will be a very strong presumption that they wrote at, or very near the time, in which the things they relate are said to have happened.

This will give credit to the other, the main parts of their narration. An history written and published near the time of any events is credible, unless there appear some particular views of interest; of which there is no evidence in the present case, but quite the contrary.

The history now before us, is the history of many great and wonderful works done in some of the best peopled and most frequented parts of the earth. They are related with very particular circumstances of time and place, and some of them are said to have been done in the presence of great numbers of people. Here is withal an account of proceedings and sentences of courts of judicature, in cities of the first rank, at times of the greatest and most general resort; and of some discourses made before persons (next under the Roman emperor) of the highest rank and distinction. One manifest design of the whole is to overthrow the religious tenets, then generally received in the world. It is written in the language, not of some obscure kingdom, but of a learned and numerous people, understood at that time by all the polite, and by many others in every part of the known world. For any men to publish such an history of such things as lately done, if not punctually true, could have been only to expose themselves to an easy confutation, and certain infamy.

I propose therefore to give a long enumeration of particulars, occasionally mentioned by the writers of the New Testament, in which they are supported by authors of the best note; and then in answer to divers objections, I shall

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endeavour to show, that they are not contradicted in the rest.

If I succeed in this attempt, here will be a good argument for the genuineness of these writings, and for the truth of the principal facts contained in them; distinct from the express and positive testimonies of christian writers, and the concessions of many others.

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THE

CREDIBILITY

OF THE

GOSPEL HISTORY.

PART I.

BOOK I. CHAP. I.

OF PRINCES AND GOVERNORS MENTIONED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *Herod.* II. *Archelaus.* III. *Herod the Tetrarch, and Philip.* IV. *Herod the Tetrarch, and Herodias.* V. *Lysanias, Tetrarch of Abilene.* VI. *Herod (Agrippa.)* VII. *Felix and Festus.* VIII. *Felix and Drusilla.* IX. *Agrippa (the younger.)* X. *Bernice.* XI. *Sergius Paulus, deputy of Cyprus.* XII. *Gallio, deputy of Achaia.*

THE first thing I would observe is, that Josephus and heathen authors have made mention of Herod, Archelaus, Pontius Pilate, and other persons of note, whose names we meet with in the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles; and have delivered nothing material concerning their characters, posts, or honours, that is different from what the writers of the New Testament have said of them.

I. St. Matthew assures us that "Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king," Matt. ii. whom St. Luke styles expressly "the king of Judea," Luke i. 5. Herod was the son of Antipater, who had enjoyed considerable posts of honour and trust under Alexander Iannæus, and Alexandra his wife and successor in the civil government of Judea, and their eldest Son Hyrcanus; who was high priest in his mother's lifetime, and after her death, had the civil power also united in him.

Nicolas of Damascus says, that Antipater was descended

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from one of the chief of the Jewish families that returned into Judea from Babylon. But Josephus makes no scruple to declare, that Nicolas said this, only to flatter Herod, who came to be king of Judea; and that in truth he was an Idumean.[a]

These Idumeans were a branch of the ancient Edomites, who, as Dr. Prideaux[b] has observed, 'while the Jews were 'in the Babylonish captivity, and their land lay desolate, 'took possession of as much of the southern part of it, as 'contained what had formerly been the whole inheritance 'of the tribe of Simeon, and also half of that, which had 'been the inheritance of the tribe of Judah; and there 'dwelt ever after,—till at length going over into the religion 'of the Jews, they became incorporated with them into the 'same nation.'

Josephus gives this account of their conversion. 'Hyr-'canus took also Adora and Marissa, cities of Idumea: and 'having subdued all the Idumeans, he permitted them to 'remain in the country, upon condition they would be cir-'cumcised, and use the Jewish laws. Rather than leave 'their native land, they received circumcision, and submit-'ted to live in every respect as Jews. And from that time 'they became Jews.'[c]

This happened in the 129th year before the christian æra.[d] Consequently Herod was a Jew though not of the ancient stock of Israel.

Moreover Josephus calls Judea, Antipater's native country.[e] And the Idumeans in the Jewish war 'promised to 'defend the house of God (at Jerusalem) and fight, for their 'common country.' 'And the Jews themselves allowed Herod to be a Jew. Whilst Felix was procurator of Judea, 'there arose a dispute between the Jews and Syrians that 'dwelt in Cæsarea concerning the equal rights of citizen-'ship. The Jews thought they ought to have the prefer-

[a] Joseph. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 1. sect. 3. Edit. Huds.

[b] Connection, Part. II. Book iii. p. 199. Oct. Edit. 1718.

[c] *Υρκανος δε και της Ιδουμαιας αιρει πολεις Αδωρα και Μαρισσαν· και απαντας τους Ιδημαιως υποχειριως ποιησαμενος επετρεψεν αυτοις μενειν εν τη χωρα, ει περιτεμνειν τε τα αιδοια, και τοις Ιυδαιοις νομοις χρησθαι θελοιεν· οι δε προθυμως της πατριδος γης και την περιτομην και την αλλην τυ βιυ διαιταν υπεμειναν την αυτην Ιυδαιοις ποιησασθαι· κακεινος αυτοις χρονος υπηρχεν ωστε ειναι το λοιπον Ιυδαιοις.* Ant. lib. 13. cap. 9. sect. 1.

[d] Prideaux's Conn. P. II. Book v. p. 307.

[e] *Και πρωτον μεν το τειχος ανεδειματο της πατριδος υπο Πομπηιυ κατεστραμμενον·* de Bell. J. lib. i. c. 10. p. 979. v. 28. vid. etiam ibid. v. 21. '*Τηρησομεν Ιδημαιοι τον οικον τυ Θευ, και της κοινης πατριδος προπολεμησομεν·* ibid. lib. iv. p. 1180. v. 43.

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'ence, because the founder of Cæsarea, Herod their king, 'was a Jew.'[g]

Herod obtained the crown of Judea upon occasion of a difference between two branches of the Asmonean family. Hyrcanus had been for a considerable time prince and high priest of the Jewish nation. But whilst the Roman empire was in an unsettled state after the death of Julius Cæsar, Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, brother of Hyrcanus, by means of some friends he had amongst the Jews, and by the assistance of the Parthians, made himself master of Jerusalem, and all Judea, and took Hyrcanus prisoner, who was put into the hands of the Parthians.[h]

Hereupon, Herod, who had been governor of Galilee under Hyrcanus, and whose interests had hitherto depended entirely upon him, set sail for Rome. All he then aimed at, was to obtain the kingdom for Aristobulus, brother of his wife Mariamne, by his father, grandson of Aristobulus, and by his mother, of Hyrcanus. But the senate of Rome, moved by the recommendations of Mark Antony and some reasons of state, conferred the kingdom of Judea upon Herod.[i]

Having had this unexpected success at Rome, he returned with all expedition to Judea; and, in about three years' time, got possession of the whole country. Antigonus was taken prisoner, sent to Antony, and by him put to death at Herod's request.[k] 'He (Herod) reigned after the death of 'Antigonus thirty-four years, and from the time he was 'declared king by the Romans thirty-seven.'[l]

He died of a very painful and loathsome distemper; insomuch that, as Josephus says, 'Some then pronounced it 'to be a judgment of God upon him for his many im-'pieties.'[m]

II. St. Matthew informs us, that Joseph, having been sometime in Egypt, by divine direction, "arose, and took the young child, and his mother, and came into the land of Israel. But when he heard that Archelaus did reign in Judea, in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither: notwithstanding, being warned of God in a

[g] Περι ισοπολιτειας. Οι μεν γαρ Ιυδαιοι πρωτευειν ηξιων, δια το τον κτιστην της Καισαρειας Ηρωδην αυτων βασιλεα γεγονεναι το γενος Ιυδαιον. Joseph. Ant. lib. xx. cap. 7. sect. 7.

[h] In the year before the Christian æra, 40. [i] Joseph. Ant. lib. xiv. c. 14. de Bell. lib. i. c. 14. [k] Ant. lib. xiv. cap. ult. de B. Jud. lib. i. cap. 18. [l] Ant. lib. xvii. 8. sect. 1.

[m] Ωτε τους επιθειαζοντας ποινην ειναι των σωφιτων τα νοσηματα λεγειν. de B. J. lib. i. cap. 33. p. 1041. v. 6. ελεγετο αν ὑπο των θειαζοντων, και ὡς ταυτα προαποφθεγγεσθαι σοφια πρεκειτο, ποινην τε πολλε δυσσεβες ταυτην ὁ Θεος ειςπρασσεσθαι παρα τε βασιλεως. Ant. lib. xvii. c. 6. sect. 5.

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dream, he turned aside into the parts of Galilee," Matt. ii. 21, 22.

By which words it is implied, not only that Archelaus succeeded Herod in Judea properly so called; but also that his power did not reach over all the land of Israel, and particularly not to Galilee.

Josephus has informed us, that Herod, usually called the Great, by his last will and testament, which he made a little before his death, appointed Archelaus his successor in Judea, with the title of king; and assigned the rest of his dominions to Herod Antipas, and Philip, excepting only some small part, which he gave to his sister Salome. However, the disposal of all was left to the determination of Augustus. This will the emperor ratified, as to the main parts of it. Archelaus was decreed successor to his father in Judea, Samaria, and Idumea, with the title of ethnarch: but was not to have the title of king, till he should do somewhat to deserve it. Herod Antipas was appointed tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa; and Philip, of Trachonitis and the neighbouring countries.[n]

If Joseph returned out of Egypt immediately after the death of Herod, I presume no one will except against the propriety of the expression here made use of, that Archelaus reigned. For his father had in his last will appointed him his successor with the title of king. If this return out of Egypt be supposed not to have happened, till after the decree of Augustus was passed, by which Archelaus was forbid as yet to use the style of king; yet no just exception will lie against St. Matthew's phrase. For Josephus himself, who has given us an account of this limitation, calls Archelaus, the king that succeeded Herod.[o] And he has used the verb reigning concerning the duration of his government.[p] And what in one place he calls a tetrarchy, in another, he calls a kingdom.[q]

St. Matthew says, that "when Joseph heard that Archelaus did reign in Judea, he was afraid to go thither." There must have been some particular reason for this fear, and for his "turning aside into the parts of Galilee," (by virtue of a pure choice of his own, or of a new direction from

[n] Jos. Ant. lib. xvii. c. 8. sect. 1. de Bell. lib. i. c. 33. sect. 7. 8. et lib. ii. cap. 6. sect. 3.—Et gentem coercitam, liberi Herodis tripartito rexere. Tacit. Hist. lib. v. cap. 9.

[o] Ο επικαταταθεις αυτῳ βασιλευς Αρχελαος υιος ων. Antiq. l. xviii. p. 802. v. 16, 17. [p] Ωστε βασιλευσειν μεν αυτον τον των ταχυων αριθμον· de B. lib. ii. c. 7. p. 1059. vid. etiam p. 789. v. 23. et p. 904. v. 20 [q] Την Λυσανιε τετραρχιαν p. 818. v. 27. βασιλειαν την Λυσανιε καλεμενην· p. 1071. v. 14.

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heaven;) though Galilee also was in possession of one of Herod's sons.

Some may infer from hence, that Archelaus must have had a bad character in Judea, even in his father's lifetime. And there are divers particulars in Josephus, which may confirm such a suspicion.

After his father's death, and before he could set out for Rome, to obtain of Augustus the confirmation of Herod's last will; the Jews, upon his not granting some demands they made, became very tumultuous at the temple. And he ordered his soldiers in among them, who slew above three thousand;[r] which was reckoned a great piece of severity, in the beginning of his reign, or rather whilst he was but a private person: for many reckoned him no more, till the succession was confirmed by Augustus.

As Archelaus went to Rome, so did Herod Antipas, and almost all the rest of the family. When they came thither, Herod made interest for Archelaus's share, which was called the kingdom: and the whole family favoured Herod's pretensions, 'not out of any love to him, but out of hatred 'to Archelaus.'[s]

After Archelaus had left Judea, with the leave of Quintilius Varus, president of Syria, an embassy of fifty of the chief men of Jerusalem was sent to Rome, in the name of the whole nation, with a petition to Augustus, that they might be permitted to live according to their own laws under a Roman governor: and when they came to Rome, they were joined by above eight thousand Jews who lived there. They arrived before Augustus had given his sentence upon Herod's will. When he gave Archelaus and this embassy an audience, none of the royal family would attend Archelaus to support his interest; such was their aversion to him. 'Nor did they join in with the embassy, being ashamed 'to oppose so near a relation in the presence of Augustus.'[t]

'And in the tenth year of his government,[u] the chief of 'the Jews and Samaritans, not being able to endure his 'cruelty and tyranny, presented complaints against him to 'Cæsar. Augustus, having heard both sides, banished 'Archelaus to Vienna in Gaul, and confiscated his treasury.'[v]

[r] Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 9. sect. 3. [s] Επει δε εις Ρωμην αφικετο (Αντιπας,) και παντων των συγγενων αποστασις ην προς αυτον, ικ ευνοιᾳ τῃ εκεινῃ, μισει δε τῳ προς Αρχελαον· ibid. sect. 4. [t] Οποσοι δε συγγενεις ησαν προς Βασιλεως, Αρχελαῳ μεν συντεταχθαι δια μισος το προς αυτον ὑστερων, τοις δε πρεσβεσιν ὁμοψηφειν κατ' αυτᾳ δεινον ηγωντο, εν αισχυνῃ τῃ αυτων οιομενοι γενησεσθαι παρα Καισαρι κατ' ανδρος οικειω τοιαδε πρασσειν προθυμεισθαι. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 13. sect. 1. [u] A. D. 6 or 7.

[v] Δεκατῳ δε ετει της αρχης Αρχελαυ, οι πρωτοι των αδελφων ανδρων εντε

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Indeed, he seems to have been the worst of all Herod's sons, except Antipater, whom Herod had put to death five days before his own decease.

As the evangelists have said little concerning our Saviour after his return out of Egypt, and settlement in Galilee, till the time of his public ministry, when the government of Judea was in other hands, we find no farther mention made of Archelaus by them.

III. But of the two other sons of Herod between whom the other half of his dominions was divided, we have mention made long after this. For St. Luke says, Luke iii. 1, that when "the word of God came to John, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Herod was tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea, and the region of Trachonitis." That is, they were then in possession of the same territories and titles, which were assigned them by their father's last will, and Augustus's decree. And it was this same Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, to whom our Saviour was sent by Pilate, Luke xxiii. 6, 7, when he was accused before him.

That Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, we are assured by Josephus, who says, that 'Philip the brother of Herod died in the twentieth year 'of Tiberius when he had governed Trachonitis, and Batanea, 'and Gaulanitis thirty-seven years.'[w]

And Herod continued tetrarch of Galilee, till he was removed by Caligula, the successor of Tiberius.[x]

IV. Of this Herod some other things are related, namely, his marrying Herodias and beheading John the Baptist. These are mentioned by several of the evangelists, Matt. xiv. 1—13, Mark iv. 14—29, Luke iii. 19, 20.——I shall only set down St. Mark's account. "For Herod had sent forth and laid hold upon John, and bound him in prison, for Herodias' sake, his brother Philip's wife; for he had married her. For John said unto Herod, It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife: therefore Herodias had a quarrel against him, and would have killed him, but she could not. For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man and an holy, and observed him.——And when a convenient day was come, that Herod on his birth-day made a supper to his lords, high captains, and chief estates of Galilee: and when the daughter of the said Herodias came in and

Ιυδαιοις και Σαμαρειταις μη φεροντες την ωμοτητα αυτυ και τυραννιδα, κατηγορουσιν αυτυ επι Καισαρος—Και ὁ Καισαρ αφικομενυ επι τινων κατηγορων ακροαται και αυτυ λεγοντος, και εκεινον μεν φυγαδα ελαυνει, δυς οικητηριον αυτῳ Βιενναν πολιν της Γαλατιας· τα δε χρηματα απηνεγκατο· ibid. cap. 15. sect. 2. [w] Antiq. lib. 18. c. 5. sect. 6. [x] Ibid. c. 8. sect. 2.

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danced, and pleased Herod, and them that sat with him, the king said unto the damsel, Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give it thee. And he sware unto her, Whatsoever thou wilt ask of me, I will give it thee, unto the half of my kingdom." Mark vi. 17—23.

This unlawful marriage is recorded in Josephus. 'About 'this time there happened a difference between Aretas, king 'of Petræa, and Herod, upon this occasion. Herod the 'tetrarch had married the daughter of Aretas, and lived a 'considerable time with her. But in a journey he took to 'Rome, he made a visit to Herod,[y] his brother; though not 'by the same mother, for Herod was born of Simon's the 'high-priest's daughter. Here falling in love with 'Herodias, the wife of the said Herod, daughter of their 'brother Aristobulus, and sister of Agrippa the Great, he 'ventured to make her proposals of marriage. She not 'disliking them, they agreed together at this time, that 'when he was returned from Rome, she should go and live 'with him. And it was one part of their contract, that 'Aretas's daughter should be put away.'[z]

Josephus speaks again of this marriage in another place, from which it appears likewise, that Herodias had a daughter by her first husband. She is generally supposed to be the person, whose dancing so much entertained Herod, the tetrarch. Giving an account of Herod's children and grand-children he says: 'Herodias was married to Herod, 'son of Herod the Great, by Mariamne, daughter of Simon 'the high-priest. They had a daughter whose name was 'Salome, after whose birth, Herodias, in utter violation of 'the laws of her country, left her husband then living, and 'married Herod the tetrarch of Galilee, her husband's bro-'ther by the father's side.'[a]

[y] Josephus here calls Herodias's first husband Herod. The Evangelists call him Philip. This difficulty will be considered amongst the objections.

[z] *Εν τυτῳ δε ςασιαζυσιν Αρετας τε ὁ Πετραιος βασιλευς και Ηρωδης, δια τοιαυτην αιτιαν. Ηρωδης ὁ τετραρχης γαμει την Αρετα θυγατερα, και συνην χρονον ηδη πολυν· ςελλομενος δ' επι Ρωμης καταγεται εν Ηρωδυ αδελφυ οντος ουχ ὁμομητριυ· εκ γαρ της Σιμωνος τυ αρχιερεως θυγατρος Ηρωδης εγεγονει· ερασθεις δε Ηρωδιαδος της τυτυ γυναικος, θυγατηρ δε ην Αριςοβυλυ, και υτος αδελφος αυτων, Αγριππυ δε αδελφη τυ μεγαλυ, τολμα λογων ἁπτεσθαι περι γαμων· και δεξαμενης, συνθηκαι γινονται μετοικισασθαι προς αυτον, ὁποτε απο Ρωμης παραγενοιτο· ην δε εν ταις συνθηκαις, ωςε και τυ Αρετα την θυγατερα εκβαλειν.* Antiq. 18. c. 6. sect. 1. [a] *Ηρωδιας δε αυτων ἡ αδελφη γημεται Ηρωδῃ Ηρωδυ τυ μεγαλυ παιδι, ὁς γεγονεν εκ Μαριαμνης της τυ Σιμωνος τυ αρχιερεως, και αυτοις Σαλωμη γινεται, μεθ' ἡς τας γονας Ηρωδιας, επι συγχυσει φρονησασα των πατριων, Ηρωδῃ γαμειται τυ ανδρος τῳ ὁμοπατριῳ αδελφῳ, διαςασα ζωντος. Την δε Γαλιλαιων τετραρχιαν ειχεν ουτος.* ibid. sect 4.

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It may, perhaps, be expected, I should here produce an instance about that time, of some lady of a like station with Herodias's daughter, who danced at a public entertainment. But I must own, I am not furnished with any instance exactly parallel. And I should conclude from this very story, as related by the evangelists, that this dance was a very unusual, if not a singular piece of complaisance. If it had been a common thing, it is not to be supposed that Herod would have thought of requiting it with so large a present as half his kingdom.

However, the daughter of the said Herodias, having received from Herod a solemn promise, confirmed by an oath, that he would give her "whatsoever she should ask of him," and she having withdrawn and advised with her mother, Mark vi. 25, 27, 28, "came with haste unto the king, and asked, saying, I will that thou give me by and by in a charger the head of John the Baptist.—And immediately the king sent an executioner, and commanded his head to be brought: and he went and beheaded him in the prison. And brought his head in a charger, and gave it to the damsel, and the damsel gave it to her mother."

At the time of this event, it was common for princes to require the heads of eminent persons, whom they ordered for execution, to be brought to them, especially where there was any particular resentment.

We have an instance in Josephus, which follows the story of this marriage. Aretas was extremely provoked at the treatment of his daughter, and at length a war broke out betwixt him and Herod. A battle was fought, and Herod's troops were defeated. 'Herod sent an account of this to 'Tiberius; and he resenting the attempt of Aretas, wrote 'to Vitellius to declare war against him, with orders, that 'if he were taken prisoner he should be brought to him in 'chains, and that if he were slain his head should be sent 'to him.'[b]

Agrippina, then wife of Claudius, and mother of Nero, who was afterwards emperor, sent an officer to put to death Lollia Paulina, who had been her rival for the imperial dignity. And Dio Cassius says, that when Lollia's head was brought to her, not knowing it at first, she examined it with her own hands, till she perceived some particular feature, by which that lady was distinguished.[c] I have put down

[b] Ant. lib. 19. cap. 6. sect. 1.

[c] *Και τηνγε Παυλιναν την Λολλιαν, επειδαν ελπιδα τινα ες την τυ Κλαυδιυ συνοικησιν εσχηκεν, απεκτεινε. την τε κεφαλην αυτης κομισθεισαν αυτῳ, μη γνωρισασα, το, τε σομα αυτης αυτοχειρια ηνεψξε, και τυς οδοντας εσκεψατο, ιδιως πως εχοντας.* Dio. lib. lx. p. 686.

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this instance, because it seems to give us the reason of this practice among great people, namely, that they might be certain their orders had been executed.

Josephus has represented Herodias as a woman full of ambition and envy, as having a mighty influence on Herod, and able to persuade him to things he was not of himself at all inclined to. It is on occasion of the emperor Caligula's advancing her own brother to the government of the countries that had belonged to their uncle Philip; and that not with the old title of tetrarch, which he had, but with the more honourable character of king.[d] Upon this, 'Herodias, sister 'of Agrippa, wife of Herod, tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, 'envied her brother's power, when she saw him in a more 'honourable station than her husband.'[e] The historian proceeds to relate, that she persuaded her husband to go into Italy, that he might obtain the same title. He was averse at first: however at length she prevailed upon him to undertake the journey. But the emperor was so far from granting his petition, that upon some informations he received concerning him, he took away from him the tetrarchy of Galilee, and gave it to Agrippa, the brother of Herodias, who had been the object of her envy; and moreover banished Herod to Lyons in Gaul, whither this wife of his also followed him. Josephus concludes his account with this reflection: 'This 'punishment did God inflict on Herodias for envying her 'brother, and on Herod for following the vain counsels of a 'woman.'[f]

I have set down thus much of their story here, because it may serve to give us a clear idea how things passed between Herod the tetrarch and Herodias; and may satisfy us, the evangelists have not been mistaken in representing her as the first mover in the barbarous usage, which John the Baptist met with.[g]

E. Hanov. 1606. Iisdem consulibus atrox odii Agrippina ac Lolliæ infensa, quod secum de matrimonio principis certavisset.—In Lolliam mittitur tribunus a quo ad mortem adigeretur. Tacit. Ann. xii. c. 22.

[d] Ant. xxviii. cap. vii. sect. 10. fin. [e] *Ηρωδιας δ' ἡ αδελφη τϐ Αγριππϐ, συνοικϐσα Ηρωδῃ, τετραρχης δε ουτος ην Γαλιλαιας και Περαιας, φθονῳ του αδελφϐ την εξϐσιαν εδεχετο, ορωσα εν πολυ μειζονι αξιωματι γεγενημενον ανδρος τϐ αυτης.* ibid. cap. 8. sect. 1. [f] *Ηρωδιαδι μεν δη φθονϐ τϐ προς τον αδελφον, και Ηρωδῃ γυναικειων ακροασαμενῳ κυφολογων, δικην ταυτην επιτιμησεν ὁ Θεος.* ibid. sect. 2.

[g] NOTE. There is now in Josephus's works a paragraph [Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 6. sect. 2.] in which the death of John Baptist by Herod is related, though Herodias is not mentioned as the cause of it. But some learned men suspecting the genuineness of this paragraph, I have no right to make use of it here, where I intend to produce nothing but what is unquestionably genuine. And, I think, we have no need of it.

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V. I have now said what is sufficient concerning Herod and Philip, two of the princes in whose time St. Luke says, John the Baptist commenced his ministry. All the rest will be more properly considered in some other places, except Lysanias, tetrarch of Abilene; of whom there is no[h] distinct account in any of the ancient writers, which we now have in our hands. But if the reader will be pleased to observe some passages, which will be produced immediately concerning the two Agrippas, he will be convinced there must have been about this time some prince of this name, who was tetrarch of Abilene.

VI. We may now proceed to another of Herod's family, of whom St. Luke has given us a very remarkable history. "Now about that time, Herod the king stretched forth his hands, to vex certain of the church. And he killed James the brother of John with the sword. And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther to take Peter also. Then were the days of unleavened bread." Acts xii. 1—3.

St. Luke calls this person Herod, by the family name; Josephus calls him Agrippa. He was grandson of Herod the Great. His father was Aristobulus, Herod's son by Mariamne, grand-daughter of Hyrcanus: and is the same person who has been already mentioned as brother of Herodias. St. Luke gives him the title of king, and relates several acts of sovereign authority done by him. He does not say expressly, that they were done by him at Jerusalem: but there are divers particulars in the relation, which plainly determine that to be the scene of action. For St. Luke observes, that when he took Peter, "then were the days of unleavened bread; and that he intended, after *Easter*, to bring him forth to the *people*." And that when Peter was out of prison, "and was come to himself, he said, (ver. 11.) Now I know of a surety, that the Lord—has delivered me out of the hand of Herod, and from all the expectation of the *People of the Jews*." And when he had "commanded the keepers to be put to death, (ver. 19.) "he went down from Judea to Cæsarea, and there abode." A passage or two from Josephus will confirm the representation St. Luke gives of Herod's being king, and that of Judea.

It was by several steps that he was advanced to this dignity. His first preferment was from Caligula, A. D. 37. 'And sending for him to his palace, he [Caligula] put 'a crown upon his head, and appointed him king of the

[h] Vid. Casaub. Exercit. in Bar. xii. 3. et Vales. Annot. ad. Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. i. c. 10.

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'tetrarchy of Philip, intending also to give him the tetrarchy 'of Lysanias.'[i]

His next preferment was the addition made, by the same emperor, of the tetrarchy of Galilee,[k] which has been mentioned already. The last was what follows: 'Claudius[l] 'by a decree confirmed to Agrippa the dominion, which 'Caius [Caligula] had given him; adding also Judea, and 'Samaria, in the utmost extent as possessed by his grand-'father Herod. This he restored, as due to him by right of 'consanguinity; and, moreover, added of his own, Abila, 'which had been Lysanias's, together with the country in 'mount Libanus.'

Josephus therefore confirms the representation which St. Luke has given of Herod's sovereign power in Judea. This is worthy of our particular notice, because his three years' reign in Judea, the last of his life, was the only time, in which Judea, properly so called, was not a Roman province, from the banishment of Archelaus, in the sixth or seventh year of the Christian æra, to the year 66, when they revolted from the Romans.

St. Luke says, that having "killed James the brother of John with the sword; *because he saw it pleased the Jews*, he proceeded farther, to take Peter also." That it is very likely he should be moved by such a consideration as this, is evident from the character which Josephus has given of him. Herod the Great, his grandfather, he says, was continually obliging foreign states and cities by large bounties, but did very few things to gratify the Jews: Whereas, 'Agrippa was of a mild and gentle disposition, and good to 'all men; he was beneficent to strangers, but especially 'kind to the Jews his countrymen, and sympathized with 'them in all their troubles. For which reason also he 'lived much at Jerusalem, observed the Jewish institutions, 'practised the purity they require, and did not let a day pass 'without worshipping God according to the law.'[m] This his

[i] Ant. xviii. c. vii. sect. 10. fin. [k] Vid. Joseph. p. 820. v. 20. p. 1067. v. 20. [l] Κλαυδιος δε—διαγραμμα πρωτιθει, την τε αρχην Αγριππα βεβαιων, ην ὁ Γαιος παρεισχε, και δι' εγκωμιων αγων τον βασιλεα· προσθηκην δε αυτῳ ποιειται πασαν την ὑπο Ηρωδη βασιλευθεισαν, ὁς ην παππος αυτῳ, Ιουδαιαν και Σαμαρειαν. Και ταυτα μεν ως οφειλομενα τῃ οικειοτητι τω γενους απεδιδω· Αβιλαν δε την Λυσανιω, και ὁποσα εν τῳ Λιβανῳ ὀρει, εκ των αυτω προσετιθει. Ant. 19. c. 5. sect. 1. vid. et de B. lib. ii. cap. 10.

[m] Πρανς δε ὁ τροπος Αγριππα, και προς παντας το ενεργετικον ὁμοιον· τοις αλλοεθνεσιν ην φιλανθρωπος, κακεινοις ενδεικνυμενος το φιλοδωρον, τοις ὁμοφυλοις αναλογως χρηστος, και συμπαθης μαλλον· ηδεια γαν αυτῳ διαιτα, και συνεχης εν τοις Ιεροσολυμοις ην, και τα πατρια καθαρως ετηρει. ὁια πασης γαν αυτον ηγεν αγνειας, ωδε ἡμερα τις παρωδευεν αυτῳ της νομιμης χηρευουσα θυσιας. Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 7. sect. 3.

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zeal for the institutions and customs of the Jews, and his desire to oblige that people, very much confirm the account St. Luke gives of his forwardness in persecuting the disciples of Jesus.

What St. Luke adds concerning this person is a very extraordinary relation, and Josephus concurs with him in it. "And he went down from Judea to Cæsarea, and there abode—And upon a set day, Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne, and made an oration to them. And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory; and he was eaten of worms and gave up the ghost." Acts xii. 19, 21—23.

Josephus's words are these: 'Having now reigned three 'whole years over all Judea, he went to the city Cæsarea, 'formerly called Straton's tower. Here[n] he celebrated shows 'in honour of Cæsar, a festival having been appointed to be 'observed there at this time for his safety. On this occasion 'there was a vast resort of persons of rank and distinction 'from all parts of the country. On the second day of the shows, 'early in the morning, he came into the theatre, dressed in 'a robe of silver, of most curious workmanship. The rays 'of the rising sun, reflected from so splendid a garb, gave 'him a majestic and awful appearance. In a short time they 'began in several parts of the theatre flattering acclamations, 'which proved pernicious to him. They called him a god, and 'entreated him to be propitious to them, saying, "Hitherto 'we have respected you as a man; but now we acknowledge 'you to be more than mortal." The king neither reproved 'these persons, nor rejected the impious flattery. Soon after 'this, casting his eyes upward, he saw an owl sitting upon a 'certain cord over his head. He perceived it to be a mes-'senger of evil to him, as it had been before of his prosperity, 'and was struck with the deepest concern. Immediately 'after this, he was seized with pains in his bowels extremely 'violent at the very first. Then turning himself toward his 'friends, he spoke to them in this manner: "I, your god, am 'required to leave this world; fate instantly confuting these 'false applauses just bestowed upon me: I, who have been 'called immortal, am hurried away to death. But God's ap-'pointment must be submitted to. Nor has our condition in 'this world been despicable; we have lived in the state 'which is accounted happy." While he was speaking these 'words, he was oppressed with the increase of his pains. He 'was carried therefore with all haste to his palace. These

[n] A. D. 44

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'pains in his bowels continually tormenting him, he expired 'in five days' time, in the fifty-fourth year of his age,° and of 'his reign the seventh.'[p]

It is needless to make many reflections here. The reader's thoughts cannot but carry him to many points of agreement in these two relations. They agree, that this event happened at Cæsarea: St. Luke says, it was upon a set day; Josephus, that it was upon the second day of the shows celebrated in honour of the emperor. The magnificence of Herod's dress is hinted by St. Luke, and particularly described by Josephus. The flattery is exactly the same in both. But in two things, above all others, is the harmony of these accounts observable. First, the temper of mind with which Herod received this flattery. St. Luke says, "he gave not God the glory;" Josephus, 'he neither reproved these per-'sons, nor rejected the impious flattery:' words that deserve particular notice in Josephus, because he had at times represented this Herod Agrippa as an extraordinary person, and free from the vices of his grandfather Herod; and indeed has endeavoured to raise his character for lenity and goodness, beyond what is consistent with some other accounts. For Dio Cassius says, Agrippa was reckoned

° *Τριτον δε ετος αυτῳ βασιλευοντι της ὁλης Ιουδαιας πεπληρωτο, και παρην εις πολιν Καισαρειαν, ἡ προτερον Στρατωνος πυργος εκαλειτο· συνετελει δε ενταυθα θεωριας εις την Καισαρος τιμην, ὑπερ της εκεινου σωτηριας εορτην τινα ταυτην επισαμενος. και παρ' αυτην ηθροιστο των κατα την επαρχιαν εν τελει και προβεβηκοτων εις αξιαν πληθος. . Δευτερᾳ δε των θεωρων ἡμερᾳ στολην ενδυσαμενος εξ αργυρου πεποιημενην πασαν, ὡς θαυμασιον ὑφην ειναι, παρηλθεν εις το θεατρον αρχομενης ἡμερας· ενθα ταις πρωταις των ἡλιακων ακτινων επιβολαις ὁ αργυρος καταυγασθεις θαυμασιως απεστιλβε, μαρμαιρων τι φοβερον, και τοις εις αυτον ατενιζουσι φρικωδες. ευθυς δε οι κολακες τας, ουδε εκεινῳ προς αγαθου, αλλος αλλοθεν φωνας ανεβουν, θεον προσαγορευοντες, ευμενης τε ειης, επιλεγοντες, ει και μεχρι νυν ὡς ανθρωπον εφοβηθημεν, αλλα τουντευθεν κρειττονα σε θνητης φυσεως ὁμολογουμεν. Ουκ επεπληξε τουτοις ὁ βασιλευς, ουδε την κολακειαν ασεβουσαν απετριψατο· ανακυψας δ' ου μετ' ολιγον τον βυβωνα της εαυτου κεφαλης υπερκαθεζομενον ειδεν επι σχοινου τινος· αγγελον τε τουτον ευθυς ενοησεν κακων ειναι, τον και ποτε των αγαθων γενομενον, και διακαρδιον ισχειν οδυνην· αθρουν δε αυτῳ της κοιλιας προσεφυσεν αλγημα, μετα σφοδροτητος αρξαμενον. Αναθεωρων ουν προς τους φιλους, ὁ Θεος ὑμιν εγω, φησιν, ηδη καταστρεφειν επιταττομαι τον βιον, παραχρημα της ειμαρμενης τας αρτι μη κατευθυσμενας φωνας ελεγχουσης. και ὁ κληθεις αθανατος ὑφ' υμων, ηδη θανων απαγομαι· δεκτεον δε την πεπρωμενην, ἡ Θεος βεβουληται· και γαρ βεβιωκαμεν ουδαμη φαυλως, αλλ' επι της μακαριζομενης λαμπροτητος. Ταυτα λεγων επιτασει της οδυνης κατεπονειτο· μετα σπουδης ουν εις το βασιλειον εκομισθη——συνεχως δε εφ' ἡμερας πεντε τῳ της γαστρος αλγηματι διεργασθεις τον βιον κατεστρεψεν, απο γενεσεως αγων πεντεκοστον ετος και τεταρτον, της βασιλειας δε εβδομον.* Antiq. lib. xix. c. 8. sect. 2.

[p] NOTE. The seventh year of his reign is computed from the time of his first advancement, by Caligula, to the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip, A. D. 37.

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one of Caligula's advisers in his cruel and tyrannical measures.[q]

Another thing, in which this harmony is very considerable, is that according to St. Luke, "immediately the angel of the Lord smote him:" and Josephus assures us, that these pains seized him in the theatre, before all the assembly, and that he apprehended a fatal necessity of speedily leaving this world. And when Josephus says, 'these flattering 'acclamations proved pernicious to Agrippa,' he plainly intimates, that his death was supposed to be a punishment for the approbation with which he received them.

Though St. Luke only had related this event, and there had been no account of it extant in Josephus, or any other ancient writer, yet I should not have doubted the truth of it. St. Luke would not otherwise have dared to relate an affair so disadvantageous, as this is in many respects, to so considerable a person as Herod; who was very acceptable to the Jewish people, and had received many honours and civilities from two successive Roman emperors, Caligula and Claudius. Nor would any man of tolerable capacity, much less so sensible a person as St Luke appears to be by his writings, have exposed his credit, by placing such an event in so public and noted a place as Cæsarea, the person concerned being seated on a throne, surrounded by attendance suitable to the occasion of a particular solemnity, if he had not been sure of the fact. And yet it may be said to receive a farther confirmation from Josephus, who, we may be assured, out of regard to his own credit, and his favourable inclination to Agrippa, would never invent such a story as this.

As for the owl which Josephus speaks of, and which is now said to be a 'Messenger of evil to Agrippa, as it had 'been before of his prosperity;' it has reference to an account he has given of the perching of such a bird upon a tree near the same Agrippa, when he was put into chains by order of Tiberius; and to a prognostication, which a German astrologer is said to have delivered at that time concerning him.[r] Whether such a bird did now appear in the theatre or not, I will not determine, nor do I think it material. Josephus does now and then throw a circumstance or two into his relations that give them an heathenish air; with a design, it is probable, of rendering his history

[q] *Ου μεντοι ταυθ' ουτως αυτως ελυπει, ὡς το προσδοκαν επι πλειον την τε ωμοτητα την τυ Γαιυ και την ασελγειαν αυξησειν· και μαλισθ' οτι ηπυνθανοντο τον τε Αγριππαν αυτῳ και τον Αντιοχον, τυς βασιλεας, ὡσπερ τινας τυραννοδιδασκαλυς, συνειναι.* Dio. lib. lix. p. 658. [r] Jos. Antiq. l. 18 cap. vii. sect. 7.

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more agreeable to the Greeks and Romans, for whom it was principally intended. But it is evident, from his account, that Herod was seized with a very uncommon disorder, and that he had the most lively apprehensions of his approaching death.

St. Luke says, "Herod was eaten of worms." This is not mentioned by Josephus. And this has been supposed by some to be a considerable objection against St. Luke's account; but in my opinion without any good reason. For the distemper, of which Herod Agrippa died, was, according to Josephus's own description of it, very like to that of Herod his grandfather; who, beside other disorders, was afflicted with violent pains in his bowels, and an ulcer which bred worms.[s] And it is not at all unlikely that Agrippa's case was, in this last respect also, very much the same with that of Herod the Great. I should think, that most persons must be ashamed to represent the omission of this particular in Josephus, as an objection of any moment. The distempers of great men are seldom particularly described. A certain delicacy often restrains men from making mention of such matters, and especially are historians shy of relating them concerning those princes, in whose honour they are interested. Upon the whole, I believe this passage of Josephus will be allowed to be a very remarkable attestation of this extraordinary event related by St. Luke.

It will be of use to put down here from Josephus the names of Herod Agrippa's children. 'Thus died king 'Agrippa, leaving behind him one son named Agrippa, then 'seventeen years of age, and three daughters; Bernice, who 'was married to Herod her father's brother, being sixteen 'years of age, Mariamne, and Drusilla, who were unmarried. 'The former was ten years old, and Drusilla six.—Drusilla 'was contracted to Epiphanes, son of Antiochus king of 'Commagene.'[t]

VII. From the xxiiid and two following chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, we learn that Felix was governor in Judea, and that Porcius Festus succeeded him; the truth of which is particularly attested by Josephus,[u] in divers parts of his history.

VIII. Concerning Felix, St. Luke has mentioned divers things, beside his being governor, that will deserve our consideration. Whilst St. Paul was at Cæsarea, St. Luke says: "and after certain days, when Felix came with his wife Drusilla, which was a Jewess, he sent for Paul, and

[s] Ant. lib. xvii. cap. vi. sect. 5. [t] Ibid. lib. xix. c. 9. in. [u] Ibid. xx cap. vi. vii. De B. J. lib. 2. c. 12. sect. 8. c. 13. 14.

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heard him concerning the faith in Christ," Acts xxiv. 24. This Drusilla is the youngest daughter of Herod Agrippa, as was shown just now. We have this account in Josephus, of her marriage with Felix.

'Agrippa having received this present from Cæsar, [viz. 'Claudius,] gave his sister Drusilla in marriage[v] to Azizus, 'king of the Emesenes, when he had consented to be cir-'cumcised.[w] For Epiphanes, the son of king Antiochus, 'had broke the contract with her, by refusing to embrace 'the Jewish customs, although he had promised her father 'he would.—But this marriage of Drusilla with Azizus was 'dissolved, in a short time, after this manner. When Felix 'was procurator of Judea, having had a sight of her, he 'was mightily taken with her; and indeed she was the most 'beautiful of her sex. He therefore sent to her Simon, a Jew 'of Cyprus, who was one of his friends, and pretended to 'magic; by whom he persuaded her to leave her husband, 'and marry him; promising to make her perfectly happy, 'if she did not disdain him. It was far from being a sufficient 'reason; but to avoid the envy of her sister Bernice, who 'was continually doing her ill offices, because of her beauty, 'she was induced to transgress the laws of her country and 'marry Felix.'

It has been thought indeed by some, that Tacitus gives a different account of this Drusilla, when he says, that Felix had for his wife Drusilla, grand-daughter of Cleopatra and Antony.[x] But I don't know that I am obliged to take notice of this, since Josephus agrees with St. Luke, "that she was a Jewess." And he may be justly supposed to be as well acquainted with Drusilla's original as Tacitus. I shall only observe, that Suetonius says, that Felix married three queens,[y]

[v] This was done A. D. 52, or 53. [w] *Λαβων δε την δωρεαν παρα τυ Καισαρος Αγριππας, εκδιδωσι προς γαμον Αζιζῳ τῳ Εμεσων βασιλει, περιτεμνεσθαι θελησαντι, Δρυσιλλαν την αδελφην. Επιφανης γαρ ὁ Αντιοχυ τυ βασιλεως παις παρητησατο τον γαμον, μη βουληθεις εις τα Ιυδαιων εθη μεταβαλειν, καιπερ τυτο ποιησειν προυποσχομενος αυτης τῳ πατρι——Διαλυονται δε τῃ Δρυσιλλῃ προς τον Αζιζον οι γαμοι, μετ' ου πολυν χρονον, τοιαυτης εμπεσυσης αιτιας. Καθ' ὁν καιρον της Ιυδαιας επετροπευσε Φηλιξ, θεασαμενος ταυτην, και γαρ ην καλλει πασων διαφερυσα, λαμβανει της γυναικος επιθυμιαν, και Σιμωνα ονοματι, των εαυτυ φιλων, Ιυδαιον, Κυπριον δε γενος, μαγον ειναι σκηπτομενον, πεμπων προς αυτην, επειθε τον ανδρα καταλιπυσαν αυτῳ γημασθαι, μακαριαν ποιησειν επαγγελλομενος, μη ὑπερηφανησασαν αυτον. Η δε κακως πραττυσα, και φυγειν τον εκ της αδελφης Βερνικης βυλομενη φθονον, δια γαρ το καλλος παρ' εκεινης εν ὀλιγοις εβλαπτετο, παραβηναι τατε πατρια νομιμα πειθεται, και τῳ Φηλικι γημασθαι.* Antiq. lib. xx. c. 6. sect. 1, 2. [x] —— Drusillâ Cleopatræ et Antonii nepte in matrimonium acceptâ: ut ejusdem Antonii Felix progener, Claudius nepos esset. Hist. lib. v. cap. 9. [y] Felicem, quem—provinciæque Judææ præposuit, trium reginarum maritum. Suet. Claud. cap. 28.

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or three women of royal families. It is certain that Drusilla, a Jewess, sister of Agrippa the younger, was one of them. And if Tacitus was not mistaken, another of them was descended from Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, and Antony, and was called Drusilla.[a] Who the third was, doth not appear that I know of.

Tacitus says, that whilst Felix was procurator of Judea, 'he acted in a very arbitrary manner, and scrupled no kind 'of injustice.'[a] Josephus has recorded one instance of abominable villany he was guilty of. 'Jonathan the high-'priest often admonished Felix to correct his administration; 'for that otherwise he himself was in danger of the ill-will 'of the people, since he had desired the emperor to make 'him procurator of Judea.' But he not being able to bear these frequent remonstrances, 'by a large sum of money cor-'rupted an intimate friend of Jonathan's, who got him to be 'assassinated.'[b] His government was so irregular, that the Jews followed him with complaints to Rome after he had left the province; and it was owing to a very powerful interest made for him at court, that he escaped the resentment of Nero.

All these above-mentioned particulars from Josephus and Tacitus, may satisfy us, that when, Acts xxiv. 25, "Paul reasoned of righteousness, temperance, [or chastity,] and judgment to come," his subjects were well chosen with respect to both his hearers; and that what St. Luke adds concerning Felix, that he, ver. 26, "hoped that money should have been given him of Paul,[c] that he might loose him," is no calumny.

Some, indeed, may think it strange, that Felix should have had any hopes of receiving money from this prisoner, when it does not appear he had any estate; and he has intimated, that he was at times obliged to "labour, working with

[a] She is supposed by some learned men to be the daughter of Juba, king of Mauritania, by Cleopatra, daughter of M. Antony and Cleopatra; and to have died before Felix came into Judea. Vid. Joseph. p. 891. not. 6. et notas in Sueton. Claud. c. 28. [a] E quibus Antonius Felix, per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit. Tacit. Hist. lib. v. c. 9. At non frater ejus cognomento Felix pari moderatione agebat, jam pridem Judææ impositus, et cuncta malefacta sibi impune ratus, tanta potentia subnixo. Ann. lib. xii. c. 54. [b] Εχων δε απεχθως προς τον αρχιερεα τον Ιωναθην ὁ Φηλιξ, δια το πολλακις ὑπ' αυτυ νυθετεισθαι, περι τυ κρειτονως προισασθαι των κατα την Ιυδαιαν πραγματων, μη και μεμψιν αυτος οφλοιη παρα τοις πληθεσιν, αιτησαμενος εκεινον παρα τυ Καισαρος πεμφθηναι της Ιυδαιας επιτροπον, —και δη δια τοιαυτης αιτιας ὁ Φηλιξ τον πιστοτατον των Ιωναθυ φιλων,— πειθει, πολλα χρηματα δωσει υπισχνυμενος, κ. τ. λ. Ant. 20. c. 7. sect. 5.

[c] Scelus est accipere ab reo: quanto magis ab accusatore? quanto etiam sceleratius ab utroque? Cicer. in Verr. lib. ii. n. 78.

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his hands" for a subsistence, 1 Cor. iv. 12. Acts xx. 34. But in answer to this, it has been observed by expositors, that Paul had told Felix, that "after many years" "he came to bring alms to his nation and offerings," Acts xxiv. 17. It is likely, therefore, that Felix imagined that the money had not been all distributed as yet, since Paul was apprehended within a few days after his coming to Jerusalem, ch. xxi. 27. xxiv. 11; or, at least, concluded he must needs be a person of some consequence, and have good friends.

IX. St. Luke says, Acts xxv. 13, "And after certain days, king *Agrippa* and Bernice came to Cæsarea to salute Festus." This Agrippa is the son of Herod Agrippa above mentioned. St. Luke calls him king, as Josephus also does very often.[d] But St. Luke does not suppose him to be king of Judea; for all the judicial proceedings in that country, relating to Paul, are transacted before Felix, and this Festus his successor. Besides, he says here, that "Agrippa came to Cæsarea to salute Festus;" that is, to pay his respects to him, and compliment him upon his arrival in the province. See Acts xxv. 1.

When his father was dead, Claudius intended at first to have put him immediately in possession of his father's dominions; but Agrippa being then but seventeen years of age, the emperor was persuaded to alter his mind, 'and appointed 'Cuspius Fadus prefect of Judea, and the whole kingdom.'[e] Which Fadus was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander, Cumanus, Felix, Festus;[f] though these did not possess the province in the same extent that Fadus did.

Agrippa therefore was disappointed of his father's kingdom; but he had by this time got considerable territories.

'Herod, brother of king Agrippa the great, died in the 'eighth year of the reign of Claudius Cæsar.—Claudius 'then gave his government to Agrippa the younger.'[g] This is our Agrippa we are now speaking of.

'The twelfth year of his reign being completed, he '[Claudius] gave Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip, and 'Batanea, adding also Trachonitis with Abila. This had 'been the tetrarchy of Lysanias. But he took away from 'him Chalcis, after he had governed it four years.'[h] This from his Antiquities. In the war of the Jews, Josephus expresseth it thus: 'After this he sent Felix the brother of 'Pallas to be procurator of Judea, Galilee, Samaria, and 'Perœa; and promoted Agrippa from Chalcis to a greater

[d] Ant. xx. l. viii. sect. 6. et. passim. [e] Ant. xix. c. ix. fin. [f] Ant. xx. de Bell. lib. ii. [g] Jos. Ant. xx. p. 887. in. [h] Ibid. p. 890. v. 25, &c.

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'kingdom, giving to him the tetrarchy which had been 'Philip's. (This is Batanea and Trachonitis, and Gaulanitis.) 'And he added moreover the kingdom of Lysanias, and the 'province that had been Varus's.'[i]

'Nero, in the first year of his reign, gave Agrippa a certain 'part of Galilee, ordering Tiberias and Taricheas to be 'subject to him. He gave him also Julias a city of Peræa, 'and fourteen towns in the neighbourhood of it.'[k] St. Luke therefore is in the right in giving Agrippa the title of king at this time.

The reader has, doubtless, observed, that when Paul was before Agrippa, he addressed himself to him as a Jew. Acts xxvi. 2, 3. "I think myself happy, king Agrippa, because I shall answer for myself this day before thee.—Especially because I know thee to be expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews. Ver. 27. King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest."

From what hath been alleged, relating to Herod Agrippa, it is plain he was a zealous Jew, or at least appeared so at Jerusalem, and had educated all his children in the Jewish religion. This Agrippa, his son, undoubtedly maintained the same profession: and now he had, by the permission of the emperor, the direction of the sacred treasury, the government of the temple, and the right of nominating the high priests.[l] No wonder, therefore, that St. Paul told Agrippa, "he knew him to be expert in all customs and questions which were among the Jews."

[i] De B. lib. ii. c. xii. fin.

[k] Ant. xx. c. vii. sect. 4.

[l] Josephus indeed says, Antiq. l. xx. c. 1. sect. 3. that Herod [King of Chalcis, brother of Agrippa the Great] did, upon the death of his brother, request of Claudius Cæsar the power of the temple and of the sacred money, and the right of nominating the high priest, and that he obtained all these privileges: and that from him this power continued to all his descendants, till the end of the war. *Ητησατο δε και Ηρωδης, ὁ αδελφος μεν Αγριππα τα τετελευτηκοτος, Χαλκιδος δε την αρχην κατα τον χρονον εκεινον πεπιστευμενος, Κλαυδιον Καισαρα την εξουσιαν τα νεω, και των ιερων χρηματων, και την των αρχιερεων χειροτονιαν, παντων τε επετυχεν· εξ εκεινα τε πασι τοις απογονοις αυτα παρεμεινεν ἡ εξουσια μεχρι της τα πολεμα τελευτης.* But either there is some error here in the copies of Josephus, or else we do not understand him right. For none of the sons of Herod of Chalcis did nominate any high priests. But according to Josephus's own account, all the changes in the priesthood, after the death of the said Herod, [which happened in the 8th of Claudius,] to the time of the war, were made by Agrippa the younger, nephew of this Herod, king of Chalcis. See Ant. xx. c. vii. sect. 11. c. viii. sect. 1. And when the people of Jerusalem had a mind to apply the sacred money to any particular purpose, they addressed to Agrippa; and he gave the directions. Ibid. sect. 7. And Josephus says expressly, that the king [Agrippa] had been entrusted with the care or government of the temple, by Claudius Cæsar. *Ο βασιλευς δε, επεπιστευτο γαρ ὑπο Κλαυδιω Καισαρος την επιμελειαν τα ιερα, κ. λ.* ibid.

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X. Bernice was a lady well known in those times. There are several reflections made upon her conduct by Josephus,[m] as well as other writers.[n] But as St. Luke says nothing of her, beside her making a visit to Festus with Agrippa; and it has been shown already who she was, namely, the daughter of Herod Agrippa, and the sister of Agrippa the younger, I am not bound to add any farther concerning her. I shall only say, the respect which Titus Vespasian showed her, gave occasion for much discourse; and that she had once hopes of being empress, but the murmurs of the people of Rome prevented it.[o]

XI. There are but two things more I shall take notice of in this chapter. They may be judged by some, too minute to be insisted on; but they appear to me instances of great exactness and propriety, and to afford a strong proof, that St. Luke was perfectly well acquainted with the matters of which he wrote.

Paul and Barnabas, having preached the word of God at Salamis [in Cyprus] went through "the isle to Paphos, where they found Barjesus, which was with the *Deputy* of the country, Sergius Paulus;" Acts xiii. 7. But in the Greek it is, with the *Proconsul* Sergius Paulus.[p]

It is well known to the learned, that upon Augustus's becoming absolute master of the Roman commonwealth, there was a division made of the provinces of the empire;[q] the most powerful, or at least, those which required the greatest number of troops, the emperor kept to himself, the rest were made over to the people and senate. The officers sent by the emperor were called lieutenants, or proprætors, though they were consular persons; that is, though they had served the consulship in the city.[r] The governors sent by the senate, into the provinces that belonged to their share, he appointed to be called proconsuls, a name more suitable to the peaceful state, which the provinces allotted to the senate were in. But the

[m] Ant. lib. xx. c. vi. sect. 3. [n] Tacit. Hist. l. ii. c. 2. et 81. Juv. Sat. 6. v. 155. [o] *Βερενικη δε ισχυρως τε ηνθει, και δια τυτο και ες την Ρωμην μετα τυ αδελφυ τυ Αγριππα ηλθε——ἡ δε εν τῳ παλατιῳ ωκεισε, και τῳ Τιτῳ συνεγιγνετο. Προσεδοκατο δε γαμηθησεσθαι αυτῳ, και παντα ηδη ὡς και γυνη αυτυ ουσα εποιει· ὡς' εκεινον δυσχεραινοντας τυς Ρωμαιως επι τυτοις ησθημενον, αποπεμψασθαι αυτην.* Dio ex Xiphil. lib. 66. p. 752. Nec minus libido, [*suspecta in eo erat,*]—propterque insignem reginæ Berenices amorem, cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur—præcipueque sumtam sibi Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit invitus invitam. Suet. in Tit. c. 7.

[p] *Ος ην συν τῳ ανθυπατῳ Σεργιῳ Παυλῳ.* [q] Strabon. Geog. lib. 3. p. 166. Ed. Amst. 1707. et lib. xvii. fin. Suet. August. c. 47, 48. Dio. lib. 53. p. 503. [r] *Τυς τε ετερυς ὑπο τε εαυτυ αιρεισθαι, και πρεσβευτας αυτυ αντιστρατηγυς τε ονομαζεσθαι, καν εκ των ὑπατευκοτων ωσι, διεταξε.* Dio. lib. 53. p. 504. D.

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division made at this time[s] underwent many changes. And a province, assigned at first to the senate, was afterwards made over to the emperor, and on the contrary. Such a change happened with reference to this province of Cyprus; which, in the first partition, was one of the emperor's provinces, but was afterwards together with Gallia Narbonensis, given to the senate; in the room of which he took Dalmatia, which at first was theirs.[t] In this state the province continued, and the proper title of the governor of Cyprus was that of proconsul.

It is true, Strabo says, Cyprus was a prætorian province;[u] and this has made this text a mighty difficulty with many learned men. Beza went so far into the opinion of the impropriety of this expression, as to attempt to correct it, in his translation of this text, and he put proprætor in the room of proconsul. And the solutions, which have been offered by divers other learned men,[v] have, I believe, appeared unsatisfactory. But if Dio's whole account of this matter had been attended to, the difficulty had vanished.[w] Cyprus was undoubtedly a prætorian province, as all the people's provinces were, except two. But the governors of all their provinces had the title of proconsul. 'It was decreed, that two of their provinces, Asia and Africa, should be 'appropriated to senators that had been consuls: and all the 'rest were given to those which had been prætors.'[x] 'But 'that they should be all called proconsuls, not only those 'which had been consuls, but those also which had been only 'prætors.'[y] And Suetonius says, 'That Augustus took the 'most powerful provinces to himself, and gave the rest to 'proconsuls chosen by the senate.'[z]

Examples also support this use of the word. Crete was a prætorian province, according to Strabo and Dio; yet Tacitus calls Cæsius Cordus, proconsul of Crete.[a] There is also an

[s] A. U. 727. before Christ, 27. vid. Basnage annal. Polit. Eccl.

[t] ——Κυπρος, και Αιγυπτιοι εν τη τε Καισαρος μεριδι τοτε εγενοντο· υστερον γαρ την μεν Κυπρον και την Γαλατιαν την περι Ναρβωνα τω δημω απεδωκεν, ε. τ. λ. Dio. ibid. p. 504. A. το τε δ' εν και την Κυπρον και την Γαλατιαν την Ναρβωνησιαν απεδωκε τω δημω——και ουτως, ανθυπατοι και ες εκεινα τα εθνη πεμπεσθαι ηρξαντο. id. lib. 54. ad A. U. 732. p. 523. B.

[u] Εξ εκεινου δ' εγενετο επαρχια ἡ νησος, καθαπερ και νυν εστι, στρατηγικη. lib. 14. sub fin. [v] Baron. A. Chr. 46. n. xi. Grot. in loc. &c.

[w] Vid. Noris. Cenotaph. Pisan. p. 219. [x] Τη δε δη βουλη, ιδια μεν τοις τε ὑπατευκοσι την τε Αφρικην και την Ασιαν, και τοις στρατηγηκοσι τα λοιπα παντα απενειμε. Dio. p. 505. C. [y] Και ανθυπατους καλεισθαι μη ὁτε τους ὑπατευκοτας, αλλα και τους αλλους, των στρατηγηκοτων, ἡ δοκουντων γαρ στρατηγηκεναι, μονον οντας. id. p. 504. C. [z] Provincias validiores ipse suscepit—cæteras proconsulibus sortito permisit. August. cap. 47.

[a] Ancharius Priscus Cæsium Cordum proconsulem Cretæ postulaverat repe-

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ancient inscription of Caligula's reign, in which Aquius Scaura is called proconsul of Cyprus.[b] If I have done St. Luke justice in this place, it is chiefly owing to assistances borrowed from Cardinal Noris: and I think myself obliged to make a particular acknowledgment of it.

XII. The last thing I shall take notice of, is the title given to GALLIO;[c] who in our translation is called the deputy, but in the Greek, proconsul[d] of Achaia. In this instance, St. Luke's accuracy appears more conspicuous than in the former, because this province had a more various fortune than the other. In the original partition, they were assigned to the people and senate.[e] In the reign of Tiberius they were, at their own request, made over to the emperor.[f] In the reign of Claudius, when L. Quinctius Crispinus and M. Statilius Taurus were consuls, A. U. 797. A. D. 44. they were again restored to the senate.[g] And therefore 'from 'that time [as Dio says upon Augustus's giving Cyprus to 'the senate] proconsuls were sent into this country.' St. Paul was brought before Gallio in the year of our Lord 52,[h] or 53;[i] consequently Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, as St. Luke calls him.

And perhaps it will not be amiss to observe, that afterwards Nero made the Achaians a free people.[k] The senate therefore lost this province again. However, that they might not be sufferers, Nero gave them the island of Sardinia in the room of it.[l] Vespasian made Achaia a province again.[m]

There is likewise a peculiar propriety in the name of the province of which Gallio was proconsul. The country subject to him was all Greece; but the proper name of the province among the Romans was Achaia. This is evident from some passages already set down in the margin, and has been particularly observed by Pausanias.[n]

tundis. Ad A. U. 774. Ann. l. iii. cap. 38. [b] P. Aquius Scaura—C. CÆSARE PRO CONSULE CYPRUM OBTINUIT. Gruter. Inscript. pag. 360. 3. laudat. a Noris. Cenotaph. Pisan. Dissert. ii. p. 219.

[c] Of Gallio see more, Ch. viii. sect. 1. [d] Ανθυπατευοντος της Αχαιας.

[e] Dio. p. 503. fin. [f] Achaiam ac Macedoniam, onera deprecantes, levari in præsens proconsulari imperio, tradique Cæsari placuit. Tacit. An. lib. 1. cap. 76. [g] Provincias Achaiam et Macedoniam, quas Tiberius ad curam suam transtulerat, senatui reddidit. Sueton. in Claud. cap. 25. Την τε Αχαιαν και την Μακεδονιαν—απεδωκεν ὁ Κλαυδιος τοτε τῳ κληρῳ. Dio. lib. 60. p. 680. E. [h] Basnage Ann. P. E. [i] Pearson. Ann. Paul. [k] Universæ Achaiæ libertatem Domitius Nero dedit. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 4. cap. 6. [l] Και ελευθερον ὁ Νερων αφιησιν ἁπαντων, αλλαγην προς δημον ποιησαμενος των Ρωμαιων· Σαρδω γαρ την νησον ες τα μαλιστα ευδαιμονα αντι Ελλαδος σφισιν αντεδωκεν. Pausan. p. 428. Hanov. 1613.

[m] Achaiam—libertate ademptâ, in provinciarum formam redegit. Sueton. in Vespas. c. 8. [n] Καλουσι δε ουχ Ελλαδος, αλλ' Αχαιας ἡγεμονα ος

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CHAP. II.

OF THE STATE OF THE JEWS IN JUDEA, DURING THE MINISTRY OF OUR SAVIOUR AND HIS APOSTLES.

I. *The religious state of the Jews, according to the writers of the New Testament.* II. *According to other ancient writers.* III. *The method of considering their civil state, in four periods, proposed.* IV. *Three preliminary observations.* V. *Their civil state, in the first period, according to the writers of the New Testament.* VI. *Some difficulties relating to it considered.* VII. *Their state, in the second period, according to the same writers.* VIII. *In the third.* IX. *In the fourth period.* X. *Some difficulties relating to this last period.* XI. *The civil state of Judea, in the first and last periods, according to other ancient writers.* XII. *In the second.* XIII. *In the third period.* XIV. *The chief captain at Jerusalem.* XV. *The captain of the temple.* XVI. *Festus's council.*

IN considering the state of the Jews in their own country, two things are to be regarded, their religious and their civil state.

I. That they had, according to the sacred writers, the free exercise of their religion, is evident from the whole tenor of the history contained in the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. They had their synagogues, the law and the prophets were read there; our Saviour taught in the synagogues. Whenever he healed any lepers, he "bid them go and shew themselves to the priests," Matt. viii. 4. "and offer the gift that Moses commanded," Luke v. 14.

There appears to have been a great resort to the temple at Jerusalem, from Galilee, and other parts, at all their usual great feasts. They were at full liberty to make what contributions they saw fit to their sacred treasury; Mark xii. 41, 44, Luke xxi. 1; and so secure were they, that they used indirect practices to enrich it; Matt. xv. 5, Mark vii. 11, 12. There is no mention made in the history of our Saviour's ministry, of any restraint, or obstruction they met with in their worship, save that one of the "Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices," Luke xiii. 1.

II. That they might thus freely perform all the services of

Ρωμαιοι, διοτι εχειρωσαντο Ελληνας δι' Αχαιων, τοτε τε Ελληνικε προεστηκοτων Pausan. Descript. lib. vii. p. 563.

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their religion, though they be supposed to have been then under the Roman government, is not at all improbable. For the Romans had ever permitted the people they conquered to practise their own religious rites in their own way: and seem not to have departed from this principle, till after the period of the evangelical history. And that the Jews were now at full liberty to worship God, according to the institutions of Moses, we are assured by Josephus, who has left us the history of these times. The Roman presidents did indeed, for some time, put in, and turn out their high priests at pleasure. Valerius Gratus, Pilate's predecessor, made several high priests, in the time of his government.[a] The last high priest he made was Caiaphas, who continued in that office during all Pilate's administration. He being removed from the province, Vitellius, president of Syria, put in Jonathan the son of Ananus, or Annas;[b] and afterward Theophilus, another son of Ananus, in the room of Jonathan.[c] But in this there was nothing unusual or extraordinary. Herod the Great and Archelaus had been wont, before this, to constitute and remove the high priests at pleasure.[d] Theophilus, just now mentioned, continued high priest till Herod Agrippa, [mentioned Acts xii.] then king of all Judea, displaced him, and put Simon the son of Boethus into his room.[e] However, this Herod was a Jew; and from thence to the time the war broke out with the Romans, the nomination of the high priests, and the government of the temple, were committed to princes of the Jewish religion, by the direction of the Roman emperors. After the death of Herod Agrippa, Claudius invested Herod king of Chalcis, brother of Herod Agrippa, with these powers;[f] and after his death, Agrippa the younger, son of the said Herod Agrippa.[g] And although they might all act somewhat arbitrarily in the nomination of the high priests, yet they always confined their choice to those who were of the race of the priests.

The Roman governors did indeed sometimes offer them abuses, or suffer abuses to be committed in the country, contrary to the institutions of the law, as they did also injure them in their civil properties. But these abuses seem not to have been very numerous; when any were committed, it was without the emperor's authority; and, usually, the Jews at length obtained satisfaction.[h]

This general view of the religious state of the Jews in

[a] Ant. l. xviii. c. 2. [b] Ibid. cap. v. sect. 3. [c] Cap. vi. sect. 3. [d] Ant. l. xx. cap. ix. fin. [e] Lib. xix. c. vi. sect. 2. [f] Ant. xx. cap. i. sect. 3. [g] Ibid. p. 899. l. 10. [h] Vid. Joseph. Antiq. xx. c. iv. sect. 3, 4.

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Judea may suffice at present. I shall have occasion to enlarge more upon this subject hereafter.

III. Their civil state will require a more particular consideration in this place. It will be needful to lay together a good number of texts, that the reader may be able to judge what representation the sacred historians have given of this matter. That it may be done distinctly, I desire leave to divide their history into four periods. These will serve to relieve us in a disquisition, which will be of some length. And perhaps we may have some other advantages, and receive some clearer light into this matter, by this method, than we should have otherwise.

1. The first period reaches from the preaching of John Baptist to our Saviour's resurrection.

2. The second, from thence to the time of Herod the king, mentioned Acts xii.

3. The reign of this Herod.

4. From the end of his reign to the conclusion of the evangelical history.

IV. I must here premise, that in going over the several passages of scripture relating to this matter, we are particularly to have our eye to a point, in which learned men are not entirely agreed, namely, what power and authority the Jewish nation was now possessed of; and whether they had the power of life and death, or only a right to inflict some lesser penalties.

2. I would likewise observe, that our inquiry here will chiefly be confined to the state of the Jews in Judea, properly so called. I have already shown (in part at least) in the foregoing chapter, that St. Luke has given a just account of the several divisions of the land of Israel, and of the princes and governors to whom they belonged: but now we are to consider the power, which the Jews were possessed of in Judea. Therefore the beheading of John the Baptist is a fact, that does not at present come particularly under our consideration. He was beheaded by Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, son of Herod the Great. And there can be no doubt, but he had the power of life and death (however he abused it) in his own territories.

3. I would also premise, that the evangelists are not answerable for the legality of all the facts they have related. It is said that, "all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up and thrust him [Jesus] out of the city, [Nazareth,] and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong," Luke iv. 28, 29.

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The Jews are said to have taken up stones to cast at Jesus more than once, and that in the temple. John viii. 59, x. 31, 33, 39. It is also said, that when Paul was about to sail into Syria, from Greece, the Jews laid wait for him, Acts xx. 3. So that he was forced to alter his purpose, and go another way. It can never be supposed, that any of these attempts were legal. It cannot be thought, that Herod the tetrarch, in whose territories Nazareth was, permitted the multitude to throw men off the precipice, whenever they did not like their doctrine. Much less can it be supposed, that such practices were allowed in any places where the government was in the hands of the Romans, as it certainly was in Greece, if not also in Judea. Such practices as these are never countenanced by those who are in authority. And if the scribes and pharisees, and the great men among the Jews, had, at this time, any principles that justified and encouraged such actions; and if they excited the common people to them in Judea, as well as in other parts; it may be reckoned an argument, they had not the government in their own hands, or the power of putting men to death by their own authority, when they judged them guilty. This observation may be of some use hereafter.

V. I shall now proceed to consider the account we meet with in the Evangelists in the first period, from the commencement of John the Baptist's ministry to the resurrection of our Saviour.

St. Luke has informed us, that when the word of God came to John, "in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea, and Annas and Caiaphas were high priests," Luke iii. 1, 2. And all the evangelists have assured us, that our Saviour was brought before Pilate and condemned by him. So that (according to them) Pilate was governor in Judea, during the whole time of our Saviour's ministry, or the period we are now in. But because the power of this governor is not particularly described by any of the evangelists, in order to judge what authority he had here, and what power Annas, or Caiaphas, or any other chief men among the Jews were possessed of in this country, we must observe the discourses, proceedings, and events recorded by the sacred historians, which have any relation to this matter.

1. The Jews appear to have been at liberty to follow their own laws and customs in most matters, particularly in the affair of marriage and divorce, in which they differed considerably from many other people.

"It has been said, whosoever shall put away his wife, let

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him give her a writing of divorcement; but I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery; and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery," Matt. v. 31, 32. It is evident, from the manner in which our Lord condemns all divorces, save those made for the cause of fornication, that they did at this time put them in practice upon other accounts. This appears also from the questions put to him, concerning this matter, and the answers he gave to them, and the surprize and uneasiness which the disciples express at his decisions, when he forbade such licentious divorces as those made "for every cause; for they said unto him, If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry." See Matt. xix. 3, 10, Mark x. 2—9.

It is said, indeed, that when the pharisees brought these questions, they came to him tempting him. But there seems not to have been any danger of giving offence to the Roman government, in this case, which way soever the question was answered. The design could be only to expose him to the resentment of the Jewish people, by decisions contrary to practices they indulged themselves in, and were very fond of; as I think appears likewise, from the notice the disciples took of what he said upon this subject.

However, this is no proof of any great degree of power in the nation at this time. Josephus says, he put away his second wife, because 'he did not like her manners.'[i] This was after the destruction of Jerusalem, and he was settled at Rome.

Justin Martyr, about the middle of the second century, says, 'That to that very day, their rabbies permitted them 'to have, each man, four or five wives.'[k] And 'that, wherever 'they were, they conversed with as many women as they 'pleased, and that under the notion of marriage.'[l] Their rabbies indulged them in these practices: and it seems, the Romans did not interrupt them.

2. Our Lord says, "Ye have heard, that it was said by them of old time, [or, to the ancients,] thou shalt not kill: and whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of the judgment," Matt. v. 21, 22. "But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in

[i] Μη αρεσκομενος αυτης τοις ηθεσιν· in vit. p. 945. 44.

[k] Οιτινες και μεχρι νυν και τεσσαρας και πεντε εχειν ὑμας γυναικας, εκαστον συγχωρεσι. Dialog. ii. p. 363. D. [l] Επει ει συνεχωρειτο ἡν βουλεται τις, και ὁσας βουλεται λαμβανειν γυναικας, οποιον πραττουσιν οι απο τυ γενους

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danger of the judgment; and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council."

Grotius[m] supposes, that though the power of inflicting capital punishments had been now for some time taken away from the Jews, yet our Saviour alludes to those methods of proceeding, which had been in use among them, and were still fresh in their memory. Our Lord, I think, does not declare at all, what power they now had, or made use of; but from the mention of the words of their law, and referring perhaps to the sense in which they then understood it, that they who committed murder deserved punishment, and that they who forbore that were innocent, proceeds to lay down a more strict and pure morality. What he delivers, in terms accommodated to their courts of judicature, is certainly no representation of their conduct, or the state of things at that time. For it cannot be thought, that every one, who was angry with his brother without a cause, was then in danger of the judgment; [unless the word mean the judgment of God;] or that every one, who said to his brother, Raca, was in danger of being brought by them before the council.

3. Our Lord delivered many predictions concerning the treatment, which his followers would meet with. Luke xi. 49. "Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send them prophets and apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute." Matt. xx. 34. "Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes; and some of them shall ye kill and crucify, and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city." Mark xiii. 9, See John xvi. 2. "Take heed to yourselves; for they shall deliver you up to the councils; and in the synagogues ye shall be beaten; and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake."

These words of our Lord would, I think, be understood by his hearers, agreeably to the state of things at that time, whatever it was; those punishments which are purely Jewish, such as being scourged in their synagogues, or driven from them, would be understood to be inflicted by Jewish hands. If the Jews had not then the power of condemning men to death; the capital punishments spoken of, as to be inflicted by them, would be understood to be brought about by their means and procurement; unless it were thought, that the words implied a prediction, that they would have supreme

υμων ανθρωποι, κατα πασαν γην ενθα αν επιδημησωσιν, η προσπεμφθωσιν, αγομενοι ονοματι γαμε γυναικας. ibid. p. 371. A.

[m] Matt. v. 21.

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power, though they now had it not, and that then they would use it for these purposes.

It can never be inferred from hence, that they had at this time supreme power in Judea, or any where else. It is very common to ascribe to men, not only those things they do themselves, but those also which are brought about by their means. In all languages, and in all countries, the punishment of an offender is ascribed to the prosecutor, the judge, and the executioner, though this last only puts him to death in the strictest sense. Thus it is certain, that Pilate condemned our Lord, and his officers crucified him: Yet the Jews are more than once said to have crucified Christ, because his death was owing to their prosecution and importunity. Cleophas, one of the disciples whom Jesus met in the way to Emmaus, told him, Luke xxiv. 20, "how the chief priests and our rulers delivered him to be condemned to death, and have *crucified* him." The crucifying, as well as delivering up Jesus, is here ascribed to the chief priests. Peter speaks to his hearers in this manner, Acts ii. 22, 23, "Ye men of Israel, hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you—Him ye have taken, and by wicked hands have *crucified and slain.*" Again, chap. vi. 8, 10, "Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, Ye rulers of the people and elders of Israel—Be it known unto you all, and to the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus of Nazareth, whom *ye* crucified, does this man stand here before you whole."

So Josephus says, that Herod reigned thirty-four years after he had killed Antigonus.[n] Though every one knows, it was Mark Antony who beheaded Antigonus, at the request of Herod.

And not only is this style used in relating facts that have already happened, but also in predicting those that are future. John viii. 28, "Then said Jesus unto them, When *ye have lift up* the Son of man, &c." Though at other times, when he speaks of his death, he represents the share they would have in it more distinctly, Mark x. 33, "Saying, Behold we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be delivered unto the chief priests; and they shall condemn him to death, *and shall deliver him to the Gentiles.*"

In like manner, he thus represents the sufferings his followers would be exposed to. Mark xiii. 12, "Now the brother shall betray the brother to death, and the father

[n] Τελευτα, βασιλευσας αφ' ϐ μεν αποκτεινας Αντιγονον εκρατησε των πραγματων ετη τεσσαρα και τριακοντα· Joseph. de Bell. lib. i. cap. 33. sect. 8. Μεθ' ο μεν ανειλεν Αντιγονον, κ. τ. λ. Antiq. p. 770. v. 37.

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the son; and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death; Και θανατωσουσιν αυτους, and shall put them to death." It never was legal, according to any constitution in the world, for children in a private capacity to put their parents to death. And this phrase is to be explained by those that go before, of betraying or delivering, that is, accusing, and prosecuting them, that they may be put to death.

In all these places, then, our Lord would be understood by his hearers, according to the quality of the persons spoken of, and the state of affairs at that time, whatever it was.

The persecuting from city to city, is no argument of supreme power any where. Acts xiii. 50, "The Jews [at Antioch in Pisidia] stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts." Again, the same thing happened at Iconium. Acts xiv. 4, 6, "But the multitude of the city was divided, and part held with the Jews, and part with the apostles. And when there was an assault made, both of the Gentiles and also of the Jews—they were aware of it, and fled unto Lystra and Derbe." And in many cities, situated undoubtedly in countries subject to the Roman jurisdiction, but in which the Jews had settlements, did they foment disturbances against the apostles, and thus drive them from place to place.

Further, our Lord bid his disciples to "beware of men; for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues," Matt. x. 17, xxiii. 34. It must be supposed, since the Jews had the free exercise of their religion, and we often read of the ruler of the synagogue, that the expelling from the synagogue, and beating in the synagogues, were punishments purely Jewish, and that they inflicted these penalties by their own proper authority. The Jews agreed, in our Saviour's lifetime, that "if any man did confess that he was the Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue," John ix. 22. This was a decree of theirs; and they did actually cast out, or excommunicate the man, that had been cured of his blindness. St. Paul says, that before his conversion, "he beat in every synagogue them that believed in Jesus," Acts xxiii. 19. Nay, as they had settlements in many parts, and were protected by the laws in the exercise of their religion, it is not unlikely, that they inflicted this punishment also out of Judea. St. Paul says, "of the Jews received I five

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times forty stripes save one," 2 Cor. xi. 24. He usually made so short a stay when he came into Judea, the several times he was there after his conversion, that it is most likely these scourgings had happened, most or all of them, in some other country. Epiphanus, who lived in the fourth century, informs us, that one Joseph, a Jew, whom he knew, having received a book of the gospels from a christian bishop, and being surprised by some of his countrymen when he was reading it, they took the book out of his hands with great violence, threw him on the ground, 'dragged him to the synagogue, and there beat him.'[n]

Uriel Acosta suffered this punishment in the synagogue at Amsterdam, in the last century, of which he has himself published a curious relation.[o] This, therefore, must be reckoned one of those lesser penalties, which they had a right to inflict in Judea, and possibly out of it.

4. The question brought to our Saviour about tribute is remarkable. Matt. xxii. 15, 20, "Then went the pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk; and they sent out their disciples, saying, We know that thou teachest the way of God in truth. Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not? But Jesus perceived their wickedness, [craftiness, Luke xx. 23.] and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? show me the tribute-money. And they brought him a penny: and he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? And they say unto him, Cæsar's." This is a proof the emperor's coin was current among them, and that they paid tribute to him. St. Luke's introduction to this story is in these words: Luke xx. 20, "And they watched him, and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of his words, that so they might deliver him unto the power and authority of the governor."

5. In the eighth chapter of St. John we have another ensnaring question put to our Saviour. "The scribes and pharisees brought unto him a woman taken in adultery: and when they had set her in the midst, they say unto him, Master, this woman was taken in adultery, in the very act: Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned; but what sayest thou?"[p] It is evident this was an

[n] Απαγουσι μεν εις την συναγωγην και μαστιζουσιν αυτον· Epiph. l. i. Tom. ii. c. 11. Hæres. 30. Vid. etiam Grot. ad Matt. x. 17. [o] Vid. Limborch. Amic. Collat. p. 349, 350. [p] It is well known, there are very strong objections brought by learned men against the genuineness of this paragraph of St. John's Gospel concerning the woman taken in adultery. Vid. Millii. N. T. Edit. Kusteri, et S. Basnage. Annal. Polit. Eccl. A. D. 32. n. 50. But I do not take any advantage of these objections.

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ensnaring question, for St. John adds, ver. 6, "This they said tempting him, that they might have to accuse him."

The speech they made, seems to me very artful, and it is not easy to say, which way they desired to have their question answered. But they seem to have suggested the strongest reasons they could, against his determining, that they 'might not stone her.' Perhaps, therefore, they wished he would say, they ought to obey the law of Moses. Now, if the Romans did not allow them at that time to inflict this punishment in this case, here would have been matter of accusation before the governor, if the question were resolved by him.

Our Lord, however, gives a most surprising and unlooked-for decision. "So when they continued asking him, he lift up himself, and said unto them, He that is without sin, let him first cast a stone at her, ver. 7. And they which heard it, being convicted by their own conscience, went out one by one, beginning at the eldest even unto the last," ver. 9. It gives one, indeed, a terrible idea of the wickedness of that people at that time; but I think, it is evident from hence, that all then present, were guilty of crimes of a like nature with that they charged this woman with. And I should think it may be concluded, with some probability, from the decision our Saviour pronounced, that they had not at this time the power of stoning any one for this crime; because the design of the answer given them at last by our Saviour seems to have been, to show them how unworthy they were of the power of inflicting capital punishments; and to intimate, that they ought not to expect to be restored to the authority they wished for, whilst they were so universally[q] corrupt. And how little they deserved to be entrusted with the administration of justice, appears from their notorious partiality; see Deut. xxii. 23, 24: for if this woman was taken in the act, as they said, they might have brought the man also. This our Saviour takes no notice of; they were a set of men, whom it was in vain to argue with in a direct way. The decision he gave is a proof of the highest wisdom, and had the effect to fill them for the present, with confusion.

6. They had their councils; these were summoned, met,

[q] There is a remarkable passage to this purpose in the speech of Josephus to the Jews in Jerusalem, while Titus with the Roman army lay before the city. *Ποθεν δ' ηρξαμεθα δουλειας; αρ' ουχι εκ στασεως των προγονων, ὁτε η Αριστοβουλω και Υρκανου μανια, και ἡ προς αλληλους ερις, Πομπηιον επηγαγε τῃ πολει, και Ρωμαιοις ὑπεταξεν ὁ Θεος τους ουκ αξιους ελευθεριας.* Joseph. de Bell. l. v. cap. 9. sect. 4.

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issued out orders. There is also frequent mention of their forming designs to apprehend Jesus and put him to death.

Jesus having healed a man with a withered hand on the sabbath-day, the " pharisees held a council against him, how they might destroy him," Matt. xii. 14. The man that had been cured by him at the pool of Bethesda, having told the Jews, that it was " Jesus that had made him whole," it is said, " therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the sabbath-day. John v. 15—18. But Jesus answered them, My Father worketh hitherto, and I work. Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, not only because he had broken the sabbath, but said also that God was his father, making himself equal with God. Ch. vii. 1. After these things, Jesus walked in Galilee: for he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him. Ver. 25. Then said some of Jerusalem, Is not this he whom they seek to kill? Ver. 32. The pharisees heard that the people murmured such things concerning him: and the pharisees and chief priests sent officers to take him. Ch. x. 39. Therefore they sought again to take him, but he escaped out of their hands." After he had raised Lazarus, some of them that were by, " went their ways to the pharisees, and told them what things Jesus had done. Ch. xi. 45, 47. Then gathered the chief priests and the pharisees a council, and said, What do we? For this man does many miracles? Ver. 53. Then from that day forth they took counsel together for to put him to death. But the chief priests consulted, that they might put Lazarus also to death," Ch. xii. 10.

7. But the actual apprehending, trial, and prosecution of Jesus, is the most particular and material instance of their authority in this period. And, if I mistake not, the method of proceeding in this affair does explain the nature of all those designs hitherto mentioned to put Jesus to death, excepting only clandestine or tumultuous attempts.

It will suffice to transcribe St. Matthew's account, taking in, here and there, a circumstance from the other evangelists.

Matt. xxvi. 3, 4. " Then assembled together the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders of the people, unto the palace of the high priest, which was called Caiaphas, and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill him. Ver. 14—16. Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests. And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver. And from

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that time he sought opportunity to betray him." Ver. 47. When Jesus was in the garden, whither he had retired after supper, "lo, Judas one of the twelve, came; and with him a great multitude with swords and staves from the chief priests and elders of the people." St. John says, ch. xviii. 3, "Judas then having received a band of men and officers from the chief priests and pharisees.[r]" This band must be a company of soldiers. Our Saviour is evidently apprehended by the authority of the Jewish council; but beside the officers of the high priest, here are soldiers, taken, it is likely, with the governor's leave, from the guard constantly kept by the Romans at Jerusalem. This may be inferred, from the Jews going to the governor, after our Saviour's crucifixion, for a guard to secure the sepulchre, which he readily granted. Matt. xxvii. 64, 66. And it is likely, had done the same now, to assist the officers of the high priest, if any disturbance should happen.

Ver. 50. "Then came they, and laid hands on Jesus, and took him." St. Luke informs us, that when they came to apprehend Jesus, chap. xxii. 52, "He said unto the chief priests and *Captains of the Temple*,[s] and the elders which were come to him; Be ye come out as against a thief, with swords and staves?" And St. John says, ch. xviii. 12, 13, Then the "band and the *Captain*,[t] and officers of the Jews took Jesus, and bound him, and led him away." Who this captain, or captains of the temple were, whether Roman or Jewish officers, has been doubted. I think they were Jewish officers, who presided there over the priests and Levites, and the inferior officers of the temple.[u] This I may show more particularly hereafter, but now we pass on. Matt. xxvi. 57, "and they that had laid hold on Jesus, led him away to Caiaphas the high priest, where the scribes and elders were assembled. Now the chief priests and elders, and all the council, sought false witness against Jesus, to put him to death, but found none: yea, though many false witnesses came, yet found they none. At last came two false witnesses, and said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy this temple, and build it in three days. And the high priest arose, and said, Answerest thou nothing? What is it that these witness against thee? But Jesus held his peace. And the high priest answered and said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us,

[r] Ο ων Ιυδας λαβων την σπειραν, και εκ των αρχιερεων και φαρισαιων ὑπηρετας. [s] Επε προς τυς παραγενομενυς επ' αυτον ἀρχιερεις, και στρατηγυς τυ ιερυ. [t] Η ων σπειρα και ὁ χιλιαρχος και οι ὑπηρεται των Ιυδαιων.

[u] Vid. Grot. ad Matt. xxvi. 45. Whitby, Luke xxii. 52.

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whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said; nevertheless I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Then the high priest rent his clothes, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy: What think ye? They answered and said, He is guilty of death." Ver. 59, 66.

St. Mark delivers their sentence in these words, Mark xiv. 64. "Then the high priest saith—Ye have heard the blasphemy? What think ye? And they all condemned him to be guilty of death."

These are the proceedings of the council, while Jesus was before them.

Matt. xxvii. 1, 2. "When the morning was come, all the chief priests and elders of the people took counsel against Jesus, to put him to death. And when they had bound him, they led him away and delivered him to Pontius Pilate the governor." See Mark xv. 1, Luke xxiii. 1.

St. John observes, ch. xviii. 28, 29, that the Jewish elders not entering into "the judgment-hall, lest they should be defiled, Pilate went out unto them, and said, What accusation bring you against this man?"

Having heard from them what things they had to lay to his charge, Pilate examined Jesus: having so done, "he said to the chief priests and the people, Luke xxiii. 4—8, I find no fault in this man; and they were the more fierce, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning from Galilee to this place. When Pilate heard of Galilee," he sent Jesus to Herod, who was then at Jerusalem.—He, having mocked him, sent him again to Pilate. Being therefore again returned to him, ver. 13—16, "Pilate, when he had called together the chief priests and the rulers, and the people, said unto them, Ye have brought this man unto me as one that perverteth the people: and behold I having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man, touching those things whereof ye accuse him. No, nor yet Herod.—I will therefore chastise him, and release him." They desired that he would rather release Barabbas; ver. 17—24. "Pilate therefore willing to release Jesus, spake again to them; but they cried, saying, Crucify him, crucify him. And he said unto them the third time, Why, what evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him; I will therefore chastise him, and let him go. And they were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified, and the voices of them

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and of the chief priests prevailed; and Pilate gave sentence, that it should be as they required."

A few remarks will be needful. The Jewish council having adjudged that Jesus was guilty of death, or that according to their law he deserved to die, they carry him to Pilate, and produce their charges against him. It is surprising, that they should do this, if they had themselves the power of life and death. A people fond of authority and power, would not have committed to a foreigner a cause that was within their own jurisdiction. If they had not the power of life and death in this case, they had it not in any. For the only crime, that Jesus was supposed to be convicted of before them, was that of blasphemy, or assuming without foundation the character of the Messias. The evangelists are extremely unanimous in this point: Matt. xxvi. 59, 60. "Now the high priests, and all the council sought false witness against him, but found none; yea though many false witnesses came, yet found they none.——Mark xiv. 56. Many bare false witness against him, but their witness agreed not together." St. Matthew, ch. xxvi. 59, 63–66, St. Mark, ch. xiv. 60—64, St. Luke, ch. xxii. 69—71, have particularly informed us, that the condemnation passed by the council upon Jesus was founded upon the declaration he made, that he was the Christ, when the high priest had adjured him to tell them who he was. And St. John says, chap. xix. 7, this was what they insisted on before Pilate: "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." As, therefore, the only fact which they had the proof of, was that of our Lord's own confession made before them, which they called blasphemy; if they had had the power of inflicting death in this case, they would have punished him accordingly, by their own authority, and not have carried him to Pilate.

They did indeed accuse him before Pilate of many things, and said, he stirred up the people, and the like. But these appear to have been merely malicious inventions of their own, without any ground in the least from any action they knew of, or that had been proved, when he was under examination before them; or else, were conclusions they pretended to draw, and insinuated to the governor, must be the consequence of Jesus's confession and declaration, that he was the Christ. And it seems to me, that this declaration of his was the only ground of all these charges, from what St. Luke says, chap. xxiii. 2, "and they began to accuse him, saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying, *that he himself is*

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Christ a King; as also from what St. John relates, chap. xix. 13, "the Jews cried, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend: whosoever *maketh himself a King*, speaketh against Cæsar;" as likewise, because this was the thing which Pilate seems more especially to have informed himself about. For he asked him, "art thou the king of the Jews?" John xviii. 33. Where we have the answer that Jesus returned him to ver. 38. Pilate perceiving there was nothing criminal in this pretension of Jesus, went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them, "I find in him no fault at all." There being no crime in this, he was fully satisfied of his innocence.

Perhaps, it will be objected against this, that the title set upon the cross, of "Jesus of Nazareth king of the Jews," is a proof the crime he was condemned for by Pilate, was that of sedition, or high treason. But I think, this is no proof of any such thing. For Pilate judging, that our Saviour was really innocent, [since it was the Roman custom to put some title,] might write what he pleased. And our Lord had satisfied Pilate, there was nothing seditious in the claim he made under that character, forasmuch as his kingdom was not of this world. But I contend not about this. It is not at all material, what was the pretended crime for which Pilate at last condemned Jesus.

Blasphemy was the only crime, of which Jesus was supposed to be convicted before the council; and yet these Jewish high priests and elders carried him to the governor; and it appears from the sequel, that Pilate was the supreme judge in this cause, and the master of the event. For he gives the case a fresh hearing, asks the Jews what accusation they brought, examined Jesus: and when he had done so, told them, he found in him no fault at all. This his conduct is a full proof, that he was the judge, and that they were only prosecutors and accusers.

Pilate, indeed, proposes to them, which he should release to them, Barabbas or Jesus. But certainly he does not appeal to them as judges. This is evident from the persons to whom he addressed himself with this proposal, namely, the people, the multitude; which never had among the Jews, a legal power of life and death. Matt. xxviii. 15. "At that feast the governor was wont to release unto the *people* a prisoner, whom they would. Ver. 17. Therefore, when they were gathered together, Pilate said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you? ver. 20. But the chief priests and elders persuaded the *multitude* that they should ask Barabbas, and destroy Jesus." See Mark xv. 8—15. This ap-

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peal to the people seems to have been only to discern, how far he might act in this matter consistent with the peace of the province, which depended upon the disposition of the people.

Moreover, Pilate at length pronounced the sentence. John xix. 19, He wrote the title upon the cross, and would not alter what he had written, though desired by the high priests. When the sentence was pronounced, the (Matt. xxvii. 27, 28,) "soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the common-hall, and gathered unto them the whole band of soldiers, and they stripped him, ver. 31, and put on him a scarlet robe, and led him away to crucify him." Ver. 54. The crucifixion was performed by these soldiers, under the command of a centurion.—Ver. 58. "Joseph of Arimathea went to *Pilate*, and begged the body of Jesus. Then *Pilate* commanded the body to be delivered. The chief priests and pharisees came to *Pilate*, desiring that he would command, that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day. Pilate said unto them, Ye have a watch, go your way, make it as sure as you can. Ver. 66, So they went and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch."

These soldiers were entirely accountable to Pilate. For when (Matt. xxviii. 11—14) "some of the watch came into the city, and showed unto the chief priests all the things that were done, they gave large money unto the soldiers, saying, Say ye, His disciples came by night and stole him away while we slept: and if this come to the *governor's* ears, we will persuade *him* and secure you.

Beside the light we receive into this matter, from the proceedings relating to our Saviour himself, we learn that Pilate had in his custody divers prisoners which were of the Jewish nation: for it could be such only, that it can be supposed, they should desire to have released to them. And it seems, it had been an usual custom with him, during his government, to release to them some prisoner at that feast; "and the multitude crying aloud, began to desire him to do, as he had ever done unto them." Mark xv. 8. See Matt. xxvii. 15.

When Pilate said unto them, John xviii. 31, "*Take ye him*, and judge him according to your law; the Jews said unto him, *it is not lawful for us to put any man to death.*"

As they here affirm expressly, that they had not the power of life and death, so Pilate told our Saviour that He had. John xix. 10. "Then Pilate said unto him, Knowest thou not, that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee?"

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So that the whole course of the proceedings in this transaction, and these express declarations of these two parties, the high priests and elders on the one hand, and Pilate on the other, assure us, that the Jewish nation had not, at this time, within themselves, the power of life and death upon any occasion.

VI. But yet there are some expressions of the evangelists, relating to this matter, that may require consideration.

1. There is a prediction of our Lord, concerning the manner of his death, related by John, with the evangelist's own reflection: ch. xii. 32. "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me. This he said, signifying what death he should die." Again, ch. xviii. 31, 33. "Then Pilate said unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death. That the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled, which he spake, signifying what death he should die."

Possibly, some may hence conclude, that the Jews had the power of putting men to death; and therefore the evangelist observes that the fulfilment of this prediction was remarkable; since, though they had the power, yet they disclaimed, and would not exercise it upon this occasion.

But without this supposition, the accomplishment of this prediction was remarkable on two accounts: first, in that he did not die a natural death: and secondly, that he was not put to death in a tumult; but his death was the result of a legal process, according to the form of government which then obtained in that country. No man, without a prophetic spirit, could foresee certainly, that he should not die a natural death; and yet, perhaps, it was more extraordinary to foresee, that he should escape all the sudden attempts upon his life. We have many of these recorded in the evangelists; but, notwithstanding, he suffered as a criminal by the sentence of the government.

And the meaning of the evangelists in the last mentioned place, I think, is this: the Jews said, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death; and hereby, that is, by their not having the power of inflicting capital punishments, it came to pass that the words of Jesus were fulfilled, in which he had predicted, that he should be crucified; that being a Roman, and not an ordinary Jewish punishment.

2. Perhaps some may think, their departing willingly at this time from their right, is implied in the phrase, "delivering up to the Gentiles;" which our Lord made use of sometimes when he spoke of his death. Mark x. 33. See Luke

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xviii. 32. "Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of man shall be delivered unto the chief priests, and unto the scribes: and they shall condemn him to death, and shall *deliver* him to the Gentiles:" and after the council had condemned Jesus, Matt. xxvii. 2, it is said, "when they had bound him they led him away, and *delivered* him to Pontius Pilate the Governor."

Hereby some may be pleased to understand, that for some reasons, the Jews voluntarily surrendered him to Pilate; though, if they had thought fit, they might have put him to death themselves.

But this is not the meaning of this word in the New Testament, as is evident from the first text here quoted, Mark x. 33. Judas, of whom that delivery to the chief priests is intended, released no right. The word is often used to express the acts of private persons, who accused, prosecuted, betrayed, or any other way contributed to the bringing another before a court of justice, in order to be condemned and put to death. Matt. x. 17—21. "But beware of men, for they will *deliver* you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues, and ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake: but when they *deliver* you up, take no thought, how, or what ye shall speak. And the brother shall *deliver* the brother to death, and the father the child." Mark xiii. 11. "But when they shall lead you and *deliver* you up, take no thought beforehand." And in the next verse, betraying is used for delivering. "Now the brother shall betray the brother, and the father the son."

3. But still some may suspect, that they might have some particular reasons, for not employing at this time all the authority they were possessed of. For St. Luke says, ch. xxii. 2, "And the chief priests and scribes sought how they might kill him, for they feared the people." And St. Matthew, ch. xxvi. 4, 5, "that they consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill him. But they said, Not on the feast-day, lest there be any uproar among the people." Possibly, therefore, suspecting the affections of the people, they might be willing to decline the odium of this action, and throw it upon Pilate.

But whatever apprehensions they might have concerning the people at first, yet when they had seized Jesus without any disturbance, and many had shown their forwardness in coming in to them, and bringing them false accusations against him, these fears might then be pretty well over. And certainly, they could be in no fear of the people, after

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the multitude had unanimously demanded with loud voices, that Barabbas might be released, and Jesus crucified. For that offer which Pilate made them, John xix. 6, "saying, Take ye him, and crucify him," was plainly after that the people had petitioned for Barabbas. Ch. xviii. 40, "Then cried they all again, saying, Not this man, but Barabbas." If they could have put any man to death, would not they now have joyfully accepted this offer which Pilate made them? Would they not have been willing now to merit with the people, by putting to death a man whom they disliked as well as themselves, if before they were afraid to kill one, whom they suspected the people were fond of?

4. And this brings me to another difficulty. For it may be said, If the Jews had not the power of life and death, what could Pilate mean by saying, John xviii. 31, "Take ye him, and judge him according to your law?" And again ch. xix. 6, "Take ye him and crucify him, for I find no fault in him?"

I answer, that Pilate's meaning in the first place is very evident, and the answer they make him, shows they had not the power of life and death. The context is thus: "Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgment." They scrupling to go in, Pilate "went out unto them, and said, What accusation bring you against this man? They answered and said unto him, If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee. Then said Pilate, Take ye him and judge him according to your law;" that is, go then and punish him yourselves. John xviii. 28—31, "The Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death;" that is, 'This is a 'criminal we cannot punish according to his deserts. It is not 'one of the lesser faults, for which we are wont to scourge 'men, or to cast out of the synagogue; but he is guilty of 'blasphemy, which by our law ought to be punished with 'death, And since we are not permitted to punish any man 'capitally, we have brought him to your tribunal, where 'alone we can have satisfaction.'

The other words are thus introduced: Pilate had scourged Jesus, platted a crown of thorns upon him, and offered him other indignities, hoping hereby to pacify the Jewish rage, and save his life: and goes out, "and saith unto them, Behold, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him:" he is an innocent man, and I cannot punish him as you desire. "When the chief priests therefore," John xix. 1—6, "and officers saw him, they cried out saying, Crucify him, crucify him. Pilate saith unto

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them, Take ye him and crucify him, for I find no fault in him." It is not unlikely, that some may suppose, the word crucify here, ought to be interpreted by the general word judge, used before. But I think, the most natural meaning of Pilate's words here is this: 'You must crucify him then 'yourselves, if you can commit such a villainy, for I cannot. 'He appears to me innocent, as I have told you already; 'and I have now punished him as much, or more than he 'deserves.'

The answer they make again, goes upon the supposition, that they could not take away any man's life. Ver. 7, "The Jews answered him, We have a law and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God;" that is, 'Indeed, Sir, you need not be so scrupulous; he 'is a blasphemer, and by our law all such ought to be put 'to death. And if you do not condemn him to death, we 'shall think you do not pay that respect to our law which 'you ought to do.' And then they threaten him with the general resentment of the nation, if he would not punish capitally the most heinous violation of their law.

This discourse which now passed between Pilate and the chief priests, is a proof, they had not the power of life and death; and that the intent of what Pilate said, is not, that they might crucify him if they pleased: if this had been Pilate's meaning, and they could have legally executed Jesus, would they have put a matter they were intent upon to an uncertain issue? would they have refused to take the cause into their own hands, when they saw the governor was backward to gratify their intentions? Their still pressing Pilate to pronounce a sentence of death, is a proof, that they knew very well, if Jesus was not condemned by Pilate he must be set at liberty.

5. But though these particulars, thus laid together, appear decisive; and the Jews here, in a most critical season, say expressly, that it was "not lawful for them to put any man to death;" yet in another place, there are some Jews, who seem to assert, they had at that time an absolute freedom. John viii. 31—33, "Then said Jesus unto the Jews which believed on him, If ye continue in my words, then are ye my disciples indeed. And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. They answered him, We be Abraham's seed, *and were never in bondage to any man: how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free?*"

It is not very material to enquire at present, who they were who made this reply to our Saviour; whether the believers before spoken of, who seem not to have owned

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him upon right grounds; or 'whether they were unbelieving Jews, who hypocritically joined themselves with these 'new professors, with intent of taking some private opportunity of killing[v] him.' What we are concerned with is the reply itself.

If these Jews do not speak here of civil temporal liberty, and of a freedom from all foreign jurisdiction, then we have no concern with them at present; but if they do, (as it is generally supposed,) they deserve no regard at all: for then, what they here say is a downright contradiction of God himself in the solemn preamble to the law at mount Sinai, "I am the Lord thy God, that brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." There is no relying upon the word of such men as these. Notwithstanding they ask "how sayest thou ye shall be made free," as if they could be no freer than they were, they might at that time be downright slaves. For they who scrupled not to contradict God himself, with reference to the time past, might well have assurance to deny a fact evident to every man's sense and reason at that time. Our Lord, indeed, does not deny the truth of what they said: it was to no purpose so to do. But with an unexampled firmness he prosecutes the subject he was upon: ver. 34, "Jesus answered them, Verily I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin."

But though the most express declarations of such men can never assure us of the truth, yet their angry reply to our Saviour, this fierce disclaiming the charge of subjection, upon so small, upon no occasion at all, affords more than a presumption they were not free at this time. An insinuation of their being in subjection, if such had been given, would have been treated with contempt, and not answered with indignation, if they had had all the power their proud hearts desired.

6. There is another text hitherto omitted, which some may think deserves notice. John xi. 47, 48, "Then gathered the chief priests and pharisees a council and said, What do we? for this man doth many miracles. If we let this man alone, all men will believe on him, *and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation.* Some may apprehend these words imply, that there was then no Roman government established in Judea.

I presume there is no necessity of inquiring, at present, into the views of this speech. All I shall say, by way of answer, is, 1. That this speech supposes that they were in

[v] See Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase upon this text.

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subjection to the Romans, otherwise, "all men's believing on Jesus," could not have been any offence to the Romans, or be pretended to be so. 2. The meaning of these words is, that then the Romans would no longer protect them in their religion and laws, and treat them as subjects, but send an army to destroy them, as rebels and enemies.

A passage of Josephus will illustrate this text. The Samaritans had obstructed the Galileans in their way to Jerusalem, and killed some of them. The chief men of Galilee complain to Cumanus the procurator, and demanded justice. He took a bribe from the Samaritans, and let the matter pass. 'The Galileans then being exasperated, per-'suaded the multitude of the Jews to betake themselves to 'arms and assert their liberty. Servitude, they said, was 'grievous in itself, but to be insulted under it, was altogether 'intolerable.'[w] Josephus says, that the chief men of Jerusalem, dreading the issue, endeavoured by all means to appease the people; 'and bid them set before their eyes the 'utter ruin of their country, the conflagration of their 'temple, the captivity and slavery of themselves, their 'wives and children; and as they would avoid these dread-'ful calamities, beseeched them to alter their present de-'signs.'[x] What is this but the "Romans coming and taking away both their place and nation?" which words, as I observed, imply a present subjection: and this state they appear evidently to have been in, when that exhortation was given, which I have just transcribed from Josephus.

I have now set before the reader the main passages of this period, concerning the power the Jews were possessed of in their own country. The sum is, they practised their own religious rites, worshipped at the temple and in their synagogues, followed their own customs, and lived very much according to their own laws. They had their high priests, council or senate, inflicted lesser punishments; they could apprehend men, and bring them before the council; and if a guard of soldiers was needful, could be assisted by them, upon asking the governor for them: they could bind men and keep them in custody: the council could summon witnesses, take examinations, and when they had any capital offenders carry them before the governor. This governor usually paid a regard to what they offered; and, if

[w] Δυλειαν γαρ και καθ' αυτην μεν πικραν ελεγον ειναι, την εφ' ὑβρει δε παντα πασιν αφορητον. [x] Και πειθοντες προ οφθαλμων θεμενους κατασκαφησομενην μεν αυτων την πατριδα, το δε ιερον πυρποληθησομενον, αυτων δε και γυναικων συν τεκνοις ανδραποδισμες εσομενες, μεταθεσθαι τον λογισμον. Joseph. Ant. lib. xx. c. 5. sect. 1.

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they brought evidence of the fact, pronounced sentence according to their laws. But he was the proper judge in all capital causes; for when the council of the Jews had had before them a case, which they pretended was of this kind, having prepared it, they go with it immediately to the governor, who re-examines it, and pronounces the sentence.

VII. The next period reaches from our Saviour's resurrection, to the reign of Herod, mentioned in the twelfth of the Acts of the Apostles.

I shall set down all the facts mentioned in this interval, which relate to this subject; after I have just observed, that we have here no notice taken of any Roman officer or president in the country. It does not follow there was none all this time, but it was proper to observe it here, though the reason of this omission do not appear. And this is one reason why I have made a distinct period of this interval.

1. The first fact is a case that followed soon after the cure wrought by Peter and John, upon the lame man that lay at the gate of the temple.——Acts iv. 1—3, "And as they spake unto the people, the priests, and the captain of the temple, and the Sadducees came upon them——and they laid hands on them, and put them in hold unto the next day: for it was now eventide."—Ver. 5—10. And "it came to pass on the morrow, that their rulers, and elders, and scribes, and Annas the high priest, and Caiaphas,—were gathered together at Jerusalem. And when they had set them in the midst, they asked, By what power, or in what name have ye done this? Then Peter filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, Ye rulers of the people and elders of Israel,—Be it known unto you."——Peter having made his defence——"When they had commanded them [Peter and John] to go aside out of the council, they conferred among themselves." Their resolution was,——ver. 15—21, "That it spread no farther among the people, let us straitly threaten them, that they speak henceforth to no man in this name—and having threatened them, they let them go."

A council was called; Peter and John were apprehended by Jewish officers, put in prison, brought before the council, examined, threatened, dismissed. No penalty is inflicted, and what punishment was threatened is not said.

2. The next case is in the following chapter. Acts v. 17, 18, "Then the high priest rose up, and all they that were with him, (which is the sect of the Sadducees,) and were filled with indignation. And laid their hands on the

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apostles, and put them in the common prison." The apostles were delivered out of prison that night by an angel, and went to the "temple, early in the morning and taught. But the high priest came, and they that were with him, and called the council together, and all the senate of the children of Israel, and sent to the prison to have them brought." ——The officers not finding them in the prison, returned to the council, informing them of it. "Now when the high priest, and the captain of the temple, and the chief priests heard these things, they doubted of them whereunto this would grow." Having received information that the apostles were in the temple, "Then went the captain with the officers, and brought them without violence.—And when they had brought them they set them before the council: and the high priest asked them, saying, ver. 21—28, "Did not we straitly command you, that you should not teach in this name?" Peter and the rest of the apostles made their defence. "When they heard that, they were cut to the heart, and took council to slay them." Gamaliel then stood up, and desired the apostles to be put forth a little space: and gave his opinion in these words; "And now I say unto you, refrain from these men and let them alone. And to him they agreed. Ver. 40, And when they had called the apostles and beaten them, they commanded that they should not speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go."

We have here a fact or circumstance or two, not mentioned before. The apostles were put into the common prison.[y] But we are told in the former instance in this period, Acts iv. 3, "they laid hands on them, [Peter and John,] and put them in hold,[z] unto the next day." And in the former period we find, that our Saviour was bound by the high priest's authority. St. John says, he was bound as soon as apprehended; ch. xviii. 12, "Then the band, and the captain, and officers of the Jews took Jesus and *bound* him:" though St. Matthew does not speak of it, till he comes to relate his being carried from the high priest to Pilate: and "when they had bound him, they led him away, and delivered him to Pontius Pilate," Matt. xxvii. 2. See Mark xv. 1.

However, there can be no doubt, I think, but the power of apprehending implies also the power of keeping in custody. Sometimes a prisoner might be kept all night in the high priest's house, as our Saviour seems to have been, when they intended to meet again the next morning. At other times they might send their prisoners to the common

[y] Και εθεντο αυτυς εν τηρησει δημοσιᾳ. [z] Εθεντο εις τηρησιν.

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or public prison, as in the case before us; for it is not at all unlikely, that they had the free use of it, and that the place of confinement was at their own discretion.

Another particular here is, that the apostles were beaten. We often meet in the New Testament with whipping in the synagogues: but it is likely, this was a more public beating. And possibly the ruler, and chief men of every synagogue, had the right of appointing a whipping there: this punishment now ordered by the sanhedrim, it is likely, was in some open market-place, whereby the sufferers were exposed; and therefore it is said, Acts v. 41, "And they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer *shame* for his name."

There is one thing more we ought to observe here; the apostles were beaten, and yet it is said, that they agreed to Gamaliel, whose advice was, that they should refrain from these men, and let them alone. This implies, that they had the power of inflicting, or procuring at least, a heavier punishment than that of whipping or beating. And it is said, they *took counsel to slay them.* But, I think, this does not imply, that they could by their own authority put them to death. Forasmuch as this is said of their designs against Jesus, and yet it has appeared, I presume, that they could not themselves legally, or according to the constitution of things at that time, put him to death. Thus St. Matthew says, ch. xxvi. 3, 4, "Then assembled together the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders of the people, unto the palace of the high priest—and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty and kill him." See Luke xxii. 2, 3. And after he had been apprehended, examined, convicted, and condemned by them, as far as their authority reached;—"When the morning was come, all the chief priests and elders of the people took counsel against Jesus to put him to death," Matt. xxvii. 1. See Mark xv. 1. As therefore this phrase in the gospels, when used concerning the proceedings against our Saviour, can mean no more, than their resolving to prosecute him before the governor as a criminal worthy of death, and consulting together how they might manage the prosecution, and get him condemned to death; so it is not unlikely, that the phrase ought to be understood in the same sense here: and when Gamaliel advises them to refrain from these men and let them alone, for any thing that appears, he must be understood to dissuade them from pursuing their resentment, so far as to prosecute them before the governor, as men worthy of death;

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and only to threaten them afresh, and if they thought fit, order them to be beaten, as we find they did.

3. The next affair of this kind, which we meet with in the Acts, is the prosecution and death of Stephen: the occasion and circumstances of which are related in this manner.

Acts vi. 8—15, "And Stephen, full of faith and power, did great wonders and miracles among the people. Then there arose certain of the synagogue, which is called the synagogue of the Libertines, disputing with Stephen. And they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake. Then they suborned men which said, We have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses, and against God. And they stirred up the people, and the elders, and the scribes, and came upon him, and caught him, and brought him to the council; and set up false witnesses, which said, This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place and the law. For we have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us. And all that sat in the council, looking steadfastly on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel. Then said the high priest, Are these things so?" Stephen then made his speech, Acts vii. 1—53, "When they heard these things, they were cut to the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth. But he being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up steadfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God. Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him, and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul: and they stoned Stephen calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," ver. 54—60. To which ought to be subjoined some expressions of Paul, in his speech to the people at Jerusalem. Acts xxii. 20, "And when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by and consenting to his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him."

Here we have a case, in many particulars different from any we have yet met with. Here is not only a man brought before the council, and witnesses heard; but he is put to death, by stoning, an ordinary Jewish punishment, without any mention of his being prosecuted before a Roman magistrate. And it has, in the conclusion, very much the appearance of a legal Jewish punishment; for the witnesses seem to have stoned him, or thrown the first stone at him.

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The reader will be pleased now to recollect a previous proposition, which was laid down at the beginning of this inquiry; namely, that the sacred historians are not accountable for the legality of the facts or proceedings which they relate. Though this affair should be allowed to have all the forms of a legal process, sentence, and punishment, according to the Jewish law and customs, yet it does not follow, that it was rightful, according to the constitution they were then under. It is certain, that magistrates do sometimes transgress the bounds of their authority, as well as people commit disorders. We have a plain instance of this at Philippi, Acts xv. where the magistrates commanded Paul and Silas to be beaten and imprisoned. But in this their sudden passion, they acted very irregularly, as they were soon sensible themselves. And it is not impossible, but the Jewish council at Jerusalem, in compliance with their own malice, and the clamours of the people, might pronounce a sentence that exceeded the bounds of their authority, and execute it, before the Roman officer could come in to prevent it.

This might be said, supposing there were here the complete form of a legal process, which I think there is not. It is true, here were witnesses, and they bring their charge; but here is no sentence pronounced by the council, not one word of it; nor does the high priest collect the opinions. If this had been done, it is not likely that St. Luke would have omitted it. In the account of the proceedings against our Saviour, Matt. xxvi. 66, Mark xiv. 64, particular mention is made of the high priest's asking the council their opinion, "What think ye?" and of the answer they made, "He is guilty of death." And St. Luke, ch. xxii. 71, has given the result of their debates: "And they said, What need we any further witnesses? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth." In the two cases already considered in this period, St. Luke has informed us, not only of the accusations against the prisoners and the defence they made, but of the debates of the council after the prisoners had been heard. These were ordered to go aside, there are debates, and the final resolution is taken, and then the prisoners are called in again, and the sentence is pronounced. Concerning Peter and John, see Acts iv. 15—18, of the apostles, ch. v. 34—40.

And in the present case, after the witnesses, which they had suborned, had delivered their accusations, "Then said the high priest, Acts vii. 1, Are these things so?" That is, he gave Stephen leave to make his defence. If after Ste-

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phen had done, the council had ordered him to go out; or if there had been any debates in the council concerning him, or the high priest had asked their opinion, and a sentence had been pronounced, it is incredible these things should have been omitted, as they are entirely. For what St Luke says is, that having heard what Stephen said, "they gnashed on him with their teeth:" and that "he then looked up to heaven and said,—I see the heavens opened, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God; then they cried out with a loud voice, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him." This has all the appearance of a tumultuous proceeding of the people, which the council, probably, had no inclination to check, but were highly pleased with; for of them I understand those words, "When they heard these things, they were cut to the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth;" words which represent an ungoverned rage.

And, if I mistake not, Stephen is not convicted upon the evidence of the witnesses: but upon his saying, "I see the Son of man standing on the right hand of God, they ran upon him with one accord."

His expressions they termed blasphemous; and in that case the Jewish people at this time seem to have made no scruple at all of stoning a man immediately, without any trial. There are so many instances of this in the Gospels, that it seems needless to allege any in particular. See John v. 17, 18. viii. 58, 59. x. 30—39.

And, as for the appearance of a legal punishment in these particulars, that "they cast him out of the city, and stoned him; and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul," I think, they cannot prove, that this was not a tumultuous action: for even the most unruly and disorderly multitude will oftentimes, in their utmost extravagances, assume some formalities of a legal procedure.

Notwithstanding this, there are some learned men who think, this was not a sudden act of the people, but that it was a punishment inflicted by the Jewish council. They say, that it was not allowed for private persons to put any man to death for any crime against their law, unless they did it whilst the criminal was in the very act.[a]

[a] Sed uti bene observavit Seldenus, lib. x. de jure nat. et gent. cap. 4. ex zeli judicio, supplicium capitale in ipso dum committebatur facinus duntaxat momento, seu homini επ' αυτοφωρῳ deprehenso, a zelotis, id est, privato zelo ductis, infligi permittebatur. M. Wagenselius in Carm. Lip. Confut. p. 301. and he alleges several passages from Jewish authors as proof of this, particu-

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But it may be questioned, whether the scheme of zealotism at this time, was exactly the same which is represented in the writings which these learned men quote. And though it were, it is not impossible, but when such a principle was countenanced, as that of the right of private persons to kill men "in the act," they might sometimes go beyond the bounds of that principle. And it is highly probable, that the chief men of the Jewish nation, when their authority was certainly under some restraints, might connive at the exorbitances of this zeal. It is certain, we have in the Acts of the Apostles, many instances of the Jews, in several places, lying in wait for Paul's life; not to catch him in the act of what they might call blasphemy, or any other violation of their law, but to kill him for facts done by him some time before. It is not material to enquire, what this was owing to; whether it ought to be called zealotism, or any thing else. It is certain, these were common practices among them. One thing, which they seem at this time to have thought the proper object of this private zeal, is what they called blasphemy. Now a criminal could not well be punished for this in the very act. The words must first be out of a man's mouth, before he could be guilty. Here were words spoken by Stephen, which they termed blasphemy: "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God." These words were spoken before the council, and it is likely, before a good many other persons, who were present as witnesses and prosecutors, therefore before ten or more persons. And Stephen was put to death with all the expedition possible, that is, in the very act, as near as could be. For it follows immediately, Acts vii. 57, 58, "Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city and stoned him."

Nor is the putting Stephen to death by stoning any proof, that there had been a sentence pronounced, or that there was any legal form observed in his death. For this was common in their tumultuous attempts. Jesus having said some things which gave them offence, John x. 31, "Then the Jews took up stones again to stone him." He went on to argue with them: ver. 33, They "answered him, saying,

larly from Maimonides. Quisquis paganam mulierem init.—Si istud propalam fiat, hoc est, decem vel pluribus scelus inspectantibus, tum si zelotæ hominem adoriantur, et impigre trucident, laudantur.——Veruntamen haud aliter licet zelotæ impetum in concubitores facere, quam si ipsi venereo operi sint intenti. ——Quod si ab opere cessent, tum porro trucidare nefas est. Ibid. p. 301, 302.

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For a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy." See John xi. 7, 8. The stoning which Paul suffered at Lystra was merely tumultuous. Acts xiv. 19, "And there came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people, [τους οχλους, the multitude,] and having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead." Thus much for the case of Stephen.

4. It follows, Acts viii. 1, "And Saul was consenting to his death. And at that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem, and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles." Ver. 3, "As for Saul, he made havock of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison." Ch. ix. 1, 2, "And Saul yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest, and desired of him letters to Damascus, to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem." When Ananias, at Damascus, was directed in a vision to go to Saul, ch. ix. 13, 14, "he answered, Lord, I have heard by many of this man, how much evil he has done to thy saints at Jerusalem. And here he has authority from the chief priests to bind all that call on thy name."

It must, I think, be supposed that Saul could not have taken up any at Damascus, (which was subject to Aretas,) by the authority of the council at Jerusalem, unless the governor there gave him leave: and it is highly probable, the correspondence between them was such as that he would not refuse it.[b]

And St. Paul says of himself, in his speech to the people of Jerusalem, Acts xxii. 4, 5, "I persecuted this way unto the death, binding and delivering into prisons both men and women, as also the high priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders: from whom also I received letters unto the brethren, and went to Damascus, to bring them which were there, bound unto Jerusalem, for to be punished." Ver. 19, 20, "And I said, Lord, they know that I imprisoned, and beat in every synagogue, them that believed on thee: and when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed," &c.

In his speech to king Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 9—13, Paul says, "Which thing I also did in Jerusalem, and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority

[b] Vid. Acts ix. 23, 24. 2 Cor. xi. 32. et Clerici Hist. Eccles. Ann. xxxi. Num. 1.

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from the chief priests, and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them. And I punished them oft in every synagogue, and compelled them to blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them, even unto strange cities. Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests, at mid-day, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven," &c.

Here is a great variety of particulars: imprisoning, beating in the synagogue, persecuting into strange cities, and putting to death.

As for the persecuting into strange cities, it is not at all surprising, that the Jews should have sufficient authority and power in their own country, (though they had a Roman governor amongst them,) to impose hardships upon the followers of Christ that would make them leave Judea; since, as has appeared from instances in the Acts of the Apostles already alleged, they were able to drive them from one place and city to another, in Greece, and several parts of Asia.

The punishments inflicted in the synagogues must be supposed inflicted by a mere Jewish authority, since they had the free exercise of their religion.

The apostle says also expressly, that "many of the saints" did he imprison by "authority from the chief priests." When he says, he "persecuted this way unto the death," I think, he expresses his aim and design; and that in the opposition he had made against the followers of Jesus, he proposed to bring upon them not the lesser punishment only of fines, whipping, or imprisonment, but death itself.

The case of the loss of life is that of Stephen, whose death, he says, he was consenting to, and kept the raiment of them that slew him. Besides this, in his speech to Agrippa, he says, "and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them."

Here it ought to be observed, that it is not expressed by what authority they were put to death. Though the sentences were pronounced and executed by the Roman magistrate, (as in the case of our Saviour,) Saul might be one who gave his voice against those who were so punished; as the people at Jerusalem did demand of Pilate, that Jesus might be crucified. It is of some such act as this, that Saul's giving his voice against them must be understood; of witnessing against them, promoting a popular clamour against them, or of approving, and consenting to their condemnation and punishment. This is all that can

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be intended, because, whether they were put to death by the authority of the sanhedrim, or of a Roman governor, it cannot be supposed that Saul was one of the judges.

But I think, it may very well be questioned, whether in these words Paul refers to any thing beside the death of Stephen. This is the only person, whose death he has any where expressly said he was concerned in. There is not any one instance, beside the death of Stephen, hinted by St. Luke: whereas if there had been any, it is very improbable that he should have omitted them, since he has given so particular an account of that of Stephen. It is very common, in less exact, nay in almost all kinds of relations, to use the plural number, where one only is meant. Thus St. Matthew says, Matt. xxvii. 44, "that the thieves also which were crucified with him, cast the same in his teeth." Whereas it appears from St. Luke, (ch. xxiii. 39, 40,) that only one of the malefactors, which were hanged, railed on him, whilst he was rebuked by the other for it. Again, Paul said unto them, [the keepers of the prison at Philippi,] Acts xvi. 37, "They have beaten us openly uncondemned, being *Romans*." And yet, most probably, Paul only was a Roman and not Silas. And in no case could a plural number be put for a singular more properly than here, where the apostle, in his great humility, aggravates his former blindness and madness. And the meaning of his words here is no more than, when any one was put to death, I was very forward in approving it.

Thus I think, that all which does evidently appear to have been done by a proper authority of the chief priests and council of the Jews, is imprisoning, scourging in the synagogue, and in some public place, and harassing in such a manner, as to oblige men to leave Judea. Stephen is put to death, but it seems to have been in a tumultuous manner.

However it must be allowed, that this was a time of very heavy sufferings for the followers of Jesus. And one would be apt to suppose, that for a good part of this period, the Jews had no Roman governor residing among them; or if they had, that he connived at some disorders; or else, that their zeal rendered them so tumultuous, that he was not able to keep things in good order amongst them.

There is one thing very observable, that for some time before the end of this period, the disciples of Christ enjoyed peace in Judea. Acts ix. 31, "Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria." I hope we shall be able to perceive, in some measure, the occasion

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of this, when we come to enquire what light foreign writers give us into this time.

VIII. We go on now to the third period, which is the reign of Herod the king. The account we have of the transactions in this period, is contained in the twelfth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; particularly from ver. 1, to the 7th, and ver. 18, 19. There being no difficulty in it, I need not transcribe it. Every order and act of Herod here mentioned, his killing James with the sword, imprisoning Peter with intent to bring him forth to the people, commanding the keepers to be put to death, is an undeniable proof of his sovereign authority at this time in Judea.

IX. The fourth period reaches from the reign of this Herod, to the conclusion of the evangelical history.

The main thing which occurs here, is the treatment of Paul in Judea, so far as there is any appearance of a legal procedure. He being come to Jerusalem, and having been persuaded to purify himself with others that had a vow, entered into the temple, Acts xxi. 26—34, "to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification.—And when the seven days were almost ended, the Jews which were of Asia, when they saw him in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him, crying out, Men and brethren, help; this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people, and the law, and this place: and farther, brought Greeks also into the temple, and has polluted this holy place. (For they had seen before with him in the city, Trophimus an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple.) And all the city was moved, and the people ran together, and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple: and forthwith the doors were shut. And as they went about to kill him, tidings came to the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar. Who immediately took soldiers and centurions, and ran down unto them; and when they saw the chief captain, and the soldiers, they left beating of Paul. Then the chief captain came near, and took him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains, and demanded who he was, and what he had done.—And when he could not know the certainty for the tumult, he commanded him to be carried into the castle."—But before he was led in, with the chief captain's leave, he made a speech to the people in the Hebrew tongue; in which he relates at length, that he had received directions in a trance, saying, Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles. The Jews, not being able to contain themselves any longer, "lift up their

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voices, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth: for it is not fit that he should live. The chief captain then commanded that he should be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging," Acts xxii. 22, 23, 24. But Paul affirming that he was a Roman, the centurion appointed to attend the torture, went and gave the chief captain information of it. "On the morrow, because he [the chief captain] would have known the certainty, wherefore he was accused of the Jews, he loosed him from his bands, and commanded the chief priests and all their council to appear, and brought Paul down and set him before them, ver. 30. And Paul earnestly beholding the council, said, Men and brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day. And the high priest Ananias commanded them that stood by to smite him on the mouth. Then said Paul unto him, God shall smite thee, thou whited wall: for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law? And they that stood by, said, Revilest thou God's high priest? Then said Paul, I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest: for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people," Acts xxiii. 1—5. A dissension arising in the council, "the chief captain, fearing lest Paul should have been pulled in pieces of them, commanded the soldiers to go down, and to take him by force from among them, and to bring him into the castle," ver. 9, 10.

The chief captain after this, being informed of a conspiracy against Paul, sent him with a guard of two hundred soldiers to Felix at Cæsarea; who, when he had received him, together with a letter from Lysias the chief captain, told Paul, he would "hear him, when his accusers also were come," ver. 35. "After five days, Ananias the high priest descended with the elders and a certain orator named Tertullus, who informed the governor against Paul," Acts xxiv. 1—22. Felix having heard both sides, "deferred them, and said, When Lysias the chief captain shall come down, I will know the uttermost of your matter.—But after two years, Porcius Festus came into Felix' room: and Felix, willing to shew the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound," ver. 27.

"Now when Festus was come into the province, after three days he ascended from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. Then the high priest, and the chief of the Jews, informed him against Paul, and besought him, and desired favour against him, that he would send for him to Jerusalem, laying wait in the way to kill him. But Festus answered, that Paul

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should be kept at Cæsarea; and that he himself would depart shortly thither. Let them therefore, said he, which among you are able, go down with me, and accuse this man, if there be any wickedness in him. Accordingly, he went down to Cæsarea—and sitting on the judgment-seat—the Jews which came down from Jerusalem—laid many and grievous complaints against Paul, which they could not prove. Paul answered for himself. But Festus willing to do the Jews a pleasure, answered Paul and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me? Acts xxv. 1—9. Hereupon Paul appealed to Cæsar, and was carried to Rome.

The case is this: a man was like to have been killed in a popular tumult at Jerusalem; a Roman officer there rescues him, takes him into his own hands, and lodges him in a castle. Afterwards, that his prisoner might be safer, he removes him to Cæsarea, the residence of the governor before whom there are divers hearings. There was therefore at this time a Roman governor in Judea, at first Felix, who was succeeded by Festus. But beside them here is also a Jewish council, which appears not void of authority.

This is the sum of the story. But here are divers particulars to be reviewed. The pretence for seizing this man at first is extremely complicated: "That he taught men everywhere against the people, and the law, and this place, and had brought Greeks into the temple, and polluted this holy place. The whole charge, however, seems to have been of a religious nature. This appears from divers testimonies.

When Paul was brought before the council at Jerusalem by Lysias, he "said, I am a pharisee, the son of a pharisee: of the hope and resurrection of the dead am I called in question," Acts xxiii. 6. This is a presumption the debates then ran upon matters of religion. Lysias, in the letter he sent with Paul to Felix, says: "I brought him forth into their council, whom I perceived to be accused of questions of their law," ver. 28, 29. Tertullus, whom Ananias took along with him to Cæsarea, tells Felix, "We have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes, who also hath gone about to profane the temple," ch. xxiv. 5, 6. Here are hard words, and some grievous charges thrown in to increase the account: and nothing true, but that Paul was a Nazarene, as Paul affirms, and seems to make out to Felix. "And they neither found me in the temple disputing with any man,

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neither raising up the people, neither in the synagogue, nor in the city: neither can they prove the things whereof they accuse me. But this I confess to thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, ver. 12—14. And after certain days, when Felix came with his wife Drusilla, he sent for Paul, and heard him concerning the faith in Christ," ver. 24. These new notions therefore of Paul were the great subject of inquiry, to see whether there was any thing dangerous or punishable in them.

Thus, before Festus at Cæsarea, the Jews, which were come down from Jerusalem, " laid many and grievous complaints against Paul, which they could not prove," ch. xxv. 7. When Agrippa came to salute Festus, Festus declared Paul's cause unto the king, and tells him, " Against whom when the accusers stood up, they brought none accusation of such things as I supposed; but had certain questions against him of their own superstition, and of one Jesus which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive," ver. 20. They might mix other matters in their complaints, as men intent upon a point are wont to do; but Festus perceived no truth in their charges, but what concerned their superstition or religion. Festus afterwards brings forth Paul to Agrippa; and Paul having rehearsed the manner of his life from first to last, before and since his conversion; and having acquainted them in particular with his commission from Christ to preach the gospel; after all was over, Agrippa said unto Festus, " This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar," ch. xxvi. 15—30. Which words show, Agrippa was convinced by what Paul said; first, that these principles of his were his only crime; and secondly, that notwithstanding the charges and pretences of the Jews, Festus had a right to set Paul at liberty.

From all which particulars it appears, that all the evidence against Paul, was of facts that concerned the Jewish religion, or the security of their worship: and yet we find, that Felix and Festus were the judges of this prisoner, in this cause: all parties acknowledge it.

The Jews seem to have owned it by their conduct: for Ananias went down to Cæsarea with Tertullus, and accused Paul there before Felix, Acts xxv. 6, 7. And when Festus came into the province, they went to Cæsarea again, and pleaded against Paul. Festus, speaking of Paul to Agrippa, says, about whom " when I was at Jerusalem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me, desiring to have judgment against him," ver. 15. And again, " Ye see this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews have

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dealt with me, both at Jerusalem, and also here, crying, that he ought not to live any longer," ver. 24.

Paul plainly acknowledges them to be so. "Then Paul, after that the governor had beckoned to him to speak, answered for himself: Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do the more cheerfully answer for myself," ch. xxiv. 10. And that his cause belonged to the Roman jurisdiction, he declared farther by his appeal at last to Cæsar.

These governors evidently claim the right of judgment. When Paul was first delivered to Felix at Cæsarea, "Felix said unto him, I will hear thee, when thine accusers also are come," ch. xxiii. 35. And after he had heard the accusers and Paul the prisoner in judgment, he deferred them, and said, When Lysias the chief captain shall come down, I will know the uttermost of your matter," ch. xxiv. 22. When Festus went first to Jerusalem, after he came into the province, "the high priest and chief of the Jews desired favour against him, [Paul,] that he would send for him to Jerusalem. But Festus answered, that Paul should be kept at Cæsarea, and that he himself would depart shortly thither. Let them therefore, said he, which among you are able, go down with me, and accuse this man, if there be any wickedness in him," ch. xxv. 2—5. Paul having pleaded there before him, "Festus, willing to do the Jews a pleasure, answered Paul, and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things *before me?*" ver. 9.

It ought to be observed likewise, that the Jews are all styled accusers only: the places are too many to be instanced in, and the reader cannot but recollect divers of them.

X. But though this affair, thus stated, favours much the supposition, that the Jews had not now the power of life and death, yet there are some difficulties that deserve consideration.

1. It may be thought, that the Jews had at this time the power of life and death, according to the constitution they were then under, but that Lysias had acted irregularly in taking Paul out of the Jewish hands, and that the governors likewise acted arbitrarily in supporting Lysias. This objection is founded upon what Tertullus says to Felix in his pleading before him: "For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes, who also has gone about to profane the temple: whom we took, and would have judged according to our law. But

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the chief captain Lysias came upon us, and with great violence took him out of our hands," Acts xxiv. 5—7.

In answer to this, it is not easy to say, what we ought to understand by those words, "whom we would have judged according to our law." Perhaps he may be supposed by some to say, that Paul having, beside other crimes, polluted the temple, by bringing heathens and uncircumcised persons into it, or beyond the bounds which were prescribed to such, we were going for this last offence to put him to death immediately. Titus in an expostulatory speech to the Jews, toward the conclusion of the siege of Jerusalem, says, 'Did not you erect pillars there at certain distances, 'with inscriptions in Greek and Latin, forbidding any to 'pass those bounds? and did not we give you leave to kill 'any man that passed them, though he were a Roman?'[c] But though it could be supposed, that here was some reference to this matter, yet certainly they had no right by virtue of this permission, to put Paul to death. This grant only empowered them to kill strangers that passed those limits, whereas Paul was a Jew. So that they acted irregularly in attempting to kill him on this account.

But possibly this man here attempted to misrepresent the fact, and pretended, that they were not going to kill Paul, but only to inflict one of those lesser punishments for the breach of their laws, which they had a right to inflict. And indeed I think, there is but little regard to be had to what Tertullus says. It seems plain to me, that he endeavours to impose upon the governor. Their attempt upon Paul was a mere tumult, as appears from St. Luke's history of it, Acts xxi. 27—31. And if we had not any particular account of that first action of the Jews at Jerusalem, yet Paul confuted, or invalidated all this part of Tertullus's speech, by that one observation in his defence and reply: "Whereupon certain Jews from Asia found me purified in the temple, neither with multitude nor with tumult: who ought to have been here before thee, and object, if they had ought against me," ch. xxiv. 18, 19. The non-appearance of these persons is a proof, that what they had done was not legal, and could not be justified: and doubtless Felix so understood it.

As for the charge, which Tertullus brings against Lysias, "that he came upon us, and with great violence took him out of our hands," this is undoubtedly of a piece with what went before. He that could call that tumultuous attempt

[c] Ουχ ήμεις δε τους ὑπερβαντας ὑμιν αναιρειν επετρεψαμεν, καν Ρωμαιος τις ἡ. Jos. de Bell. lib. 6. c. ii. sect. 4.

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upon Paul's life, judging him according to their law, might say any thing. Lysias sustains so excellent a character in every other part of this narration, that it is not easy to suppose he had acted irregularly in this action. He paid such a regard to the disposition of the Jewish people against Paul, as to bind him with two chains, as soon as he had got him into his possession. Not being able to find the truth from the different accounts given him, he ordered Paul to be examined by scourging. As soon as he knew that he was a Roman, he desisted from that method of inquiry. That he might know the certainty, he summoned a council at Jerusalem, brought Paul down to them, and had the goodness to unbind him whilst he pleaded. As soon as he was informed of a clandestine conspiracy against Paul, he prudently contrives to send him under a strong guard to Cæsarea, where he might be safe. In his letter to Felix, he gives a most just account of the whole affair, and of his own conduct in particular. "This man was taken of the Jews, and should have been killed by them; then came I with an army, and rescued him." And though I pass by many advantageous parts of his character, I must not omit his goodness, or exactness at least, in not consigning this prisoner to Felix without adding, beside his innocence, that he was a Roman.

These things are sufficient to assure us, that Lysias had a strict regard to justice, and the form of government then established in Judea; and that, in rescuing Paul from a mob, he had acted nothing but the part of a faithful and vigilant commander.

2. Farther, those words of St. Paul may create some difficulty, which we have in his answer to Festus's proposal of his going to be judged at Jerusalem:—"But if there be none of these things whereof these accuse me, no man may *deliver me* unto them," ch. xxv. 11. Whereby some may apprehend, that Paul was afraid Festus would give the cause out of his own hands, and permit the Jewish council to try him for his life.

But this cannot be the intention of Paul. For Festus's proposal was, "Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things *before me?*"

Nor, secondly, is this the meaning of this phrase, Ουδεις με δυναται αυτοις χαρισασθαι. The meaning is, no man may condemn me to death to please the Jews. Paul was afraid, that if he was carried up to Jerusalem, Festus might be induced by the whole weight of the Jewish people there to

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condemn him, though innocent. This is the common meaning of this word in like cases, when a judge is induced to depart from the merits of a cause, or from his own judgment, and to pronounce a sentence to gratify other people. It is used in a good and in a bad sense. It is used in a good sense by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who says, Amulius gave (or delivered) Rhea Silvia to his daughter: that is, granted Rhea her life at the request of his daughter:[d] and by Josephus, for thus he addresseth himself to Justus of Tiberias, 'And did not Agrippa, when he had ordered you to be put 'to death, grant [or deliver] your life to his sister Bernice,[e] 'when she earnestly requested it?'

It is also used in a bad sense. Thus the Jewish ambassadors, in the complaints they made to Augustus at Rome, of Herod the Great's government, after his death, say, 'He 'gave (or delivered) the blood of Judea to foreign people.'[f] This, therefore, is what Paul says, that since he was innocent, no man might condemn him to please others, no, not a whole nation.

3. Still some may have a suspicion, that if this was not a cause within the jurisdiction of the Jews, the reason might be, that the prisoner concerned was a Roman citizen: and they may think, such a suspicion may be founded upon what Lysias says in his letter to Felix: "This man was taken of the Jews, and should have been killed of them: then came I with an army, and rescued him, *having understood that he was a Roman,*" Acts xxiii. 27.

In answer to this, some learned men place a full point after rescued him. And join these last words, not with what goes before them, but with what follows, and translate them thus: Having understood that he was a Roman citizen, and being desirous to know the cause wherefore they

[d] Επικλασθηναι δε τον Αμυλιον εις τουτο, ικετευουσης της θυγατρος χαρισασθαι την ανεψιαν αυτῃ· ησαν δε συντροφοι, και ηλικιαν εχουσαι την αυτην, ασπαζομεναι τε αλληλας ὡς αδελφας· χαριζομενον ουν ταυτῃ τον Αμυλιον. p. 63. v. 14. edit. Huds. [e] Και αποθανειν σε κελευσας, απαξ τῃ αδελφῃ Βερνικῃ πολλα δεηθεισῃ, την σωτηριαν εχαρισατο. Joseph. in Vit. Cap. 65. p. 839. v. 1. It is used by him in a good sense again, χωρις των Αγριππᾳ χαρισθεντων· de B. J. lib. 3. cap. ult. sub. fin. [f] Και το της Ιουδαιας αιμα κεχαρισθαι τοις εξωθεν δημοις, de Bell. lib. 2. cap. 6. sect. 2. jam citat. a Grot. in loc. I subjoin a beautiful sentence of Socrates in Plato, in which he says, Nor is a judge appointed to give away right and justice to favour or entreaty, but to judge according to the laws. Ου γαρ επι τουτῳ καθηται ὁ δικαστης επι τῳ καταχαριζεσθαι τα δικαια, αλλ' επι τῳ κρινειν ταυτα και ομωμοκεν ᾧ χαριεισθαι οις αν δοκῃ αυτῳ, αλλα δικασειν κατα τους νομους. Apol. Socr. p. 35. c. edit. Serran. There is another example in Eus. H. E. l. v. p. 163. Και γαρ και τον Ατταλον τῳ οχλῳ χαριζομενος ὁ ηγεμων.

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accused him, I brought him forth to the council.[g] But the original will not admit of this interpretation.[h]

I answer, therefore, that this cannot be the meaning of Lysias, that having understood he was a Roman, he then came upon them and rescued him; because this was not the fact, as St. Luke himself, who has given us this letter, relates it. Lysias did not know that Paul was a Roman, till after he had put him into the castle, and ordered him to be there examined by scourging, Acts xxiii. 26, 27. Nor do the words necessarily imply, that he knew this before he had taken him out of the Jewish hands. They import no more than this, as Grotius has observed; then came I with an army and rescued him, and I have understood that he is a Roman.[i]

And it appears to me very observable, that in the course of this long affair in Judea, St. Paul has never insisted upon the privilege of a citizen, but in that one case, of the chief captain's ordering him to be examined by scourging.

However, if any are inclined to suspect, that Paul's being a Roman citizen might exempt him from the jurisdiction of the Jews, then this particular case must be set aside; and we have in it no proof, one way or other, what was the power of the Jewish council over their own people in their own country.

But though we set aside all the proceedings relating to Paul, after he was known to be a Roman citizen, yet it seems to me, that we have some particulars mentioned in this narration which show the Jewish magistrates had not the supreme government in Judea, no, not in religious matters.

The rescue of Paul by Lysias is one part of this story. The Jews were about to kill him. "The chief captain, hearing of the uproar, immediately took soldiers and centurions, and ran down to them.—Then the chief captain came near and took him," Acts xxi. 31—38. He did not then know who, or what Paul was: he might have been a mere Jew for ought he knew.

And I think that Paul's defence before Felix, in answer

[g] Ayant apris qu'il est citoyen Romain, et voulant savoir quel etoit le crime, dont ils l'accusoient, je l'avois mené devant leur sanhedrim. Nouv. Testament traduit par Mr. Le Clerc.

[h] For then the words would have been *μαθων δε οτι Ρωμαιος εστι και βυλομενος*. Whereas they are, *μαθων δε ὁ Ρ. ε' βυλομενος δε γνωναι, κ. τ. λ.* I think, that the ὃ following *βυλομενος* and not *μαθων*, shows Mr. Le Clerc's interpretation is not just.

[i] Aoristus hic nullum certum tempus designat; et tantum valet quantum *και εμαθον, et cognoveram*. Grot. in loc.

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to Tertullus, is remarkable: "Forasmuch as I know, that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do the more cheerfully answer for myself," Acts xxiv. 10. This argument had been ridiculous, if such cases as these had never come before Felix, and did not belong to him. All the particulars insisted on from ver. 11, to 21, have some regard to religion and the security of it. "They neither found me in the temple disputing with any man,"—Felix was a judge unto this nation in these causes. Nor does Paul speak of himself as a Roman, but as a Jew. "Now after many years I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings," ver. 17.

And if all this do not amount to a proof, that causes of a religious nature belonged to the Roman jurisdiction, yet certainly here is sufficient to prove, that the Romans had supreme power over the Jews in civil matters, or else they had no power at all. For, I presume, no man will suppose, that Felix and Festus were sent to govern Romans and Greeks only in Judea. I need not remind the reader of all the particulars that have already passed before us. But he cannot forget the acknowledgment St. Paul makes of Felix being judge unto that nation, nor the Roman garrison at Jerusalem, nor the title of governor given to Felix and Festus, nor what Tertullus says: "Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietness, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence, we accept it always, most noble Felix, with all thankfulness," Acts xxiv. 23. And of Lysias, an officer plainly inferior to Felix, it is said, that "because he would have known the certainty, wherefore he [Paul] was *accused of the Jews, he commanded the chief priests and all their council to appear*," ch. xxii. 30.

This is what we can collect from the sacred writers, concerning the state of Judea, at the time of their history.

XI. I proceed now to show their agreement with other ancient writers. The first and last periods are evidently of the same kind; and therefore I shall endeavour jointly to confirm what we have met with concerning them.

During the whole first period, Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea: and all we have taken notice of in the fourth or last period happened under Felix, or Porcius Festus, likewise Roman governors of Judea. That Judea was, at the times the evangelists speak of, under the government of these Roman officers, has been shown already, or will be shown in other parts of this work. This being taken for granted, we are now only to inquire, whether the

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evangelists appear to have had a just idea of the power which these governors had in this country.

In order to determine this, I shall

1. Set down the opinions of divers Roman lawyers concerning the power of the presidents of provinces.

2. I shall give some passages of ancient writers relating to the state of Judea in particular.

3. Some passages of ancient writers concerning the state of people in other provinces.

I. I shall set down the opinions of divers Roman lawyers concerning the power of the presidents of provinces.

Ulpian, who flourished in the very beginning of the third century of the Christian æra says, 'It is the duty of a good 'and vigilant president to see to it, that his province be 'peaceable and quiet.—And that he ought to make diligent 'search after sacrilegious persons, robbers, menstealers, 'and thieves, and to punish every one according to his 'guilt.'[k]

The same celebrated lawyer says, 'They who govern 'whole provinces have the right of the sword, and the power 'of sending to the mines.'[l]

And the right of the sword, or power of the sword, appears from another passage of the same lawyer to be the power of punishing malefactors.[m]

Again, he says, 'The president of a province hath the 'highest authority in his province next to the emperor.'[n]

Hermogenianus says, 'Governors and presidents of pro-'vinces have the cognizance of all causes, which belong to 'the prefect of the city, or the prefect of the prætorium, 'and the consuls, and prætors, and other magistrates at 'Rome.'[o]

And Marcianus: 'All affairs in the provinces, which at Rome are under the jurisdiction of several judges, do belong to the presidents.'[p]

[k] Congruit bono et gravi præsidi curare, ut pacata atque quieta provincia sit, quam regit:—Nam et sacrilegos, latrones, plagiarios, fures conquirere debet: et prout quisque deliquerit, in eum animadvertere. L. 13. pr. ff. de Off. Præs. [l] Qui universas provincias regunt, jus gladii habent: et in metallum dandi potestas eis permissa est. L. 6. sect. 8. ff. eod.

[m] Imperium aut merum [est] aut mixtum est. Merum est imperium, habere gladii potestatem ad animadvertendos facinorosos homines, quod etiam potestas appellatur. Mixtum est imperium, cui etiam jurisdictio inest, quod in dandâ bonorum possessione consistit. L. 3. ff. de Jurisd. [n] Præses provinciæ majus imperium in eâ provinciâ habet omnibus post principem. L. 4. ff. de Off. Præs. [o] Ex omnibus causis, de quibus vel Prætectus urbi, vel Præfectus prætorio, itemque Consules et Prætores, cæterique Romæ cognoscunt, Correctorum et Præsidum provinciarum est notio. L. 10. ff. eod.

[p] Omnia enim provincialia desideria, quæ Romæ varios judices habent, ad

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Ulpian says, 'No one can transfer to another the power 'of the sword, which has been committed to himself, nor the 'right of any other punishment.'[q]

Marcianus says, 'Adrian wrote thus to Julius Secundus: 'It has already been enjoined by rescripts, that credit is not 'to be given to the epistles of those, who send persons to 'the presidents as condemned.' 'The same rule extends 'to the peace-officers.—Therefore they who are sent with a 'bill [or information] are to be re-heard, although they are 'sent with a letter, or are brought by the peace-officers.'[r]

This illustrates several particulars in the causes we have been considering in the New Testament. Though the Jewish council, upon their examination of Jesus, pronounced him to be "guilty of death," Matt. xxvi. 66, and when they came before Pilate, said, "If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee," John xviii. 30; yet Pilate gave the cause a fresh hearing, and did not at all rely upon the information of the council. And Paul was heard again before Felix, though Lysias sent him with a letter, in which he informed the governor of his innocence. Nor did Lysias expect, that Felix should rely upon the hearing he had given the cause, and the sentence he gave concerning it, but referred the issue to Felix.

Ulpian says, 'The magistrates of municipal places may 'not punish a slave (with death): but the inflicting lesser 'penalties is not to be denied them.'[s]

officium Præsidum pertinent. L. 11. ff. eod. Tit. To which may be subjoined from Proculus: Sed licet is qui provinciæ præest, omnium Romæ magistratuum vice et officio fungi debeat, non tam spectandum est, quid Romæ factum sit, quam quid fieri debeat. L. 12. eod. [q] Solent etiam custodiarum cognitionem mandare legatis: scilicet, ut præauditas custodias ad se remittant, ut innocentem liberet: Sed hoc genus mandati extraordinarium est: nec enim potest quis gladii potestatem sibi datam, vel cujus alterius coercitionis ad alium transferre. L. 6. pr. ff. de Officio Proconsulis et Legati. Papinianus says the same thing: Qui mandatam jurisdictionem suscepit, proprium nihil habet: sed [et] ejus, qui mandavit, jurisdictione utitur. Verum est enim more majorem jurisdictionem quidem transferri, sed merum imperium, quod lege datur, non posse transire: quare nemo dicit, animadversionem legatum proconsulis habere mandatâ jurisdictione. L. 1. sect. 1. ff. de Officio ejus cui mandat. est Jurisd. [r] Divus Hadrianus Julio Secundo ita rescripsit: 'Et alias rescriptum est, non esse utique epistolis eorum credendum, 'qui quasi damnatos ad præsidem remiserint.' Idem de irenarchis præceptum est: quia non omnes ex fide bonâ elogia scribere compertum est.——Igitur, qui cum elogio mittuntur, ex integro audiendi sunt, etsi per literas missi fuerint, vel etiam per irenarchas perducti. L. 6. pr. et sect. 1. ff. de Custodiâ et Exhibitione reorum. [s] Magistratibus municipalibus supplicium a servo sumere non licet: modica autem castigatio non est deneganda. L. 12. ff. de Jurisdictione. What Paulus says agreeth herewith: Ea, quæ magis imperii sunt, quam jurisdictionis, magistratus municipalis facere non potest. L. 26. ff. Ad municip. et de incolis

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Municipia[t] were towns, or cities, which had the citizenship of Rome bestowed upon them, and yet still lived according to their own laws and constitutions. In which they differed from colonies, which were governed by the Roman laws.[u]

I take this to decide the matter fully. The Jews lived according to their own laws, as municipal people did: but then, if these last, who were Roman citizens, had not the right of punishing a slave with death, certainly the Jews had not, whilst under the Roman government.

2. I shall now proceed to some passages of ancient writers, that particularly concern the state of Judea about this time.

Archelaus, Herod's son, being banished by Augustus, A. D. 6 or 7, Judea was put under the government of Roman officers sent from Rome. Of this affair Josephus, in the Jewish war, speaks in these words: 'The dominion of 'Archelaus being reduced to a province, Coponius, a person 'of the equestrian order among the Romans, is sent thither 'invested by Cæsar with the power of life and death.'[v]

Speaking of this same revolution in his Antiquities, he says, 'In the mean time Cyrenius, a senator—came into 'Syria—being sent thither by Cæsar, as judge of that 'nation, and censor of their estates. And Coponius, a per-'son of the equestrian rank, is sent with him to govern the 'Jews with supreme authority: Cyrenius also came into 'Judea, it being annexed to the province of Syria.'[w]

When St. Luke mentions Festus's arrival into the province,[x] namely, of Judea, Acts xxv. 1, he uses the same word that Josephus does, when he says, that Archelaus's dominion was reduced to a province. And when St. Paul stiles Felix the judge unto that[y] nation, he uses a phrase equivalent to that, by which Josephus describes the authority with which Cyrenius was sent into Syria; namely, as judge of that people, or to administer justice among them.

As Cyrenius came at this time into Judea, and made an

[t] Municipes ergo sunt cives Romani ex municipiis, legibus suis et suo jure utentes. A. Gell. Lib. xiii. cap. 13. vid. et Fest. voc. Municipes, et Municipium. [u] Et jura institutaque omnia populi Romani, non sui imperii habent. A. Gell. ubi supra. [v] Της δε Αρχελαυ χωρας εις επαρχιαν περιγραφεισης, επιτροπος τις ιππικης παρα Ρωμαιους ταξεως Κωπωνιος πεμπεται, μεχρι του κτεινειν λαβων παρα του Καισαρος εξουσιαν Jos. de B. lib. ii. cap. viii. sect. 1. [w] Κυρηνιος δε επι Συριας παρην, υπο Καισαρος δικαιοδοτης του εθνους απεσταλμενος——Κωπωνιος τε αυτω συγκατα-πεμπεται, ταγματος των ιππεων ηγησομενος Ιουδαιων τη επι πασιν εξουσια· παρην δε και Κυρηνιος εις την Ιουδαιων προσθηκην της Συριας γενομενην Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 1, sect. 1. [x] Φηστος ουν επιβας τη επαρχια.

[y] Κριτην τω εθνει τουτω. Acts xxiv. 10.

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assessment there, so the Jews continued, whilst a Roman province, to pay tribute to the emperor. Tacitus informs us, that in the third of Tiberius, A. D. 17, the Jews presented a petition to Tiberius for an abatement of their tribute.[a] And Agrippa the younger, A. D. 66, tells the Jews that the Alexandrians paid the Romans more tribute in a month than they did in a year.[a]

Philo has given a long representation of Pilate's government, in the complaints which the Jews made to Pilate, upon his dedicating shields at Jerusalem. They tell him, 'It was not the will of Tiberius, that any of their laws and 'customs should be violated.[b] And Pilate was afraid that 'if they should send an embassy to Rome, they would dis-'cover to the emperor the many crimes of his administration, 'his taking of bribes, his extortions, his murders of inno-'cent and uncondemned persons, and other cruelties.'[c] Here are the tokens of civil power, but much abused.

In Josephus there are many instances of the authority of Felix and Festus, who punished not only bands of robbers, but those also that got together under religious pretences, though with designs of making innovations in the government.[d] And these facts Josephus relates without any marks of censure; whereas, when these, or any other of the governors committed any acts of violence and injustice, he never fails to make reflections upon them.

I shall transcribe here but one passage concerning an action of Albinus, successor of Porcius Festus, just before he left the province. But when Albinus[e] heard that Gessius Florus was 'coming to succeed him, being desirous to 'seem to do something to gratify the people of Jerusalem; 'having inquired into the case of all that were in prison, 'he gave orders for the putting to death all that were 'manifestly guilty of capital crimes; but set at liberty all

[a] Et provinciæ Syria atque Judæa, sessæ oneribus, diminutionem tributi orabant. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 42. [a] *Τα δε ενιαυσια παρ' υμων φορα καθ' ενα μηνα πλειον* Ρωμαιοις *παρεχει·* De B. J. lib. ii. cap. 16. p. 1088. v. 45. [b] *Τιβεριος ουδεν εθελει των ημετερων καταλυεσθαι·* Philo de legat. ad Cai. p. 1034. B. [c] *Τουτο μαλιστα αυτον εξετραχυνε, καταδεισαντα μη τω οντι πρεσβευσαμενον, και της αλλης αυτου επιτροπης εξελεγξωσι τας δωροδοκιας, τας ὑβρεις, τας αρπαγας, τας αικιας,—τους ακριτους και επαλληλους φονους—διεξελθοντες·* ib. ibid. C. [d] See Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 7. sect. 6. 10. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 13. [e] *Ως δε ηκουσεν Αλβινος διαδοχον αυτω Γεσσιον Φλωρον αφικνεισθαι, βουλομενος δοκειν τοις Ιεροσολυμιταις παρεσχησθαι, προσαγαγων τους δεσμωτας, οσοι ησαν αυτων προδηλως θανειν αξιοι, τουτους προσεταξεν αναιρεθηναι· τους δε εκ μικρας και της τυχουσης αιτιας εις την ειρκτην κατατεθεντας, χρηματα λαμβανων αυτος απελυε· και ουτως, ἡ μεν φυλακη των δεσμωτων εκαθαρθη, ἡ χωρα δε λῃστων επληρωθη.* Antiq. 20. cap. 8. sect. 5.

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'those who had been imprisoned for lesser offences, having 'first received a sum of money. Thus the prisons were 'emptied, and the country was filled with robbers.' This is a proof, that Albinus had the supreme power in all offences. These must be Jewish prisoners, or the releasing them had been no obligation upon the people of Jerusalem.

But though these procurators acted with the highest authority under the emperor, yet the Jews had a senate and magistrate; as appears undeniably from a letter of Claudius, sent to them in answer to a petition he had received from them; which letter was written, A. D. 45, and is thus directed; 'To the magistrates of Jerusalem, to the council, 'the people, and the whole nation of the Jews, greeting.'[f] Josephus often makes mention of the magistrates and chief men of Jerusalem.[g] When the war was just breaking out between them and the Romans, they being very uneasy under the government of their procurator Florus, Josephus says, that the 'high priests of the Jews, and the chief men, 'and the *council*, waited upon Agrippa, to inform him of the 'state of their affairs.'[h]

We have a proof of their power of beating or whipping, in the punishment of Jesus the Son of Ananus; who at the feast of tabernacles, four years before the war, began his lamentable cry: 'A voice against Jerusalem, a voice against 'the temple. He went through all the streets of the city, 'crying thus day and night. Some of the people, being 'uneasy, at so ill boding a sound, take the man up and 'have him beaten most severely.' But he still continuing his cry; 'The magistrates thinking the man must be under 'some more than ordinary impulse, as indeed he was, bring 'him to the Roman president. He having examined and 'whipped him again, dismissed him as a madman.'[i]

This shows, the magistrates of Jerusalem could order a whipping: but whether their carrying the man after that to the Roman procurator amounts to a proof, that they could

[f] Ιεροσολυμιτων αρχουσι, βουλῃ, δημῳ, Ιουδαιων παντι εθνει, χαιρειν. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 1. sect. 2.

[g] Αρχοντες των Ιεροσολυμων. p. 1073. 28. et alibi passim.

[h] Ενθα και Ιουδαιων οι τε αρχιερεις αμα τοις δυνατοις, και ἡ βουλη παρην δεξιωμενη τον βασιλεα. De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 16. sect. 2.

[i] Των δ' επισημων τινες δημοτων, αγαναικτησαντες προς το κακοφημον, συλλαμβανουσι τον ανθρωπον, και πολλαις αικιζονται πληγαις—νομισαντες δ' οι αρχοντες, ὁπερ ην, δαιμονιωτερον ειναι το κινημα του ανδρος, αναγουσιν αυτον επι τον παρα Ρωμαιοις επαρχον, ενθα μαστιξι μεχρις οστεων ξαινομενος, ουθ' ικετευσεν, ουτ' εδακρυσεν—τον δ' επι τῃ πολει θρηνον ειρων ουδιελειπε, μεχρι καταγνους μανιαν, ὁ Αλβινος απελυσεν αυτον. De B. J. lib. vi. c. 5. sect. 3.

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not inflict any heavier punishment, I must leave to the reader's consideration.

The Jews had likewise senates in some other cities, beside Jerusalem, which senates had also the power of imprisoning. Josephus thus characterizes Albinus's government. 'For 'sums of money, paid by relations, he set at liberty thieves 'and robbers, which had been imprisoned by the senate of 'any place, or by the former procurators.'[k]

And now I reckon we have gone over the several instances of the Jews' power and authority. The nature of the Roman government in Judea, and the extent of the Jewish privileges under that government, may however be farther illustrated by two or three other passages. When Herod the Great was dead, the Jews having been oppressed by him, and being desirous to be no longer subject to his family, sent an embassy to Augustus. The substance of their petition presented to the emperor, Josephus says, was this, 'That they might no longer continue in the state of a 'kingdom, but might be annexed to Syria, and be governed 'by prætors sent from thence.'[l] Thus he represents it in his Antiquities. In his Jewish War he expresses it thus: 'Ambassadors were sent away to obtain a right of living 'according to their own laws.'[m] These two passages laid together assure us, their petition was, that they might be governed by Roman officers according to their own laws.

And Josephus says, that after the death of Herod Agrippa, 'Claudius made Judea a province again, and sent 'Cuspius Fadus to be procurator, and afterwards Tiberius 'Alexander. They *making no alterations in the laws and 'customs of the country*, kept the nation in peace.'[n]

It is likewise worth while to place here a part of the speech, which Agrippa the younger made to the people at Jerusalem, to dissuade them from entering into war with the Romans. 'I know very well,' says he, 'that many 'make loud complaints of the oppressions of the procura- 'tors, and run out into the praises of liberty. Before I come 'therefore to consider the prospect of success in this your

[k] Αλλα και τους επι λῃστειᾳ δεδεμενους, ὑπο της παρ' εκαστοις βυλης, ἡ των προτερων επιτροπων απελυτρω τοις συγγενεσι. De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 14. sect. 1. [l] Ην δε κεφαλαιον αυτοις της αξιωσεως, βασιλειας μεν και τοιωνδε αρχων απηλλαχθαι, προσθηκην δε Συριας γεγονοτας ὑποτασσεισθαι τοις εκεισε πεμπομενοις στρατηγοις. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 13. sect. 1.

[m] Πρεσβεις εξεληλυθεισαν περι της τω εθνους αυτονομιας. De B. lib. ii. cap. 6. sect. 1. [n] Παλιν τας βασιλειας Κλαυδιος επαρχιαν ποιησας επιτροπον πεμπει Κυσπιον Φαδον, επειτα Τιβεριον Αλεξανδρον· οι, μηδεν παρακινουντες των πατριων εθων, εν ειρηνῃ το εθνος διεφυλαξαν· De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 11. sect. 6.

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'design by showing you what is your strength, and what 'is theirs with whom you are about to contend, I would 'first distinguish the pretences, which are strangely con- 'nected by some. For if you would revenge those who do 'you wrong, why do you talk of liberty? But if you judge 'servitude intolerable, complaints of the governors are 'superfluous. For though they be ever so just and mode- 'rate in their government, the scandal of subjection (or 'servitude) remains.'[o] This is a proof, that whilst they had a Roman governor in their country, no sober men among them would pretend they were a free people.

And it is a kind of presumption, that the Jews had not at this time the power of life and death, in that, in all Josephus's history of these times, when criminals abounded in Judea, and many were put to death by the Roman governors, we find not the mention of any one put to death by the Jewish council or magistracy, except those which were stoned in a vacancy between the death of Festus, (which happened in the province,) and the arrival of Albinus his successor.

The case is remarkable, and some readers may be willing to see it here. 'Ananus the younger, who we said just 'now had been put into the priesthood, was fierce and 'haughty in his behaviour, and extremely resolute and 'daring: and moreover was of the sect of the Sadducees, who 'are, above all other Jews, cruel in their judicial sentences. 'This then being the temper of Ananus, he thinking he had 'a fit opportunity, because Festus was dead, and Albinus 'was yet upon the road, calls a council; and bringing be- 'fore them James, the brother of him who is called Christ, 'and some others, he accused them as transgressors of the 'laws, and had them stoned to death.'[p] Josephus says, many were offended at this proceeding. 'And some went 'away to meet Albinus, who was coming from Alexandria, 'and[q] put him in mind, that Ananus had no right to call a

[o] Εγω δε, πριν εξεταζειν τινες οντες, και τισιν επιχειρειτε πολεμειν, πρωτον διαζευξω την συμπλοκην των προφασεων· ει μεν αμυνεσθε τους αδικουντας, τι σιμωνστε την ελευθεριαν; ει δε το δουλευειν αφορητον ηγεισθε, περισση, προς τους ηγεμονας η μεμψις· και γαρ εκεινων μετριαζοντων, αισχρον ομως το δουλευειν. De B. J. lib. ii. cap. 16. sect. 4.

[p] Ο δε νεωτερος Ανανος, ον την αρχιερωσυνην εφαμεν παρειληφεναι, θρασυς ην τον τροπον, και τολμητης διαφεροντως· αιρεσιν δε μετηει την Σαδδυκαιων, οιπερ εισι περι τας κρισεις ωμοι παρα παντας τους Ιουδαιους·—ατε δη ων τοιουτος ων ο Ανανος, νομισας εχειν καιρον επιτηδειον, δια το τεθναναι μεν Φηστον, Αλβινον δε ετι κατα την οδον υπαρχειν, καθιζει συνεδριον κριτων· κ. λ. Antiq. 20. cap. 8. sect. 1.

[q] Τινες δε αυτων και τον Αλβινον υπαντιαζουσιν απο της Αλεξανδρειας οδοιπορουντα, και διδασκουσιν ως ουκ εξον ην Ανανῳ χωρις της εκεινου γνωμης καθισαι συνεδριον· Αλβινος δε, πιισθεις τοις λεγομενοις, γραφει μετ' οργης τῳ Ανανῳ ληψεσθαι παρ' αυτου δικας απειλων· κ. λ. ibid.

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'council without his leave. Albinus, approving of what 'they said, wrote a very angry letter to Ananus, threatening 'to punish him for what he had done. And king Agrippa 'took away from him the priesthood, after he had enjoyed 'it three months, and put in Jesus the son of Damnæus.'

Some learned men have suspected those words, 'the bro-'ther of him who is called Christ,' to be an interpolation. But we have no occasion at present to concern ourselves with that. It is certain, here were some men put to death by the procurement of the high priest and the council he summoned; and the action was judged illegal by many at Jerusalem, by Albinus the procurator, and by Agrippa, who had then the government of the temple, and the right of nominating the high priests. Nay, Ananus had not the right of summoning the council without Albinus's leave. And I think, that Josephus's introduction to this story is a proof, that the council had not the power of life and death under a Roman procurator. Ananus was of the sect of the Sadducees, who were cruel in their sentences above all other Jews. Ananus was of the same temper. Festus being dead, and Albinus yet upon the road, Ananus thought he had a fit opportunity to gratify his cruel disposition, and calls a council, in order to have some men stoned to death. It is herein implied, that even this fierce and daring high priest could not have gratified his cruelty in this way, if a procurator had been in the country. And though he thought he had had a fit opportunity, what he did then cost him the priesthood.

There was likewise a sort of council summoned at Jerusalem, in order to have[r] Zacharias, the son of Baruch, condemned to death: but then they had shook off their subjection to the Romans.

But though there appear not any token of this power of life and death, whilst they were under the Roman government, yet as soon as they resolve upon the war, we meet with it very distinctly. They then appointed such and such to govern at Jerusalem, others to command in Idumea, others in other places, and Josephus the son of Matthias, our historian, to command in the two Galilees. When he came into his government, he says, 'choosing seventy of the most 'prudent men of the country, he appointed them to be rulers 'of all Galilee, and in each city also, seven men judges of 'lesser matters: and directed the more weighty matters, and all 'capital causes, should be brought to himself and the seventy.'[s]

[r] De B. J. lib. iv. cap. 5. sect. 4. [s] Των μεν γηραιων εβδομηκοντα τους σωφρονεστατους επιλεξας εκ του εθνους, κατεστησεν αρχοντας ὁλης της Γαλι-

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It may be said, there is scarce any mention made in Josephus, of the Jews inflicting lesser punishments. To this I answer, that these are particulars which rarely occur in large histories; the writers judging them too trifling, for the most part, to appear in their works. I have, however, given plain evidences from Josephus, of their power of imprisoning and inflicting lesser penalties.

It is likely also, that what Titus says, of the right of the Jews to kill any man, though a Roman, who entered beyond the limits prescribed to uncircumcised men, may be thought an instance of their having the power of life and death.

But I apprehend the meaning of Titus to be, that if the Jews had found any Gentile in the court of the Jews, the Romans had permitted them to take such a one and kill him immediately. This was a grant or permission with respect to one particular offence only. Nor can there be any consequence drawn from hence to any other cases, nor to a right of inflicting death in the way of a judicial process, either upon Jews or Romans. It is evident, that upon occasion of other violations of things sacred, committed by common Roman soldiers, the Jews applied to their procurator for justice.[t]

3. I would now, by way of collateral evidence, give some few passages of ancient authors concerning the state of other provinces.

Pilate has, in the gospels, the power of life and death in Judea. All governors of provinces seem to have had the same power. If the reader doubts of it, I refer him to the tenth book of Pliny's epistles, which contain his letters to Trajan, and the emperor's rescripts. I produce here only one passage from Philo, who thus aggravates the sufferings of Flaccus, president of Egypt, when he was accused before Caligula by some of the most considerable men of that country. 'He who had been governor was accused by his 'subjects, by those who had always been his great enemies, 'by men, of whose lives he had lately been lord and master.'[u]

According to the Roman lawyers whose opinions I have produced above, the governors of provinces had not only the power of life and death, but they were also the supreme judges in matters of property. The same thing is evident from the ancient Roman authors.[v]

λαιας.——Τα γαρ μειζω πραγματα και τας φονικας δικας εφ' εαυτον αναπεμπειν εκελευσε και τους εβδομηκοντα. De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 20. sect. 5.

[t] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 4. sect. 3, 4.

[u] Ο δε ω κατηγορηθη μονον, αρχων προς ὑπηκοων, και ὑπο δυσμενων αει γενομενων, ὁ προ μικρω κυριος ων της εκαστω ζωης. In Flacc. p. 986. Confer. 983. C. D.

[v] Erat mihi in animo rectà proficisci ad exercitum, æstivos menses reliquos

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As we find the Jews had a council, so had also the people of most other provinces senates in their great towns; the members of which were chosen according to ancient custom,[w] or rules prescribed by the senate or emperors.[x]

It is also extremely remarkable, that the Jews had councils and magistrates, not in Judea only, but in all the provinces of the Roman empire where they lived. For Philo says, 'Flaccus apprehending eight and thirty of our senate, 'which our saviour and benefactor Augustus had appointed 'to take care of the Jewish affairs, he led them through the 'town to the theatre, and there ordered them to be whipped.'[y] Beside these eight and thirty, Philo mentions three other Jewish senators who were scourged by Flaccus, after their houses had been plundered by the Egyptian rabble; which disgrace he aggravates in this manner: 'There are 'in that city different methods of inflicting this punishment, 'according to the quality of persons. Egyptians are whipped by Egyptians, with one sort of rods. Alexandrians 'by Alexandrians only, with another sort of rods. This 'custom former presidents, and Flaccus himself in the 'former part of his government, had observed with regard 'to our people.[z] Was it not then intolerable, that, when an 'ordinary Alexandrian Jew received the more honourable 'and liberal stripes, if he committed an offence, these rulers, 'the senate, men venerable for their age and dignity, should 'be treated in this respect worse than their subjects, and 'be levelled with the most obscure and most criminal 'Egyptians?'[a]

From the number of senators mentioned in these two passages, it may be concluded, the Jews had at Alexandria a full senate of seventy. Philo speaks of these men in

rei militari dare, hibernos jurisdictioni. Cic. ad Att. lib. v. ep. 14. vid. et Ep. ad Quintum Fratrem, lib. i. cap. 2, 3. et alibi passim.

[w] Quorum ex testimoniis cognoscere potuistis, totâ Siciliâ per triennium neminem ullâ in civitate, senatorem factum esse gratis: neminem, ut leges eorum sunt, suffragiis.—Cic. in Verr. lib. ii. cap. 49. n. 120. vid. et quæ sequuntur.

[x] Cautum est—Pompeiâ lege quæ Bithynis data est, ne quis capiat magistratum, neve sit in senatu, minor annorum 30. Eâdem lege comprehensum est, ut qui ceperint magistratum sint in senatu. Plin. lib. x. ep. 83. vid. et ep. 84.

[y] *Της γαρ ἡμετερας γηρυσιας, ην ὁ σωτηρ και ευεργετης Σεβαστος επιμελησομενην των Ιυδαικων ειλετο—οκτω και τριακοντα συλλαβων ευθυς μεν δησαι κελευει.* In Flacc. p. 975. D. [z] *Το εθος τυτο και επι των ἡμετερων διετηρησαν οι προ Φλακκυ, και Φλακκος αυτος τυς πρωτυς χρονυς.* Ibid. p. 976. C. [a] *Πως ουν παγχαλεπον των ιδιωτων Αλεξανδρεων Ιυδαιων ταις ελευθεριωτεραις και πολιτικωτεραις μαστιξιν τετυπτομενων, ειποτε εδοξαν πληγων αξια εργασασθαι, τυς αρχοντας, την γηρυσιαν, οι και γηρως και τιμης εισιν επωνυμοι, κατα τυτο το μερος ελαττον των ὑπηκοων ενεγκασθαι, καθαπερ των Αιγυπτιων τυς αφανεστατυς και ενοχυς τοις μεγιστοις αδικημασιν* Ibid. D. E.

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very magnificent terms, and he also calls the other Jews their subjects: but nevertheless the Jews were not exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman president, whose authority appears to be paramount over all. And the former presidents, whom Philo does not condemn, and Flaccus in the former part of his government, when, according to Philo's own account, his administration had been admirable and exemplary, had been wont to punish Jewish people, if they thought them culpable.

What Philo says of the Jewish magistracy at Alexandria is confirmed by other writers. For Josephus assures us, that this same Philo's brother Alexander was alabarch of the Jews in Egypt.[b] And Claudius, in an edict published in favour of the Jews in the beginning of his reign, (which edict is preserved entire in Josephus,) observes as a precedent, 'That when a Jewish ethnarch died, Augustus had not forbid the creation of a new ethnarch,[c] willing that all should remain subject to him, but in the observation of their own customs.' Which shows likewise, that the Jewish magistracy there was entirely subject to the Romans, and was not to derogate from their government of all.

And after this, Demetrius the alabarch of the Jews at Alexandria, was so considerable a person, that Mariamne the second daughter of Herod Agrippa thought fit to bestow herself upon him, when she had divorced her first husband.[d]

Strabo, in a passage not now in his works, but cited by Josephus, says, that 'a good part of Alexandria is inhabited 'by this people [the Jews]. They had likewise an ethnarch, who administers their affairs, decides causes, and presides over contracts and mandates, as if he were the 'governor of a perfect republic.'[e]

Josephus likewise makes mention of a person, who was archon or chief magistrate of the Jews at Antioch in Syria,[f] at the time that the war against the Jews in Judea was proclaimed by the Romans.

[b] Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 9. p. 821. v. 11. vid. et p. 809. v. 43.

[c] *Και τελευτησαντος τε Ιυδαιων εθναρχυ, τον Σεβαστον μη κεκωλυκεναι εθναρχας γινεσθαι, βυλομενον ὑποτεταχθαι εκαστυς εμμενοντας τοις ιδιοις εθεσι.* Joseph. ibid. lib. xix. cap. 5. p. 865. v. 34.

[d] *Τῳ αυτῳ δε καιρῳ και Μαριαμνη, παραιτησαμενη τον Αρχελαον, συνῳκησε Δημετριῳ, τῳ εν Αλεξανδρειᾳ Ιυδαιων πρωτευοντι γενει τε και πλυτῳ τοτε δη και την Αλαβαρχιαν αυτος ειχε.* Joseph. Antiq. l. xx. cap. 6. sect. 3.

[e] *Καθισταται δε και εθναρχης αυτων, ὁς διοικει τε το εθνος και διαιτα κρισεις, και συμβολαιων επιμελειται και προσταγματων, ὡς αν πολιτειας αρχων αυτοτελυς.* Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 7. sect. 2. vid. et Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 5. sect. 2.

[f] *Ην γαρ αρχων των επ' Αντιοχειας Ιυδαιων.* De Bell. lib. vii. cap. 3.

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There is somewhat very remarkable in a decree concerning the Jews of Sardis. It deserves to be transcribed here from Josephus: 'Lucius Antonius son of Mark, pro-'quæstor and proprætor, to the magistrates, senate, and peo-'ple of Sardis, greeting. The Jews which are our citizens 'have shown me, that they have always had an assembly of 'their own according to the laws of their country, and[g] a 'place of their own, in which they decide the affairs and 'differences which concern themselves. Having desired of 'me that it may be lawful for them so to do, I have decreed 'that this (right) be preserved and permitted to them.'[h]

I have here given this account of the state of the Jews in other countries, because I apprehend that one great reason, why many have supposed the Jews had the power of life and death in Judea, is, because they perceive they had there an high priest, a council, and other officers or magistrates. The privileges of the Jews in other countries, which I have here instanced in, show the inference is not good. They had even there a senate and magistrates; but no one will suppose these had the power of life and death. Indeed it does not appear, that the people of any province had it. But the Roman presidents, and they alone, are ever represented as the supreme judges (next under the senate or the emperor) in all causes whatever in their several provinces.[i]

We must therefore suppose, that though the Jewish senate and other magistrates subsisted in Judea, yet their power was not exactly the same they had formerly, but was restrained and diminished under the Roman governors. So it appears to be in the evangelists; and between them and the other writers which I have quoted, there is a perfect harmony.

Every reader will now be able to observe the beauty and

sect. 3. [g] Μοι επεδειξαν εαυτους συνοδον εχειν ιδιαν κατα τους πατριους νομους απ' αρχης, και τοπον ιδιον, εν ὡ τα τε πραγματα και τας προς αλληλους αντιλογιας κρινωσι· τουτο τε αιτησαμενους, ιν' εξη αυτοις ποιειν, τηρησαι και επιτρεψαι εκρινα. Antiq. xiv. cap. 10. sect. 17. [h] This decree shows, how justly the apostle rebuked the Christians at Corinth, 1 Cor. vi. 5, 6, "for going to law" one with another "before the unbelievers:" when they might have decided all lesser differences among themselves.

[i] Præclarum est enim *summo cum imperio* fuisse in Asiâ triennium, sic ut nullum te signum,——nulla conditio pecuniæ ab summâ integritate continentiâque deduxerit. Cic. ad Quint. Frat. lib. i. ep. 1. cap. 2. n. 7. Quare quoniam in istis urbibus cum *summo imperio et potestate* versaris. Ibid. cap. 10. n. 24. Quam jucunda tandem prætoris comitas in Asiâ potest esse, in quâ tanta multitudo civium *unius* hominis nutum intuentur?—Quare cum permagni hominis est——sic se adhibere in tantâ potestate, ut *nulla alia potestas* ab iis, quibus ipse præsit, desideretur. Ibid. cap. 7. n. 18.

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propriety of St. Peter's style, as well as the reasonableness of his advice, which he gives, 1 Pet. i. 1, to the "strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia;" provinces, or parts of provinces of the Roman empire: 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the *King* (it should be rendered emperor)[k] as supreme, or unto *governors, as unto them that are sent by him* (from Rome) *for the punishment of evil doers*,[l] and for the praise of them that do well." Here is an exact description of the power and authority which the presidents of provinces were invested with, for the administration of justice.

XII. We are now to consult for the external evidences relating to the state of the Jews during the second period, which reaches from the resurrection of our Saviour to the reign of Herod Agrippa.

If our Saviour was crucified at the passover in the 19th year of Tiberius, A. D. 33, which is the opinion of many learned men, then we have here the space of about eight years. For Caligula was killed, and Claudius succeeded him the 24th day of January, A. D. 41.[m] And Claudius, in the beginning of his reign, made Herod Agrippa king of all Judea. But if our Saviour was crucified two or three years sooner, which is the opinion of many other learned men, then this period is proportionably of a longer duration. I enter not here into any inquiry which of these two computations is the most probable, because, as will appear presently, it is not material in the present case, or at least not necessary.

I must however desire the reader to observe here a few particulars, though they have been partly mentioned already. Archelaus was removed from the government of Judea, A. D. 6 or 7. Judea and Samaria were then made a Roman province, with this particular circumstance, that they were to be a branch of the province of Syria.[n]

[k] The Greek writers made no scruple to call the Roman emperors kings, though the Romans did. This is Grotius's observation upon the place. He has given no instances, because, I suppose, he thought it needless. However, I will put down two or three here: *οι μεν γαρ Ρωμαιων βασιλεις ετιμησαν τε και προσεκοσμησαν το ιερον αει.* Joseph. de B. J. lib. 5. cap. 13. sect. 6. *χρονῳ δε ὑστερον ες Νερωνα ἡ βασιλεια περιηλθε ἡ Ρωμαιων.* Pausan. p. 429.—*μονος τε βασιλεων φιλοσωφιαν, ε λογοις, ωδε δογματων γνωσεσι, σεμνῳ δ' εδει, και βιῳ σωφρονι επιτωσατο* [Μαρκος] Herodian, lib. i. sect. 3. But as we never call the Roman emperors kings in our language, the word emperor seems to me more proper in this place. [l] Compare this with Ulpian's description of the power of the sword.——St. Peter's (*κακοποιοι*) evil-doers, are Ulpian's *facinorosi*. [m] Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 11. Sueton. Calig. 58. Dio. lib. 59. p. 663. C. D. [n] Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 8.

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But that this country of Judea might be kept in good order, there was an officer, with the title of procurator, sent by Augustus to reside and govern there, invested with the supreme authority, or the power of life and death. The first of these was Coponius, the next Marcus Ambivius, his successor Annius Rufus, in whose time Augustus died, A. D. 14. The next was Valerius Gratus, who was appointed procurator by Tiberius, and continued in the province eleven years; and was then succeeded by Pontius Pilate, who governed Judea ten years. So far every thing is exceeding clear in Josephus.[o] There is indeed some debate, whether these ten years of Pilate expired some time before the passover, A. D. 36 or 37. I think that Pilate left Judea before the passover, A. D. 36, and shall give my reasons in another place.

We must now endeavour to clear up the state of Judea during the remainder of this period, that is, after the removal of Pilate, which cannot be above four or five years at the most. It may be questioned, whether they had now any procurator residing among them with power of life and death, as they had from the year of our Lord 7, to the year 36 or 37. But that they were subject to the Romans is certain. For at the same time that the[p] Samaritans waited upon Vitellius the president of Syria, entreating that Pilate might be removed, they made very solemn professions of their willingness to continue under the Roman government, and only complained of the tyranny of Pilate.[q] And that the Jews were subject to the Romans in the last year of this period, A. D. 40, appears from what Herod Agrippa says to Caligula, in the letter he sent to him to persuade him to revoke the orders he had given for erecting his statue at Jerusalem: 'I presume not (says he) to ask for my country 'the freedom of the city, nor yet liberty, nor immunity 'from tribute:'[r] as his letter is given us by Philo.

But I am apt to think, they had no procurator residing among them, from the time of Pilate's removal to Agrippa's accession to the kingdom of Judea in the reign of Claudius. My reasons are these: Josephus's account in his Antiquities, of the removal of Pilate, is in these words: 'Then Vitellius, 'having sent Marcellus his friend to administer the affairs

Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. ult.

[o] Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 2. sect. 1, 2.

[p] The Jews are to be supposed to join with them herein, for they likewise brought accusations against Pilate, as will appear presently.

[q] Ου γαρ επι αποστασει Ρωμαιων αλλ' επι διαφυγη της Πιλατου ὑβρεως, εις την Τιβαβδα παραγενεσθαι. Joseph. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 5. sect 2.

[r] Ει και μη την Ρωμαικην πολιτειαν, ελευθεριαν γουν η φορων αφεσιν, ὁθεν αν ετολμησα τουτων αιτησασθαι. De legat. ad Caium, p. 1032. C.

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'of Judea, commanded Pilate to go to Rome, to answer to 'the emperor for those things of which he was accused by 'the Jews.'[s] Now I think, that Marcellus could not have the power of life and death in Judea, because he was sent thither by Vitellius only; and no officer under the emperor could convey this power to another, as we are assured by Ulpian.[t] The Jews therefore could not have any one in their country with this power, till one was sent thither with it from Italy. But there was no one sent from Rome to Judea, after this, till the beginning of Caligula's reign. I shall show hereafter, that Pilate was removed by Vitellius before the passover, A. D. 36. Therefore for one whole year, the last of Tiberius, there was no officer residing in Judea with power of life and death.

Now let us see who was sent into Judea by Caligula in the beginning of his reign, and what was the commission of this officer. Josephus's words are these: 'He [Caligula] 'sent Marullus to be master of the horse in Judea.'[u] Some would read in Josephus, instead of [ιππαρχην] master of the horse, [επαρχον] president. But all copies agree in the present reading, and so it was in the time of Epiphanius.[v] It is, indeed, difficult to say what Josephus means by this word.[w] But he gives the same title to one Jucundus, an officer in Judea in the time of Florus, their last governor before the war.[x] If I may offer a conjecture, (and I can do no more) I suspect that Josephus means the same officer who is called in Latin, Præfectus, and Præfectus equitum, an officer of considerable power under the presidents;[y]

[s] Και Ουιτελλιος, Μαρκελλον τον αυτω φιλον εκπεμψας επιμελητην τοις Ιουδαιοις γενησομενον, Πιλατον εκελευσεν επι Ρωμης απιεναι, προς α κατηγοροιεν Ιουδαιοι διδαξαντα τον αυτοκρατορα. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 5. sect. 2.

[t] L. vi. pr. ff. de Off. Procons. et Leg. His words are above, p. 78.

[u] Ιππαρχην δε επι της Ιουδαιας εκπεμπει Μαρυλλον. Marullum autem misit, qui equitum magister esset in Judeâ. Huds. vers. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 7. sect. 10. [v] Ιππαρχην. Ita quidem et Epiphanius. Forsan tamen επαρχον legendum. Huds. Not. o. p. 818. [w] Sed ιππαρχω vocabulum non satis expedio. Petav. Doct. Temp. vol. ii. p. 314.

[x] Προσελθων δε Ιουκουνδος ὁ διακωλυειν τεταγμενος ιππαρχης. De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 14. p. 1079. v. 21. [y] Appius noster turmas aliquot equitum dederat huic Scaptio, per quas Salaminios coerceret, et eundem habuerat præfectum. Vexabat Salaminios. Ego equites ex Cypro decedere jussi. Molestè tulit Scaptius. Cic. ad Att. lib. v. ep. 21. Fuerat enim præfectus Appio; et quidem habuerat turmas equitum, quibus inclusum in curiâ senatum Salamine obsederat.—Itaque ego, quo die tetigi provinciam, cum mihi Cyprii legati obviam venissent, literas misi, ut equites ex insulâ statim decederent. Id. l. vi. ep. 1. Scaptium, quia non habuit a me turmas equitum, quibus Cyprum vexaret, ut ante me fecerat, fortasse succenset; aut quia præfectus non est, &c. ib. ep. 3. Gabius Bassus, præfectus oræ Ponticæ,—venit ad me. Plin. lib. x. ep. 32. vid. et ep. seq.

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and who was sometimes sent into a remote part of a province to keep things in good order. This Scaptius was a præfect under Appius, Cicero's predecessor in the province of Cilicia, and was sent by him into Cyprus, then a branch of the province of Cilicia. In like manner Marcellus was sent into Judea by Vitellius. And as for Marullus, as he seems to me to have had the same title with Scaptius, so I think he had the same power and authority with him and Marcellus, only he was appointed by the emperor, they by presidents.

But whatever was Marullus's post, there is no reason to think he was procurator or governor, since in all the copies of Josephus he is called only master of the horse.

Farther, I think there was no procurator of Judea between the removal of Pilate and Agrippa's reign, because all the great concerns of Judea in this time are managed by Vitellius, and then by Petronius, presidents of Syria. Soon after the removal of Pilate, Vitellius displaced Caiaphas the high priest,[a] and the next year Jonathan,[a] whom he had put into Caiaphas's room. It was through the hands of Vitellius, that the Jews obtained from Tiberius the liberty of having the high priest's vestment in their own keeping.[b] Afterwards all Caligula's orders about setting up his statue at Jerusalem, and the method of treating the Jews if they opposed it, are directed to Petronius, Vitellius's successor; and the Jews make all applications to him. We have here one particular advantage. During the rest of the time which we are concerned for, we have little light from any one but Josephus. But the history of Caligula's design to pollute the temple at Jerusalem, is to be found in Philo as well as Josephus. But yet there is nothing said of any Jewish procurator; no orders sent to him by Caligula or Petronius; no mention made of him by the Jews in any of the petitions they presented at this time; nor is his conduct blamed or commended by either of the forementioned writers. That the name of an inferior officer does not appear is not strange,[c] but that the procurator of Judea

[a] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 5. sect. 3. [a] Ibid. cap. 6. sect. 3.

[b] Ibid. cap. 5. sect. 3. [c] And yet Philo has made mention of one Capito, who was at this time collector of the Roman tribute in Judea; and ascribes in part the ill-will which Caligula bore the Jewish nation, to calumnies forged against them by this Capito, the better to defeat the complaints which might be brought against himself, for the exactions he had been guilty of in his office. Παρατεθηκται δε νυν μαλλον η προτερον εξ επιστολης ην επεμψε Καπιτων φορων εκλογευς·——ειτα ευλαβηθεις μητις αυτω γενηται κατηγορια, τεχνην επενοησεν ἡ διαβολαις των αδικηθεντων διακρυσεται τας αιτιας· ε. τ. λ. Philo de legat. p. 1020. E. And this passage ought to be

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should not be mentioned, if there was one, is unaccountable.

This then was the state of Judea in this period. Pontius Pilate was procurator there till some time before the passover, A. D. 36. After that there was no procurator in the country, but the Jews were immediately under the government, first of Vitellius, and then of Petronius, presidents of Syria, till the accession of Herod Agrippa. There might be an officer under these presidents of Syria, called master, or prefect of the horse, but there was no officer constantly residing in Judea with power of life and death.

We are now to cast our eye upon the transactions of this period related in the Acts of the Apostles. Peter and John and the other apostles, were summoned before the Jewish council, imprisoned, threatened, scourged, Stephen was stoned, and a very severe persecution commenced, and was carried on for a considerable time against all the disciples of Jesus in that country, and at Damascus. This may be thought very extraordinary, if the Jews were (as certainly they were at this time) under the Roman government, and if they had not the power of life and death within themselves.

Now I would in the first place observe, that though the state of Judea, as I have just now represented it from Josephus and Philo, did not afford us any considerations which might enable us to account for such a behaviour of the Jews, as seems inconsistent with their subjection to the Romans, yet it may be fairly supposed, from St. Luke's history, that the Jews were very riotous and turbulent at this time.

Here was now in this country a number of men, who affirmed that Jesus, who had wrought no temporal deliverance for the Jewish people, was the Christ; that He who had been lately condemned and crucified by them, was now risen from the dead, and was ascended up to heaven. They exhorted even the rulers of the Jews and all the people to repentance. They proved their assertions, and supported their exhortations by no other method, but by reasonings from the scriptures, and by a healing power exerted on many miserable objects. But however, the priests and all the rulers were grieved that they taught the people, and preached through Jesus the resurrection of the dead; and though these disciples of Jesus made no tumult, yet they were firm in their tenets; and, when commanded by the

added to the proofs I have given above, that the Jews were tributary to the Roman emperor.

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council, " not to speak at all, nor preach in the name of Jesus," they scrupled not to profess, that it was with them an undoubted maxim rather to " obey God than them," and told them, Acts iv. 20, that they " could not but speak the things which they had seen and heard." And so they did. Whereupon we find, they were brought again before the council, ch. v. 28, and " the high priest asked them, saying, Did not we straitly command you, that you should not teach in this name? And behold ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us." May not any man be assured that the high priest, who spoke these words, and the council in whose name he spoke, would exert all the authority they were possessed of against the disciples of Jesus? as rulers in synagogues beat them there, as members of the council issue out orders for apprehending all of that way, imprison them, whip them in public places; and, if this was all they could do themselves, have them, after that, before the governor; and if he did not fully execute their rage, by artful insinuations raise a spirit in their people, which the most vigilant administration could not hinder from breaking out sometimes in riots, and such like disorders, by which some of the followers of Jesus might lose their lives. No people in the world are always peaceable and orderly as they should be, and the Jews were as likely as any to assume a power that was not legal. We have proofs of it in Josephus. 'When Fadus came procurator into Judea, he found 'the Jews of Peræa[d] in a riot fighting with the Philadelphians about the limits of the village Mias. And indeed 'the people of Peræa had taken up arms without the consent of their chief men, and had killed a good number of 'the Philadelphians. When Fadus heard of it, he was 'very much provoked that they had taken up arms and not 'left the decision to him, if they thought the Philadelphians 'had done them any wrong.'[e] There is another instance of the like kind afterwards. The Samaritans had offered an injury to some Jews, as they were passing through their country to Jerusalem. The Jews made reprisals. 'Here-'upon the chief men of the Samaritans go to Umidius 'Quadratus, president of Syria, then at Tyrus, and ac-'cuse the Jews of plundering and burning their towns. 'Nor were they so much concerned, they said, for the in-

[d] That is, on the other side of Jordan.

[e] *Ταυτα πυθομενον τον Φαδον σφοδρα παρωξυνεν, οτι μη την κρισιν αυτῳ παραλειποιεν, ειπερ ὑπο των Φιλαδελφηνων ενομιζον αδικεισθαι, αλλ' αδεως εφ' ὁπλα χωρησειεν.* Ant. xx. cap. i. sect. 1.

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'jury done to them, as for the contempt showed to the 'Romans, to whom they ought rather to have appealed as 'judges, if they had been injured, and not make incursions 'of their own heads as they had done, as if they were under 'no subjection to the Romans. They therefore came to him 'for justice.'[f]

The riot of the Jews beyond Jordan seems to have happened in the interval between the death of Herod Agrippa, and the arrival of Fadus in the province. The incursions into Samaria were made while Cumanus was actually in Judea. Indeed Josephus endeavours to acquit the chief men of Judea as to both these facts. But the common people seldom take arms, and make incursions, without some encouragement from their superiors. And if the chief men at Jerusalem were perfectly innocent as to this last affair, Quadratus, the president of Syria, must have been horribly imposed upon, though he came into the country on purpose to examine the case upon the spot. For he beheaded some Jews, and crucified others, and sent the high priest, the captain of the temple, and divers other chief men at Jerusalem, to Rome, to answer for themselves.[g]

If then some of the Jewish proceedings mentioned in the Acts, seem not very suitable to the state of a Roman province, it may be fairly taken for granted, they were illegal or tumultuous.

But, secondly, I am apt to think the state of the Jews at this time, if reflected on, will help us to account for these proceedings. If our Saviour was crucified at the passover, A. D. 33; then this was the eighth passover of Pilate's administration, for he came into the province before the passover of the year 26. But if our Saviour was crucified in the 29th year of the Christian æra, which is the soonest that is supposed by any, yet that would be the fourth passover after Pilate's arrival in that country. Now it was very common for the presidents, if they had not behaved well, to stand in fear of the people of their province; and they dreaded extremely the sending complaints to the emperor. And in order to ward off these, they usually thought it proper to do some popular things.

Philo has given us a remarkable instance in Flaccus, prefect of Egypt, about this very time. The five first

[f] *Και, περι μεν ων αυτοι πεπονθασιν, ουχ ουτως αγανακτειν, εφασκον, ως οτι Ρωμαιων καταφρονησειαν, εφ' οὐς κριτας εχρην αυτους ειπερ ηδικουντο παραγενισθαι, ἡ νυν ὡς ουχ εχοντων ηγεμονας Ρωμαιους καταδραμειν.* Antiq. xx. cap. 5. sect. 2.

[g] Vid. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 6. Antiq. ubi supra.

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years of his administration, which were the five last years of Tiberius's reign, Flaccus was a most excellent governor. But in the sixth year of his presidentship, which was the first of Caligula's reign, he became quite another[h] man. It is not necessary to produce here all the reasons of this alteration. But in the lifetime of Tiberius, Flaccus had been no friend of Caligula. When therefore Caligula came to be emperor, and had put to death the young Tiberius, and Macro, in whom Flaccus had some interest, he was thrown into a terrible fright: his concern was visible, and all the Egyptians knew very well the cause of it: hereupon they got him entirely into their own hands, 'and of a governor 'Flaccus became a subject, and they of subjects became 'presidents, inventors of useless decrees, directors of all 'affairs, taking him in as a mere mute image in a play, for 'no other reason but because he had the name of governor.[i] 'These men therefore, the Dionysii, the Lampones, the 'Isidores, all these conspire together to form a most wicked 'design against the Jews; and coming to Flaccus, they 'tell him; "Sir, you have lost the young Tiberius, and 'your next hope after him, your friend Macro; you have no 'expectations of favour from the emperor, but rather other-'wise. We must necessarily contrive for you some power-'ful advocate with Caius [Caligula]. This advocate, Sir, 'is the city of Alexandria, which has been ever honoured 'by the imperial family, and especially by our present so-'vereign: if she may but obtain some favour of you, she 'will undertake your cause. You can oblige her by no-'thing so much, as by delivering up the Jews into her 'hands." Then he, who ought to have been provoked at 'so impudent a proposal, and to have reprimanded the au-'thors of it as incendiaries, and disturbers of the public peace, 'tamely complied with what they desired.'

After this, Flaccus began to show a strange neglect of

[h] Philo in Flacc. p. 965, 966.

[i] *Και γινεται ὁ μεν αρχων ὑπηκοος, οι δ' ὑπηκοοι ἡγεμονες, εισηγημενοι μεν αλυσιτελεστατας γνωμας——βεβαιωται γαρ ὡν εβουλευσαντο παντων εγινοντο, κωφον ὡς επι σκηνης προσωπειον, ενεκα προσχηματος αυτον μονον παραλαμβανοντες επιγεγραμμενον ονομα αρχης. Διονυσιοι, Λαμπωνες, Ισιδωροι, στασιαρχαι, φιλοπραγμονες, κακων ευρεται—— συνταξαμενοι παντες ουτοι βουλευμα βουλευσι κατα των Ιουδαιων αργαλεωτατον, και τῳ Φλακκῳ προσελθοντες, ιδια φασιν, ερρει μεν σοι τα απο Τιβεριου Νερωνος τε παιδος, και ερρει δε και ὁ μετ' εκεινον ελπις εταιρος σοι Μακρων, αισια δ' ουκ εστι σοι τα απο του κρατουντος· δει δε παρακλητον ἡμας ευρειν δυνατωτερον, ὑφ' ου Γαιος εξευμενισθησεται· ὁ δε παρακλητος, ἡ πολις Αλεξανδρεων εστιν, ἡν τετιμηκεν μεν εξ αρχης απας ο Σεβαστος οικος, διαφεροντος δ' ὁ νυν ἡμων δεσποτης· μειζον δ' αγαθον ουδεν αυτη παρεξεις, ἡ της Ιουδαιως εκουσης και προεμενος· επι τουτοις οφειλων απωσεσθαι και δυσχεραναι τους λεγοντας ὡς νεωτεροποιως και κοινους πολεμιους, συνεπιγραφεται τοις λεχθεισι.* Ibid. p. 988. A.—C.

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the Jews, and in all causes the Jews were cast, till at length he became their open enemy. The Egyptians taking encouragement from this behaviour, came by degrees to the rifling of the Jews' houses, and murdered great numbers of them. 'And the president of the country, who, if he had 'pleased, could in one hour have quieted this mad multi-'tude, pretended not to see or hear any thing.'[k] The Egyptians receiving no rebukes for what they had done already, proceeded to demolish the Jewish oratories at Alexandria.

Thus matters went in Egypt. The people there had no right, according to the constitution of the country, to treat the Jews as they did; nor did the prefect formally convey the power of life and death to them. But for his own convenience he overlooked their disorderly proceedings. The case of Pilate in Judea seems very much to have resembled that of Flaccus in Egypt: that is, they were both apprehensive of the emperor's displeasure, though perhaps the grounds of these apprehensions were different. Pilate had been tyrannical in the very beginning of his administration, and had thereby rendered himself disagreeable to the Jews: for this reason he stood in fear of them. This appears in the prosecution of Jesus before him. The Jews cried out, John xix. 12, "If thou let this man go thou art not Cæsar's friend." Pilate seems to have understood the meaning of this speech. If he had not gratified them in this point, they might have drawn up a long list of mal-administrations for the emperor's view.

His condemnation of Jesus at the importunity of the Jews, contrary to his own judgment and inclination declared to them more than once, was a point gained: and his government must have been ever after much weakened by so mean a condescension. And that Pilate's influence in the province continued to decline is manifest, in that the people of it prevailed at last to have him removed, in a very ignominious manner, by Vitellius, president of Syria. It is therefore highly probable, that to screen other acts of injustice, and to gratify the chief men at Jerusalem, he might sign decrees of condemnation against some of the disciples of Jesus: or at least connive at, or not restrain, some irregular proceedings of the Jewish magistrates, and the riots of the people. Nor can it be concluded, that Pilate did not act in this manner, because he had not the favour of the people

[k] Τω δε επιτροπω της χωρας, ος μονος εδυνατο βεληθεις ωρᾳ μιᾳ την σχλοκρατιαν καθελειν, προσποιουμενω ἁ, τε εωρα μη ὁραν, και ων ηκουε μη ἀκουειν. Id. de Legat. ad Cai. p. 1010. E.

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of his province. For Flaccus did himself no real service by all his compliances with the Egyptians, but was at last accused by the men whose tool he had been.[l]

After this manner, then, affairs might be carried on in Judea, during the remainder of Pilate's administration after the resurrection of our Saviour, till about the beginning of the year 36.

And after the removal of Pilate, the Jews would, very probably, take an unusual licence; they not having then any procurator among them, but being more immediately under the government of the president of Syria, whose chief residence was at Antioch.

Besides, Vitellius seems to have been at a yet greater distance from them the greatest part of the year that followed the removal of Pilate. This, if I mistake not, was the season of Vitellius's expedition to Parthia. It is true, that Suetonius[m] and Dio[n] place the congress of Vitellius and Artabanus in the first year of Caligula. But Josephus[o] placeth it in the last of Tiberius's reign; and gives so distinct an account of this matter, that he cannot but be relied on. He says, that Vitellius having, whilst in Syria, ordered Pilate away for Rome, went up to Jerusalem to the passover, which appears to me very evidently to be the passover of the year 36. Having put Caiaphas out of the priesthood, and done divers other things to the great satisfaction of the Jews, he returned to Antioch. Josephus then says, that Vitellius having received orders from Tiberius to make an alliance with Artabanus, went to the Euphrates, where Vitellius and Artabanus had a congress, and a league was made; that Artabanus sent his son hostage to Tiberius; that after the league was made, Herod the Tetrarch of Galilee, who was there, entertained the president of Syria, and the king of Parthia; and sent an express to Rome with an account of the conclusion of this treaty, as did also Vitellius. Herod's messenger came first to Rome, and Tiberius wrote back to Vitellius, that his express brought him no news, for he had heard all before. Vitellius thinking Herod had done him a great injury herein, retained a secret grudge against him, till he had an opportunity of

[l] Vid. Phil. in Flacc. p. 985, 986. [m] Namque Artabanus, Parthorum rex, odium semper contemtumque Tiberii præ se ferens, amicitiam ejus [Caii] ultro petiit, venitque ad colloquium legati consularis; et transgressus Euphratem, aquilas et signa Romana Cæsarumque imagines adoravit, Calig. cap. 14. [n] Ο γεν Βιτελλιος ὁ Λευκιος—και τον Αρταβανον κατεπληξε τε απαντησας αυτῳ εξαπιναιως περι τον Ευφρατην ηδη οντι, και ες τε λογους αυτον υπηγαγετο, και θυσαι ταις τε Αυγουστε τυ τε Γαιε εικοσιν ηναγκασε. Lib. 59. 661. B. C. [o] Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 5.

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being revenged in the reign of Caligula. At the next passover, A. D. 37, Vitellius was again at Jerusalem. So that this expedition to the Euphrates was made in the year 36. Josephus appears perfectly master of this whole affair: the concerns of Herod the tetrarch are interwoven with it. Josephus was nearer the event than Suetonius or Dio. Besides, Tacitus concurs with him. For he says, that A. U. 788, which is the year of our Lord 35, when C. Cestius Gallus and M. Servilius Nonianus were consuls, Tiberius[p] gave Vitellius the command of all things in the east. He then relates Vitellius's expedition, and what he performed in it, and concludes his account thus; 'And then he re-'turned with the army into Syria. I have here put toge-'ther the actions of two summers.'[q] I think it therefore very plain, that according to Tacitus, this commission given to Vitellius in the year 35, was finished in 36.

This then was a fine opportunity for a people fond of power, to exert some acts of authority they could not have done, whilst a governor was among them or near them. The behaviour of Ananus and his council, in the interval between the death of Porcius Festus, and the arrival of his successor Albinus, is a proof of it. Nor were there any, on whom they were so likely to show their power, as the followers of Jesus.

Moreover, such was the temper of this Vitellius, that it may be fairly supposed, the Jews enjoyed some peculiar indulgences under his administration.

There are divers things recorded of him in Josephus, which may satisfy us there was a very loving correspondence between him and the chief men of the Jewish nation. At the request of the Jews and Samaritans he removed Pilate. The passover following, he went up to Jerusalem, and was magnificently received by the Jews. It was through his hands that the Jews obtained from Tiberius the right of having in their own keeping the high priest's sacred vestment, which he wore on their great solemnities;[r] a privilege they had not enjoyed before, since the beginning of Herod's reign. This favour they received at the passover in the year 36.

In the beginning of the next year, when Vitellius was going to march his forces through Judea, which was the shortest way, to attack Aretas, at the request of the Jews he

[p] Et cunctis quæ apud Orientem parabantur, L. Vitellium præfecit. Ann. lib. 6. c. 32. [q] Exin cum legionibus in Syriam remeavit. Quæ duabus æstatibus gesta conjunxi, quo requiesceret animus a domesticis malis. Ibid. cap. 37. fin. 38. init. [r] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 5. sect. 3

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ordered his troops to take another route, that he might not offend them with his idolatrous ensigns; and when he had given these orders, he went up himself to Jerusalem to worship God.[s] Vitellius is not to be blamed for any of these things; but they are an argument, that the Jewish people had a great influence upon him.

And from the Roman historians it appears, that Vitellius was a man of most obsequious disposition. For he, who had sacrificed to God at Jerusalem, when he was out of his province and returned to Rome, paid divine honours to the emperor; and indeed was one of the first that began that idolatrous worship, which Caligula was so fond of in the latter part of his reign. Vitellius was so exquisite in this and other kinds of flattery, that at length his name became proverbial to denote an eminent flatterer.[t]

And though it should be still thought, notwithstanding what I have said above, that Marcellus and Marullus were possessed of the full powers of a procurator in Judea, yet it must be allowed, that Vitellius had a great influence on the affairs of Judea all the time he was president of Syria after the removal of Pilate, because all the great concerns of the Jews mentioned by Josephus are transacted by him.

I have not attempted to settle the date of the particular facts of this second period related in the Acts of the Apostles. Learned men are very much divided about the year of Stephen's death, which is the most remarkable of all those facts. Archbishop Usher places it in the year 33,[u] Bishop Pearson in the latter end of the year 34,[v] Mr. Basnage in the year 37.[w] The disciples of Jesus were, I think, much harassed by the Jewish council from the very beginning, immediately after the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them at pentecost; though about the time that Stephen was stoned, a more fierce and more general persecution came on, and continued for some time, Acts viii. 1. xi. 19. And though it may be difficult to settle exactly when it began, and when it ended, yet I think it most probable, that though it might

[s] *Και δια μεγαλα πεδια κελευσας χωρειν το στρατοπεδον, αυτος τε μετα Ηρωδου τε τετραρχου και των φιλων εις Ιεροσολυμα ανηει, ΘΥΣΩΝ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ.* Josep. ibid. [t] Idem, miri in adulando ingenii, primus C. Cæsarem adorari ut Deum instituit: cum reversus ex Syriâ non aliter adire ausus esset, quam capite velato, circumvertensque se, deinde procumbens. Suet. A. Vitell. cap. 2. Cæterum regendis provinciis priscâ virtute egit. Unde regressus, et formidine C. Cæsaris, familiaritate Claudii, turpe in servitium mutatus exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur. Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 32. vid. et Senec. Natur. Quæst. lib. iv. cap. 1. et Dion. lib. lix. p. 661. C. D.

[u] Ann. p. 617. ed. Lat. Lond. 1650. [v] Ann. Paulin. p. 1.

[w] Annal. P. Eccles. A. D. 37. n. 14, 15.

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be abated in the year 38, it was not over before the third year of Caligula's reign, that is, the thirty-ninth year of the Christian æra: in which year Vitellius was recalled from Syria, and was succeeded by Petronius.[x] Nay, possibly it was not quite at an end till the year 40.

If some few of the Jewish proceedings in this period seem somewhat extraordinary, I imagine, they may be accounted for from the particular state of the affairs in Judea which I have just given a view of. The reader is able to judge of it himself, and I make no more reflections.

We are now to observe the remarkable words of St. Luke, Acts ix. 31. "Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria." This rest of the churches will be easily accounted for from the following particulars. Soon after Caligula's accession, the Jews at Alexandria suffered very much from the Egyptians in that city, (as has been already observed,) and at length their oratories there were all destroyed. In the third year of Caligula, A. D. 39, Petronius was sent into Syria, with orders to set up the emperor's statue in the temple at Jerusalem. It is not improbable, but the Jews of Judea might be affected at the condition of their countrymen at Alexandria, where by this time they were almost ruined; but this order from Caligula was a thunder-stroke. There is indeed some doubt, whether Petronius published this order in the year of our Lord 39 or 40. But whenever it was made known, the Jews must have been too much engaged afterwards to mind any thing else, as may appear from the accounts which Philo and Josephus has given us of this affair.

Josephus says, 'That Caligula ordered Petronius to go 'with an army to Jerusalem to set up his statues in the 'temple there; enjoining him, if the Jews opposed it, to put 'to death all that made any resistance, and to make all the 'rest of the nation slaves. Petronius therefore marched 'from Antioch into Judea with three legions and a large 'body of auxiliaries raised in Syria.——All were hereupon 'filled with consternation, the army being come as far as 'Ptolemais.[y] The Jews then gathering together went to 'the plain near Ptolemais, and entreated Petronius in the 'first place for their laws, and in the next place for 'themselves.' Petronius was moved by their entreaties, and leaving his army and the statues at Ptolemais, went into Galilee; and at Tiberias calls together the chief men

[x] Vid. Noris. Cenotaph. Pis. Diss. ii. p. 330, 331. Pagi Critic in Baron. A. D. 32. n. 2. [y] Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 10. sect. 1.

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of the Jewish people, and exhorts them to submit to the emperor's orders. When they could not engage so to do, he asked them, 'Will ye then fight against Cæsar? The Jews 'answered him, that they offered up sacrifices twice every 'day for Cæsar and the Roman people. But that if he 'would set up the images, he ought first of all to sacrifice 'the whole Jewish nation, and that they were ready to 'submit themselves, their wives and children, to the 'slaughter.[z]'

Philo says, that the tidings of these orders having reached Jerusalem, the Jews, 'abandoning their cities, villages, and 'the open country, all went to Petronius in Phenicia, both 'men and women, the old, the young, and the middle aged; 'that they threw themselves down upon the ground before 'Petronius, with weeping and lamentation; that being or-'dered by him to rise up, they approached him covered 'with dust, with their hands behind them, as men condemn-'ed to die; and that then the senate bespoke Petronius in 'this manner: "We come to you, Sir, as you see, unarm-'ed. We have brought with us our wives, and children, 'and relations, and throw ourselves down before you, as at 'the feet of Caius, having left none at home, that you may 'save all, or destroy all."'[a]

Petronius deferred his journey to Jerusalem, that the Jews might not, out of concern for such a violation of their religion, neglect their gathering in their corn, it being then ripe, as Philo says;[b] or lose the seeds-time, as Josephus says.[c] He was the more moved by this consideration, because it was expected, that Caligula would be at Alexandria the next summer: and he judged it not proper to do any thing that might hinder a sufficient plenty for the company that would follow the emperor from Italy, and the concourse of the princes of Asia, and other great men in those parts. And in his letter to Caligula he made use of this, as the excuse for not immediately executing his orders.[d] These two writers differ somewhat as to the time when the Jews waited on Petronius. Possibly they might be reconciled together even as to this. However, they agree in representing the concern of the Jews as very great and general. And it is very likely, that the persecution of the christians ceased now, and that the Jews were fully employed in warding off this terrible blow from the temple, which was their glory and confidence.

[z] Ibid. sect. 3, 4. vid. et Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 9. [a] Philo de legat. ad Cai. p. 1024, 1025. [b] Ibid. p. 1028, A. [c] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 9. sect. 4. [d] Philo ubi supra.

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Some learned men have ascribed this rest of the churches to the conversion of St. Paul, who had been a very zealous persecutor. But this is, in my opinion, to do St. Paul a great deal of wrong on one hand, and too much honour on the other. It appears to me a great injustice, to ascribe to him all the sufferings of the christians which ensued upon the death of Stephen; when, after his conversion, we find the Jews of Judea, Damascus, and every other place, were filled with malice and spite against christianity, and against St. Paul and every one else of that way. On the other hand, it is doing him at the same time too much honour. St. Paul was then but a young man, Acts vii. 58, and though a forward and active instrument, yet he could be no more than an instrument in that persecution. It cannot be supposed, that whilst he was with the high priests and pharisees, they were directed and animated by him; and that when he had left them, their spirits were so sunk that they could no longer pursue their old measures. His own dangers at Damascus and Jerusalem are a proof of the contrary.

Moreover, according to the series of St. Luke's history, though the great persecution he speaks of, Acts viii. 1, xi. 19, might be abated sooner, yet it could not be quite over till several years after St. Paul's conversion. St. Luke first mentions St. Paul's return from Damascus to Jerusalem, (which was not till three years after his conversion, Gal. i. 18.) and the treatment he met with from the Grecians: "which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus. *Then* had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied," Acts ix. 30, 31.

Lastly, according to the description St. Luke gives us of this rest of the churches in the words just now transcribed, it was very extensive, even all over Judea and Galilee and Samaria, and very complete, and the churches had no molestation. So considerable an event must have been owing to some other considerable event with which the whole people of that country was affected. I had no sooner read the account which Philo and Josephus have given of the sufferings of the Jews in Alexandria, and the imminent danger of ruin which that whole people in Judea and other places were in, in the reign of Caligula, but I concluded, that this state of their affairs brought on the rest of the christian churches which St. Luke speaks of, and

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which certainly happened about this time. Whether I am in the right or not others will judge.

St. Luke has not expressly told us how long this rest of the churches lasted, but it is likely that it reached some way into Herod Agrippa's reign. He was at Rome when Caligula was killed, and was very serviceable to his successor Claudius, in settling matters between him and the senate.[e] But this is certain, that the great danger the Jews were in of utter ruin in the reign of Caligula, and the gracious as well as just edicts passed in their favour by Claudius, in the beginning of his reign, had little effect upon them. For St. Luke says, that when "Herod stretched forth his hand to vex certain of the church, and killed James with the sword," the satisfaction which they expressed in these cruelties, was an inducement to him "to take Peter also," Acts xii. 1—3.

XIII. This brings me to the proceedings of the third period, the reign of Herod. But I need not add any thing here to what has been already said in the former chapter; where it has been shown, that Herod had at this time sovereign authority in Judea, though he was dependent on the Roman emperor.

I have now given the reader a view of the state of Judea, according to the sacred and other writers, so far as I proposed at the beginning of this chapter.

I must not proceed any farther, till I have owned myself much indebted to Mr. Huber, for his Dissertation[f] on this subject. But by this acknowledgment I have not discharged all my obligations to that learned and agreeable writer. I have found him a good guide, upon other occasions beside this.

I am sensible some learned men have given a different account of this matter: but it will not be expected I should enter here into controversies with any. This argument is long enough already. I shall, however, make a few remarks upon Dr. Lightfoot's[g] account taken from the Talmudical and other Jewish writers.

1. Lightfoot[h] quotes these words from the Jerusalem Talmud. 'A tradition: forty years before the temple was 'destroyed, judgment in capital causes was taken away from 'Israel.' And he says himself,[i] 'It cannot be denied but

[e] Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 11. [f] Zachariæ Huber Dissertationum Libri tres. Amst. 1721. Dissertatio prima, quâ adseritur Judæorum magistratus, tempore Christi Servatoris, non habuisse merum imperium, sive jus gladii.

[g] See his Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on Matt. xxvi. 3. John xviii. 31. [h] Ibid. p. 248. [i] Ibid. p. 611.

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'that all capital judgment, or sentence upon life, had been 'taken from the Jews for above forty years before the 'destruction of Jerusalem, as they oftentimes themselves 'confess.' I think, the natural meaning of the words of the tradition is, that the people of the Jews were deprived of the right of inflicting capital punishment by some superior power or force. It does therefore in the main confirm my account. For since we know, that Judea was a Roman province for some considerable time before the destruction of Jerusalem, it may be reasonably concluded, the Roman government had taken away judgment in capital causes. But this tradition is inaccurate as to the time; for if the Jews had lost this power for forty years before the destruction of the temple, then they had it not in the reign of Herod Agrippa, and consequently not after Judea was first made a Roman province, A. D. 6 or 7, which was above sixty years before the ruin of their city. However, it is plain the just mentioned Herod had supreme power in Judea. How far he entrusted the council with judgment in capital causes, I do not pretend to determine.

2. But yet Lightfoot says, 'The Romans did not take 'away their power of judging in capital matters, but they 'by their own oscitancy, supine and unreasonable lenity, 'lost it themselves. For so the Gemarah goes on: "Rabh 'Nachmanbar Isaac saith, Let him not say that they did not 'judge judgments of mulcts, for they did not judge capital 'judgments either. And whence comes this? When they 'saw that so many murders and homicides multiplied upon 'them, that they could not well judge and call them to an 'account, they said, It is better for us that we remove from 'place to place; for how can we otherwise not contract a 'guilt upon ourselves?"—They thought themselves obliged 'to punish murderers, whilst they sat in the room Gazith; 'for "the place itself engaged them to it." They are the 'words of the Gemarists. Upon which the gloss,—They 'removed therefore from Gazith, and sat in the Taberne.'[k] I cannot think this is a just account. If robbers and murderers were so numerous, that the council could not punish them; yet certainly the christians were not able for forty years together, before the destruction of the temple, either by their own numbers, or by their interest with the people, to strike any awe upon the council. And if they had a lenity and tenderness for Israelitish robbers and murderers, (which I do not deny,) yet they had little or no tenderness for christians, if there be any truth in the history of the New

[k] Id. Ibid. p. 612.

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Testament, or of ancient christian writers. And yet they did not judge any of these capitally. For so the tradition, confirmed likewise (as Lightfoot allows) by many Jewish writers, says, 'judgment in capital causes had been taken 'away from them for forty years before the destruction of 'the temple.' Since therefore they did not judge christians capitally, and since they could not be restrained from it by any dread of the christians, nor by lenity toward them, it follows, they must have been hindered by some superior authority. And what could that be but the Roman?

3. 'That we may yet farther confirm our opinion,' says Lightfoot, 'that the authority of their council was not 'taken away by the Romans, we will produce two stories, 'as clear examples of the thing we assert. One is this: 'R. Lazar, son of R. Sadock, said, "When I was a little 'boy, sitting on my father's shoulders, I saw the daughter 'of a priest that had played the harlot, compassed round 'with faggots and burnt." Hieros. Sanhedr. fol. 24. 2. The 'council no doubt judging and condemning her, and this 'after Judea had then groaned many years under the 'Roman yoke, for that same R. Lazar saw the destruction 'of the city.' The other story is taken from the same book, and is told of one 'Ben Sudta, in Lydda. They placed two 'disciples of the wise in ambush for him, and they brought 'him before the council and stoned him.—The Jews openly 'profess that this was done to him in the days of R. Akiba, 'long after the destruction of the city; and yet then, as 'you see, the council still retained its authority in judging 'of capital causes. They might do it for all the Romans, if 'they dared to do it to the criminals.'[1] I think the first, R. Lazar's story, proves too much; for it not only proves that the Romans had not taken away this power from the council, but that it was not taken away at all for forty years before the destruction of the temple. But this is a contradiction to the tradition, which Lightfoot allows to be true, and well supported. If we must suppose the sight the little boy is said to have had sitting upon his father's shoulders, to be matter of fact, it will be needful to reconcile it with the tradition above mentioned. This I do not know how to do any otherwise, than by supposing, that the tradition represents the legal state of the constitution they were under, for forty years before the destruction of the temple; and that the burning of the priest's daughter, if it was done by order of the Jewish council, was an irregular and illegal action. The same thing ought also to be

[1] Ibid. p. 249.

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supposed of the second story, if it be true. But this way of reconciliation would not suit Lightfoot.

Upon the whole, though the tradition confirms my account, I cannot but think, that the testimonies I have alleged relating to the subject, are preferable to the testimonies of Talmudical, or other later Jewish writers. All the authors I have quoted must be allowed to have been acquainted with the form of government, which the Romans established in their provinces; and Josephus must have known the state of Judea in particular. And I hope the reader is convinced, that there is upon this subject a perfect agreement between these authors and the sacred writers of the New Testament.

I shall borrow one passage more from that learned writer: 'Christ answers the treachery of the question pro-'pounded (upon the tribute money) out of the very deter-'minations of the schools, where this was taught; Where-'soever the money of any king is current, there the in-'habitants acknowledge that king for their lord. Maimon. 'on Gezelah, ch. 5.'[m]

There remain two or three particulars, which, not regarding the main point in question, have not yet been considered; but however may not be quite omitted.

XIV. St. John says, chap. xviii. 3, "Judas then having received a *band* of men, and officers from the chief priests and pharisees, cometh thither, to the garden." Ver. 12, "Then the *band*, and the captain, and officers of the Jews took Jesus." This band I suppose to have consisted of Roman soldiers. The Greek word [σπειρα] is, I think, ever used in the New Testament concerning soldiers. "Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus. And gathered unto him the whole *band* of soldiers," Matt. xxvii. 27. Mark xv. 6, "Cornelius a centurion of the Italian band." Acts. x. 1, xxi. 31, xxvii. 1.

Farther, when the chief priests and pharisees went to Pilate, and desired he would "command that the sepulchre be made sure unto the third day. He said unto them, Ye have a watch, [εχετε κουστωδιαν] go your way, make it as sure as you can," Matt. xxvii. 64, 65. From whence one would be apt to conclude, that there was, at least at the feast times, a guard of soldiers upon duty, from which they might draw out a sufficient number for any particular purpose.

"As they were about to kill him, [Paul,] tidings came unto the *chief captain of the band* that all Jerusalem was in an uproar: who immediately took soldiers and centurions,

[m] Id. on Matt. xxii. 20

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and ran down unto them, Acts xxi. 31, 32. And he commanded him to be carried into the *castle*. And as Paul was to be led into the castle, when the chief captain had given him licence, Paul stood on the *stairs*, and there spake unto the people, ver. 37—40. And when Lysias sent Paul from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, it was under a strong guard of horse and foot," ch. xxiii. 33.

There was therefore at Jerusalem a Roman officer, who had the government of the castle, and a good body of troops under him.

A passage or two from Josephus will confirm and illustrate these particulars. 'Antonia,' says he, 'was situated 'at the angle of the western and northern porticoes of the 'outer temple, [or outer court of the temple.] It was 'built upon a rock fifty cubits high, steep on all sides. It 'was the work of king Herod, in which he had shown his 'usual magnificence. On that side where it joined to the 'porticoes of the temple, there were *stairs* reaching to each 'portico, by which the guard descended; (for there was 'always lodged here a Roman legion) and posting themselves in their armour in several places in the porticoes, 'they kept a watch on the people on the feast days, to 'prevent all disorders. For as the temple was a guard to 'the city, so was Antonia to the temple.' This from the history of the Jewish War.[n] In his Antiquities he says: 'The feast called the passover approaching, at which it is 'our custom to eat unleavened bread, and a great number of 'people being come up from all parts to the feast, Cumanus 'fearing some disturbance, commanded a company of soldiers to post themselves in their armour in the porticoes of 'the temple, to suppress disorders, if any should happen: 'which was what the procurators had been wont to do at 'the feasts.'[o] This Cumanus was Felix's predecessor: and this order was given, as it seems, A. D. 48.[p]

The reader must needs observe here two things: first, that there was always a legion which kept garrison in the castle at Jerusalem. Secondly, that at the feasts there was a detachment of these soldiers, which came down from the

[n] Καθα δε συνηπτο ταις τε ιερε στοαις, εις αμφοτερας ειχε καταβασεις· δι' ων κατιοντες οι φυλακες καθησο γαρ αει επ' αυτης ταγμα Ρωμαιων, και διεταμενοι περι τας στοας μετα των οπλων, εν ταις εορταις, τον δημον, ως μη τι νεωτερισθειη, παρεφυλαττον· φρουριον γαρ επεκειτο τη πολει μεν το ιερον, τω ιερω δε ἡ Αντωνια. Lib. v. cap. 5. sect. 8. [o] Κελευει των στρατιωτων μιαν ταξιν αναλαβουσαν τα οπλα επι των τε ιερε στοων εξαναι κατασκηψοντας τον νεωτερισμον, ει αρα τις γενοιτο· τουτο δε και οι προ αυτε της Ιουδαιας επιτροπευσαντες εν ταις εορταις επραττον. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. iv. sect. 3.

[p] Vid. Pagi Critic. in Baron. et Basnage Annal. A. D. 48.

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castle, and kept guard in the porticoes of the temple. It may be questioned what was Lysias's post at Jerusalem. Grotius[q] supposed that he was captain of a cohort that kept guard at the feast time. I cannot at present assent to this. It does not appear to have been feast time when Paul was seized, (though Pentecost was near, Acts xx. 6, 16.) It seems plain to me, that Lysias was not upon duty at the temple at this time. "They laid hands upon Paul. And all the city was moved, and the people ran together; and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple, and forthwith the doors were shut. And as they went about to kill Paul, tidings came to the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar. Who immediately took soldiers, and centurions, and ran down unto them," ch. xxi. 30—32. If Lysias had been in the porticoes of the temple, he would have perceived the disturbance himself; whereas he knew nothing of it but by tidings brought to him, and that not till "all Jerusalem was in an uproar." It is observable also, that Lysias afterwards summoned the whole council of the Jews. The word[r] which we render 'band,' is used with considerable latitude: the word we have rendered 'chief captain,' signifies properly a captain of a thousand, and is often used particularly for a tribune. I suppose therefore, that Lysias was the oldest tribune at Jerusalem, and that he was the commanding officer at the castle of Antonia, and was entrusted by Felix with what power he thought fit to give to the chief officer under him at Jerusalem.

XV. We may now proceed to another particular. St. John says, ch. xviii. 12, "Then the band, and the *captain* [και ο χιλιαρχος] and officers of the Jews, took Jesus and bound him." I am inclined to think the captain here mentioned was a Jewish officer; but I do not insist upon it. I add, therefore, two or three other texts. "And as they spake to the people, the priests, and the captain of the temple, [ο στρατηγος τε ιερε] and the sadducees came upon them, Acts iv. 1. Now when the high priest, and the *captain of the temple*, and the chief priests heard these things, ver. 24. Then went the *captain* with the officers," ver. 26. I believe most persons will suppose, that this 'captain of the temple' was a Jewish officer. There is in Josephus such an officer mentioned, who is evidently a Jew.

[q] Præfecto ejus cohortis, quæ temporibus festis, ac proinde etiam in Pentecoste, præsidium habebat in porticibus templi ad prohibendos tumultûs, si qui orirentur, in Act. xxi. 31.

[r] Σπειρα, συναξις, πληθος στρατευματων. Phavorinus.

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Whilst the above-named Cumanus was procurator of Judea, there happened a dreadful difference between the Jews and Samaritans. Cumanus not being able to put an end to it, Ummidius Quadratus, president of Syria, came into Judea, and punished several Jews and Samaritans upon the spot, and sent others to Rome. This last part of his conduct is thus expressed by Josephus in his Antiquities: 'Having bound the high priest Ananias, and the *captain* 'Ananus,[s] he sent them to Rome to give an account of their 'conduct to Claudius Cæsar.'[t] In his War of the Jews it is thus: 'And moreover he sent away to Cæsar the high 'priests Jonathan and Ananias, and Ananus the son of this 'last mentioned.'[u] Ananus, who in the former passage has the title of captain, is in this latter said to be the son of the high priest.

When Josephus is reckoning up the causes of offence which the Jews gave the Romans, he says: 'And at the temple 'Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest, a young man 'of a bold and resolute disposition, then *captain*,[v] per- 'suaded those who performed the sacred ministrations, not 'to receive the gift or sacrifice of any stranger (or man of 'another nation). This was the foundation of the war with 'the Romans; for they rejected the sacrifice of Cæsar for 'them. And though the high priests, and many of the 'chief men, entreated them not to omit the ancient custom of 'sacrificing for their governors, they would not be per- 'suaded; relying upon the multitude they had on their 'side,—and especially being much at the direction of the 'captain Eleazar.' Here is another captain, who is a son of an high priest; and he appears to have an authority over those who were in waiting at the temple.

St. Luke, in one place, speaks of the captains in the plural number, chap. xxii. 52, "Then Jesus said unto the chief priests and *captains*[w] of the temple, and the elders which were come to him." As there was a great variety of ministrations at the temple, and a great number of priests and Levites always in waiting, but especially at the feasts,

[s] Τον στρατηγον Ανανον δησας.

[t] Lib. xx. cap. 5. sect. 2.

[u] Και Ανανιαν, τοντε τυτυ παιδα Ανανον. De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 12. sect 6.

[v] Ελεαζαρος υιος Ανανια τυ αρχιερεως, νεανιας θρασυτατος, στρατηγων τοτε, τυς κατα την λατρειαν λειτυργυντας αναπειθει, μηδενος αλλοφυλυ δωρον η θυσιαν προσδεχεσθαι· τυτο δε ην τυ προς Ρωμαιυς πολεμυ καταβολη· την γαρ ὑπερ τυτων θυσιαν Καισαρος απερριψαν· και πολλα των τε αρχιερεων και των γνωριμων παρακαλυντων, μη παραλιπειν το ὑπερ των ἡγεμονων εθος, υκ ενεδοσαν· πολυ μεν και τῳ σφετερῳ πληθει πεποιθοτες——μαλιστα δε αφορωντες εις τον Ελεαζαρον στρατηγυντα. De B. J. ii. cap. 17. sect. 2.

[w] See Whitby upon the place.

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it is very likely there was an officer who presided over each division, and that there was one who had a command above all the rest.

XVI. I have but one thing more to take notice of here. When St. Paul had appealed to Cæsar, "Then Festus, when he had consulted with the *council*, answered, Hast thou appealed unto Cæsar? Unto Cæsar shalt thou go," Acts xxv. 12. The reason of the thing will induce us to suppose this was not the Jewish sanhedrim, but some council which the governor had with him.

It was always usual for the presidents to have a council consisting of their friends, and other chief Romans in the province.[x] Philo says, when the Jews waited upon Petronius, and entreated him to defer his march to Jerusalem till they had sent an embassy to Rome, Petronius was moved by their tears and lamentations, 'and consulted with his 'assessors what was proper to be done.'[y] Josephus speaks of Cumanus's acting 'with the advice of his friends,' in the sentence he pronounced upon a Roman soldier, who had tore a book of the law of Moses.[z] In the year of our Lord 66, Florus, who was then procurator of Judea, sent Cestius Gallus, president of Syria, false accounts (as Josephus says) of the Jewish behaviour. 'And the chief men of Jerusa-'lem were not silent. For they, and Bernice, wrote to 'Cestius an account of Florus's mal-administrations in the 'city. He, therefore, having read the informations he had 'received from both parties, consulted with his captains.'[a] It is one of Cicero's complaints against Verres, that when he was in Sicily, he condemned a person without asking the advice of the council, which his predecessor, and he himself had been wont to advise with.[b]

[x] Τως δε δη παρεδρους αυτος εαυτῳ εκαστος αιρειται. ε. τ. λ. Dio. p. 505. E.

[y] Επεξανασας δε μετα των συνεδρων εβουλευετο τα πρακτεα. De legat. ad Cai. p. 1027. B.

[z] Και ὁ Κυμανος——συμβουλευσαντων και των φιλων, τον ενυβρισαντα τοις νομοις στρατιωτην πελεκισας. Ant. lib. xx. cap. 4. sect. 4.

[a] Μετα ἡγεμονων εβουλευετο. De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 16. sect. 1.

[b] Illud negare poses, aut nunc negabis; te consilio tuo dimisso, viris primariis, qui in consilio C. Sacerdotis fuerant, tibique esse solebant, remotis de re judicatâ judicâsse? In Verrem, lib. ii. n. 81.

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CHAP. III.

OF THE STATE OF THE JEWS OUT OF JUDEA.

I. *The Jews numerous in divers parts out of Judea.* II. *The twelve Tribes in being.* III. *Prayer wont to be made [at Philippi] by the river side.* IV. *The Synagogue of the Libertines.* V. *Of Jewish Proselytes.*

I INTEND not here a distinct consideration of the power or privileges, which the Jews enjoyed in foreign countries. Somewhat has been already said upon this subject in the preceding chapter, and more particulars may be found in the eighth chapter of this book. I here take notice of a few things which fall within the compass of my design, but are omitted in those other places.

I. There are frequent intimations in the New Testament, that at the time the apostles preached the gospel, after the ascension of our Saviour, there were great numbers of Jews in several parts of the world, beside those which lived in Judea.

When the disciples had "been filled with the Holy Ghost, (on the day of Pentecost,) and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance," it is said: "There were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven.—And they were all amazed, saying one to another, Behold, are not all these which speak Galileans? And how hear we every man in our own tongue wherein we were born? Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Lybia about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians, we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God," Acts ii. 4—11.

The persons spoken of are Jews, or proselytes, chiefly the former. By dwelling at Jerusalem must be understood residing there for a time only, on account of the feast, or some other particular occasion. The word[a] is so used sometimes, and the context obliges us to understand it so here.

In the history of St. Paul's travels, we find him preaching in Jewish synagogues in many places: when "Paul

[a] Vid. Grot. Act. ii. 5.

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and Barnabas came to Antioch in Pisidia, they went into the synagogue on the sabbath day," Acts xiii. 14. They did so likewise at Iconium, ch. xiv. 1. Paul taught in a synagogue at Thessalonica, ch. xvii. 2; at Athens, ver. 17; at Corinth, ch. xviii. 4; at Ephesus, ch. xix. 8.

That the Jews were scattered abroad, and dwelt in almost all parts of the world, even before the destruction of their city and state by Titus, is evident from many passages of Philo, Josephus, and several heathen authors. I shall select a few of them, which will be sufficient for the present design.

Philo, in his book against Flaccus, prefect of Egypt in the beginning of Caligula's reign, says, 'There were not 'less than a million of Jews in Alexandria and other parts of 'Egypt.'[b] He adds, 'For one country does not contain the 'Jewish people, they being extremely numerous; for which 'reason there are of them in all the best and most flourish-'ing countries of Europe and Asia, in the islands as well 'as on the continents; all esteeming for their metropolis 'the holy city, in which is the sacred temple of the most 'high[c] God.'

Caligula had given orders[d] to Petronius, president of Syria, to erect his statue at Jerusalem. When the tidings that Petronius had published these orders came to Rome, Agrippa the elder was there. He therefore sent the emperor a letter (for he was not then able to appear before him in person) to dissuade him from this design. In this letter, which Philo has given us an account of, among other things, Agrippa says: 'Nor can I forbear to allege in behalf 'of the holy city, the place of my nativity, that it is the me-'tropolis, not of the country of Judea only, but of many 'others, on account of the many colonies that have been 'sent out of it at different times, not only into the neigh-'bouring countries, Egypt, Phenicia, both the Syrias, but 'also into places more distant, to Pamphylia, Cilicia, and 'many parts of Asia, as far as Bithynia, and the recesses of 'Pontus. They are in the same manner in Europe, in Thes-'saly, Beotia, Macedonia, Ætolia, Argos, Corinth, in the 'most and best parts of Peloponnesus. Nor are the conti-'nents only full of Jewish colonies, but also the most cele-

[b] Και οτι εκ αποδεικτοι μυριαδων εκατον την Αλεξανδρειαν και την χωραν Ιυδαιοι κατοικουντες επι τε προς Λιβυην καταβαθμε μεχρι των ορων Αιθιοπιας. In Flacc. p. 971. C.

[c] Ιυδαιως γαρ χωρα μια δια πολυανθρωπιαν ε χωρει· ης αιτιας ενεκα τας πλειστας και ευδαιμονεστατας των εν Ευρωπη και Ασια κατα τε νησους και ηπειρους εκνεμονται, μητροπολιν μεν την Ιεροπολιν ηγουμενοι, καθ' ην ιδρυται ο τε υψιστε Θεε νεως αγιος. Ibid. E.

[d] A. D. 39, or 40.

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'brated islands, Eubœa, Cyprus, Crete; not to mention 'those which are beyond the Euphrates. For excepting 'only a small part of Babylon, and some other lesser dis- 'tricts, scarce any country of note can be mentioned, in 'which there are not Jewish inhabitants. If you grant 'this request in favour of my native place, you will be a 'benefactor not to one city only, but to thousands of cities 'in every part of the world; in Europe, in Asia, in Lybia, 'in the maritime and in the inland parts of the continents 'and the islands.'[e]

When the war was breaking out in Judea, Agrippa the younger, in a speech he delivered at Jerusalem, makes use of this as an argument to persuade the Jews in Judea to be peaceable; that if they should be worsted, they would involve their countrymen in other parts of the Roman empire in the same ruin. 'You expose to danger, says he, not 'only yourselves, but those also who live in other cities: for 'there is not a people, in all the world, which has not some 'of you among[f] them.'

II. St. James's Epistle is thus inscribed, ch. i. 1, "To the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad greeting;" by whom, I think, the apostle intends the believing Jews of all the twelve tribes, who lived in any part of the world out of Judea.[g] For I suppose, that the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin were not entire in Judea, but that many of those tribes lived also in other parts, and that the ten other tribes were not extinct. Ptolemy Philadelphus having a desire to enrich his library at Alexandria with the Jewish law, wrote to Eleazar the high priest, to send six Jews out of each tribe to make a translation of it for him into the Greek language. In the answer which Eleazar sent to Ptolemy are these words: 'We have chosen six elders out of each 'tribe, whom we have sent to you with the law.'[h] This is a proof that Josephus (from whom I have taken this account) did not suppose the ten tribes were extinct.

In the account of Ezra's journey from Babylon to Jerusalem, and of the people that went with him, in the reign of Artaxerxes, Josephus is more express. For he says: 'But

[e] Πασαι γαρ εξω μερες βραχεος Βαβυλωνος και των αλλων σατραπειων, αι αρετωσαν εχυσι την εν κυκλω γην, Ιυδαιυς εχυσιν οικητορας· ως τε αν μεταλαβη συ της ευμενειας ἡ εμη πατρις, υ μια πολις, αλλα και μυριαι των αλλων ευεργετυνται καθ' εκαστον κλιμα της οικυμενης ιδρυθεισαι, το Ευρωπαιον, το Λιβυκον, το Ασιανον, το εν ηπειροις, το εν νησοις, παραλον τε και μεσογειον. De Legat. ad Cai. p. 1031, 1032. [f] Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 16. p. 1089. fin. [g] Vid. Grot. in loc. [h] Επελεξαμεν δε και πρεσβυτερυς ανδρας εξ απο φυλης εκαστης, ους πεπομφαμεν εχοντας τον νομον. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 2. sect. 5.

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'the whole people of the Israelites remained in that coun-
'try; whence it has come to pass, that there are but two
'tribes subject to the Romans in Asia and Europe. But the
'ten tribes are still in being beyond the Euphrates, an infi-
'nite multitude, whose numbers are not to be known.'[i]

III. There is frequent mention made in the Acts of the Apostles, of the Jewish synagogues in the heathen countries, and of the worship they performed in them: but there is somewhat particular in the description of the place of worship which the Jews had at Philippi. Acts xvi. 13, "And on the sabbath we went out of the city by a *river side*, where prayer was wont to be made." There is some difference among learned men, whether the original word in this place, which we have rendered prayer, should be here understood of the act, or the place of prayer.[k] I am inclined to think with Whitby, Grotius, and others, that it is a place of worship which is here spoken of. But what I am chiefly concerned to observe here, agreeably to my design, is, that it may be inferred from this text, that it was not unusual for the Jews, at least in strange countries, to worship, or to erect places of worship, near a *river*.

There is an instance of this kind recorded by Josephus, who has given us the decree of the city of Halicarnassus, permitting the Jews to build oratories; a part of which decree runs thus: 'We ordain that the Jews, who are willing,
'men and women, do observe the sabbaths, and perform
'sacred rites according to the Jewish laws, and build ora-
'tories *by the sea-side* according to the custom of their coun-
'try; and if any man, whether magistrate or private person,
'give them any let or disturbance, he shall pay a fine to
'the city.'[l]

And Tertullian,[m] among other Jewish rites and customs, such as feasts, sabbaths, fasts, and unleavened bread, mentions shore-prayers, that is, prayers by the sea-side or river-side.

These two passages are sufficient to persuade us, that it was common for the Jews to worship in these places. But

[i] Ο δε πας λαος Ισραηλιτων κατα χωραν εμεινε· διο και δυο φυλας εινai συμβεβηκειν επι τε της Ασιας και της Ευρωπης Ρωμαιοις ὑπακουσας. αι δε δεκα φυλαι περαν εισιν Ευφρατου εως δευρο, μυριαδες απειροι, και αριθμῳ γνωσθηναι μη δυναμεναι· Antiq. lib. xi. cap. 5. sect. 2. [k] Ού ενομιζετο προσευχη εινai. [l] Δεδοκται ἡμιν Ιουδαιων τους βουλομενους ανδρας τε και γυναικας τα τε σαββατα αγειν, και τε ιερα συντελειν μετα τους Ιουδαικους νομους, και τας προσευχας ποιεισθαι προς τῃ θαλασσῃ κατα το πατριον εθος. κ. τ. λ. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 10. sect. 24. [m] Judæi enim festi, sabbata et cœna pura,—et jejunia cum azymis, et orationes LITORALES, quæ utique aliena sunt à diis vestris. Tertul. ad Nat. lib. i. cap. 13.

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it may be a question, whether this practice was owing to their choice, or to some necessity laid upon them by the heathen magistrates, to perform their worship without the gates of their cities.

I shall lay together a few passages and remarks relating to this subject.

It seems to me, that Tertullian supposed the shore-prayers to be properly a Jewish custom, since he reckons them with others that were so. The terms of the decree of the people of Halicarnassus imply the same thing. And the sea-side does not appear to be mentioned as a restraint or limitation, but as a grant of a privilege, establishing the oratory in the place most agreeable to the Jews. Philo says, that when Flaccus the prefect of Egypt had been taken into custody at Alexandria by order of Caligula, the Jews offered up thanksgiving to God, spent the whole night in hymns and songs, 'and early in the morning flocking out of 'the gates of the city, they go to the neighbouring shores, 'for the [proseuchæ] oratories were destroyed; and stand-'ing in a most pure place, they lift up their voices with one 'accord.'[n]

It is true, their oratories at Alexandria were then all down. But yet methinks here are some signs, that the sea-side was a place agreeable to them. Why else did they go out of the city so universally toward the neighbouring shores, rather than any other way? Besides, Philo expresses much satisfaction in this situation, when he calls it a most pure place.

There is a passage very apposite to this text in the account Philo gives of the annual rejoicings the Jews were wont to make for the Septuagint translation. 'Wherefore,' says he, 'even to this day, there is kept every year a feast 'and solemnity in the isle of Pharos; whither not only the 'Jews, but many others also cross over, to pay a respect to 'the place, where this version was first seen.—And after 'prayers and thanksgivings, some raise tents on the shore, 'others lay themselves down upon the sea-sand, in the open 'air, and there feast with their friends and relations, *esteem-'ing the shore* more sumptuous than the furniture of the 'richest palaces.'[o]

These passages have sometimes inclined me to think, that

[n] Αμα τη εω δια πυλων εκχυθεντες, επι τους πλησιον αιγιαλους αφικνενται· τας γαρ προσευχας αφηρηντο· καν τω καθαρωτατω ϛαντες ανεβοησαν ὁμοθυμαδον, κ. τ. λ. Phil. in Flacc. p. 982. D.

[o] Πολυτελεϛεραν της εν βασιλειοις κατασκευης τοτε την ακτην ΝΟΜΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ. Phil. de vit. Mosis, lib. ii p. 660. A. B.

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the true rendering of this text is thus: 'Where it had been 'thought fit that the oratory should be;' implying the Jews' choice of that situation. But if any think, that the more natural meaning of the words is, 'Where a house of prayer 'was allowed, or appointed, to be by the law;' yet I believe it ought to be supposed, that this appointment was perfectly agreeable to the Jews, if not owing to their own choice. Josephus, having mentioned the privileges bestowed upon the Jews at Alexandria by Alexander the Great, says: 'They continued to enjoy the same honour under his suc-'cessors, who set apart for them a distinct place; that they 'might live in greater purity, than they could well do if 'they were mixed promiscuously with strangers; and allowed 'them also to be called Macedonians.'[p] This separating the Jews from other people was no hardship therefore but a privilege.

St. Luke tells us, that St. Paul and his company, in their way to Jerusalem from Miletus, "sailed into Syria and landed at Tyre. And finding disciples, we tarried there seven days. And when we had accomplished those days, we departed and went our way, and they all brought us on our way, with wives and children, till we were out of the city: and we kneeled down on *the shore and prayed*," Acts xxi. 3—5. I should have concluded from this very text, that it was then usual for the Jews, or some other people, to pray by the sea-side. It appears from passages alleged above, that it was a very common practice among the Jews.

IV. We may now proceed to somewhat else. Ch. vi. 9, "Then there arose certain of the synagogue which is called the synagogue of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia, and of Asia, disputing with Stephen." This synagogue of the Libertines was at Jerusalem. But it has some relation to the state of the Jews out of their own country, as will appear presently: and therefore I consider this particular here.

Some have made a question, whether there be any more than one synagogue here spoken of. Others think the most natural meaning of the words imports as many synagogues, as there are nations, or sorts of men spoken of. The copulative particle *and*, is supposed a proof of it. If St. Luke had intended but one synagogue, he would have said, of the synagogue of the Libertines, Cyrenians, Alexandri-

[p] Διεμεινε δε αυτοις ἡ τιμη και παρα των διαδοχων, οι και τοπον ιδιον αυτοις αφωρισαν, ὁπως καθαρωτεραν εχοιεν την διαιταν ἡττον επιμισγομενων των αλλοφυλων, κ. λ. De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 18. sect. 7.

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ans, &c. not as he does, of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians.

The Jewish writers say, there were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem.[q] It is generally supposed by learned men, that beside the synagogues which belonged to the stated inhabitants of the city, the Jews of other countries, in which there was any considerable number of that people, had a synagogue at Jerusalem, built at their own cost, together with a school or academy adjoining, to which they might resort for divine worship, when they came to Jerusalem; and where their children might be educated and instructed in the perfect knowledge of their law. The Jewish authors do expressly mention a synagogue, which the Alexandrian Jews had at Jerusalem.[r] It is highly probable, the Jews of several other nations had one there likewise.

But the Libertines here mentioned seem not to be so called from any particular country. Libertinus or Libertine, is one who had been a slave, but has now obtained his freedom; or one who is the son of a person that had been a slave, and was afterwards made free. And it is supposed by several learned men,[s] that the Libertines here spoken of are Jews, or proselytes of the Jewish religion, who had been slaves to Roman masters, and had been made free, or the children of such.

That these are the persons here spoken of, will appear from the following particulars.

There was a great number of the Jews at Rome. Josephus says, the embassy which came thither from Judea to petition Augustus, that Archelaus might not be their king after Herod, was joined by above eight thousand Jews at Rome.[t] Philo informs us, that the Jews who lived at Rome, and who occupied a large quarter of the city,[u] were chiefly such as had been taken captive at several times, and had been carried into Italy, and were made free by their Roman masters.[v]

That these Jews were called Libertines will appear plainly from passages of Tacitus, and Josephus, and Suetonius, in which they speak of the banishment of the Jews from Rome in the reign of Tiberius. 'It was then resolved also,' says

[q] Vid Vitring. de Synag. vet. lib. i. Part. I. cap. 14. p. 253. vid. et Grot. in loc. [r] Vid. Lightfoot Heb. et Talm. Exercit. in loc.

[s] Vid. Grot. in loc. Pearson. Lection. in Act. Apost. iv. sect. 7. Vitring. ubi supra. p. 254, 255. [t] Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 13. in. [u] *Μεγαλην της Ρωμης αποτομην.* Philo de leg. ad Cai. p. 1014. C. [v] *Ρωμαιοι δε ησαν οι πλειος απελευθερωθεντες· αιχμαλωτοι γαρ αχθεντες εις Ιταλιαν υπο των κτησαμενων ηλευθερωθησαν.* Ibid. D.

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Tacitus, 'to expel the Egyptian and Jewish rites. And a 'decree of the senate was passed, that four thousand of the 'Libertine race infected with that superstition, and who 'were of a fit age, should be transported into the island of 'Sardinia, and that the rest should depart Italy within a 'time limited, unless they renounced their profane rites.'[w]

Josephus says of the same affair, 'Tiberius ordered that 'all the Jews should be expelled from Rome. And the 'Consuls chose out four thousand of them, whom they sent 'into the island Sardinia.'[x]

Suetonius says, 'That Tiberius sent the Jewish youth 'into some of the most unhealthful provinces, and ordered 'the rest of that nation, and all others of their religion, to 'leave the city, upon pain of perpetual servitude.'[y]

Josephus and Suetonius expressly call those Jews, whom Tacitus calls men of the Libertine race. As there were so great numbers of these men at Rome, it is not at all unlikely, that they had a synagogue at Jerusalem.

I have said nothing new under this article. I have only followed Grotius and Vitringa, especially the latter; who, I think, has given a just account of this matter; though, it is likely, some learned men may not be exactly of the same opinion.

V. We have mention made several times in the gospels and Acts of the Apostles, of the zeal of the Jews to make proselytes to their religion, and of several proselytes in particular. Matt. xxiii. 15, "Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites; for ye compass sea and land to make one *proselyte*." Acts ii. 10, "And there were dwelling at Jerusalem—strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes." Acts vi. 5, "And the saying pleased the multitude: and they chose [for deacons] Stephen, Philip, Nicanor, and Nicolas a *proselyte of Antioch*." Chap. xiii. 43, "Now when the congregation [in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia] was broken up, many of the Jews and religious *proselytes*, followed Paul and Barnabas." Ch. viii. 26—28, "And the angel of the Lord spake unto Philip, saying: Go—unto

[w] Actum et de sacris Ægyptiis Judaicisque pellendis: factumque patrum consultum, ut quatuor millia libertini generis eâ superstitione infecti, quis idonea ætas, insulam Sardiniam veherentur,—cæteri cederent Italiâ nisi certum ante diem profanos ritûs exuissent. Tac. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 85.

[x] Κελευει παν το Ιουδαικον της Ρωμης απελαθηναι· οι δε ὑπατοι, τετρακισχιλιους ανθρωπων εξ αυτων στρατολογησαντες, επεμψαν εις Σαρδω την νησον. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 4. fin.

[y] Judæorum juventutem, per speciem sacramenti, in provincias gravioris cœli distribuit: reliquos gentis ejusdem, vel similia sectantes, urbe submovit, sub pœnâ perpetuæ servitutis, nisi obtemperâssent. Suet. Tiber. cap. 36.

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the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza. And he arose and went: and behold a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great authority under Candace the queen of the Ethiopians, who had the charge of all her treasure, and had come to Jerusalem for to worship, was returning, and sitting in his chariot, read Esaias the prophet."

Josephus in his second book against Apion says, 'We 'choose not to imitate the institutions of other people: but 'we willingly embrace all that will follow ours.'[z] But the history which Josephus[a] has given us of Izates the king of the Adiabenes, who was converted to the Jewish religion about the fortieth year of the Christian æra, will throw a great deal of light upon this subject. And therefore I shall set it here before the reader, though in as few words as I can.

'About this time,' says Josephus, 'Helene the queen of 'the Adiabenes, and her son Izates, came over to the ob- 'servation of the Jewish customs.[b] It happened in this 'manner. Monobazus, king of the Adiabenes, fell in love 'with his sister Helene, and married her.' By this marriage he had a son, whom he called Izates. 'But there was an 'elder son called Monobazus, whom he had by Helene, be- 'side other sons by other wives.' However it was apparent to all, that Izates had his best affections, as if he had been an only son. The rest of the sons therefore envied him. The father was sensible of it: 'And therefore lest any 'mischief should happen, having given Izates considerable 'presents, he sent him to king Abennerigus, who resided in 'a fortress called Spasina, entrusting him with the care of 'his son. Abennerigus received him very civilly, and 'married his daughter to him.'

Some time after this Monobazus the father dies: the queen calls a council of her nobles, puts them in mind, 'that they knew the king her husband had appointed her 'son Izates his successor.' They came into these measures; Izates returned home, was received, and gained peaceable possession of his father's kingdom.

'But whilst Izates resided in the fortress Spasina, a Jew- 'ish merchant, whose name was Ananias, who was wont to 'have access to the women of the court, [or the king's 'wives,] taught them to worship God according to the Jew- 'ish manner. By their means Ananias was introduced to

[z] Ημεις δε τα μεν των αλλων ζηλων ικ αξιωμεν. Τους μεντοι μετεχειν των ημετερων βυλομενους ηδεως δεχομεθα. Cont. Ap. lib. ii. sect. 36.

[a] Ant. lib. xx. cap. 2. [b] Κατα τυτον δε τον καιρον των Αδιαβηνων βασιλις Ελενη, και ὁ παις αυτης Ιζατης εις τα Ιυδαιων εθη τον βιον μετεβαλλον, δια ταιαυτην αιτιαν. Ibid. sect. 1.

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'Izates, and brought over him likewise to the same senti-
'ments. It happened also that Helene was taught by an-
'other Jew, and came over to their laws.'[c]

'When Izates was returned and seated upon the throne,
'understanding that his mother was highly pleased with
'the customs of the Jews, he became extremely desirous to
'enter fully into them. And understanding that he could
'not be a perfect Jew unless he was circumcised, he was
'disposed to that also.'[d] His mother having had notice of these his intentions, dissuaded him from it fearing it should alienate his subjects, and provoke them to rebel. She also informed Ananias what advice she had given her son. Ananias was of the same opinion with her, and told Izates, that if he persisted in this design he must necessarily leave him; for the people would impute this action to him, and it would not be safe for him to stay any longer in the country. 'He told him moreover, "That he might worship
'God without circumcision, if he did but fully determine
'to follow the Jewish institutions. For this was more im-
'portant [or essential] than circumcision."[e] And having
'assured him that God would forgive him his not doing
'what he declined only out of necessity, and for fear of his
'subjects, the king for a time submitted to what he said.
'However he had not wholly abandoned his design. And
'some time after this another Jew named Eleazar, coming
'thither out of Galilee, who was reckoned to be very
'skilful in the laws, he brought him to perfect his design.
'For when he came in to wait upon the king, he found him
'reading the law of Moses. And thereupon addressed
'himself to him in this manner: "You little think, O king,
'how great an injury you offer to the laws, and in them to
'God. For you ought not only to read the laws, but, in the
'first place, to do the things which are enjoined by them.
'How long do you remain uncircumcised? If you have not
'yet read the law concerning circumcision, read it now, that
'you may know what impiety you are in." The king having

[c] *Καθ' ον δε καιρον ὁ Ιζατης εν τῳ Σπασινε χαραχι διετριβεν, Ιουδαιος τις εμπορος, Ανανιας ονομα, προς τας γυναικας εισιων τε βασιλεως, εδιδασκεν αυτας τον Θεον ευσεβειν, ὡς Ιουδαιοις πατριον ην· και δη δι' αυτων εις γνωσιν αφικομενος τῳ Ιζατῃ, κακεινον ομοιως συνανεπεισε——συνεβεβηκει δε και την Ελενην, ομοιως ὑφ' ετερου τινος Ιουδαιου διδαχθεισαν, εις τους εκεινων μετακεκομισθαι νομους.* Ibid. sect. 4. [d] *Πυθομενος δε την μητερα την εαυτου πανυ χαιρειν τοις Ιουδαιων εθεσιν, εσπευσε και αυτος εις εκεινα μετατιθεσθαι· νομιζων τε μη αν ειναι βεβαιως Ιουδαιος, ει μη περιτεμνοιτο, πραττειν ην ετοιμος.* Ibid. sect. 5. [e] *Δυναμενον δε αυτον, εφη και χωρις της περιτομης το θειον σιβειν, ειγε παντως κεκρινε ζηλειν τα πατρια των Ιουδαιων· τουτο ειναι κυριωτερον τε επιτεμνεσθαι.* Ibid.

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'heard these words, deferred the thing no longer, but going 'into another chamber, and having called in a physician, 'performed the commandment.[f] And then sending for his 'mother, and the master Ananias, he told them, he had now 'done the work. They were immediately seized with an 'uncommon surprise and fear, lest, if this matter came to 'be public, the king should be in danger of losing his 'kingdom. But God suffered not those things to come to 'pass which they feared. For though Izates was in many 'dangers, God preserved him and his sons, and opened a 'way for their safety, when they were compassed with diffi-'culties; manifesting[g] thereby, that they who look up to 'him, and trust to him alone, do not lose the fruit of their 'piety.'[h]

This story may give occasion for many reflections. I put the reader in mind of some of them only. We learn hence, that the Jews did sometimes gain over persons of distinction to their religion: we see here, in part, their methods of gaining proselytes. Here appear two distinct sentiments: Ananias did not absolutely insist upon circumcision, but Eleazar did. And it seems somewhat probable, that Josephus himself was on this side the question. Ananias dispensed with it only on account of a very great necessity: Eleazar is represented as most skilful in laws: and in the conclusion Josephus intimates, that Izates, by embracing circumcision, had entitled himself to the special protection of providence.

St. Luke expressly has called Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch. I must therefore set down here one passage particularly for his sake. Josephus, speaking of the Jews at Antioch, says, 'They were continually bringing over a great number 'of Greeks to their religion; they made them also in some 'measure a part of themselves.'[i]

[f] *Αλλ' ει μηπω τον περι τουτου νομον ανεγνως, ιν' ειδης τις εστιν ἡ ασεβεια, νυν αναγνωθι· ταυτα ακουσας ὁ βασιλευς, ουχ ὑπερβαλετο την πραξιν, μεταστας δε εις ετερον οικημα, και τον ιατρον εισκαλεσαμενος, το προσταχθεν ετελει· και μεταπεμψαμενος την τε μητερα, και τον διδασκαλον Ανανιαν, εσημανεν αυτον πεπραχεναι τ' ὀργον.* Ibid. [g] *Επιδεικνυς ὁτι τοις εις αυτον αποβλεπουσι, και μονῳ πεπιστευκοσιν, ὁ καρπος ουκ απολλυται ο της ευσεβειας.* Ibid.

[h] And Josephus says, that afterward the king's brother Monobazus, and many of his relations, observing Izates, for his piety to God, blessed above all men, were induced to forsake their own rites and customs, and embrace those of the Jews. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 3. sect. 1. And several of Izates' sons and brothers were within Jerusalem during the siege; and, when the city was taken, fell into the hands of Titus: who out of his great generosity gave them their lives, but put them in chains, and carried them bound to Rome. De Bell. lib. vi. cap. 6. sect. 4. [i] *Ουτε προσαγομενοι ταις θρησκειαις πολυ πληθος Ελληνων, εκεινους τροπῳ τινι μοιραν αυτων πεποιηντο.* De B. J. lib. vii. cap. 3. sect. 3.

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St. Luke has more than once spoke of women among the Gentiles who were worshippers of God. When Paul was at Philippi, he says, Acts xvi. 14, "And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira,[k] which *worshipped* God, heard us." At Antioch in Pisidia, Acts xiii. 50, "The Jews stirred up[l] the *devout* and honourable women—and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas." From the history I have just now given of Izates's conversion, it appears, that some women were brought to approve of the Jewish customs, and to worship God after the manner of the Jews. Josephus says moreover, that when the men of Damascus, [in the year 66,] had formed a design to make away with all the Jews of that place, 'They con-'cealed their design very carefully from their wives, because 'all of them, except a very few, were devoted to the Jewish 'religion.'[m] It appears from a verse of Horace,[n] that the Jewish zeal in making proselytes was very extraordinary, and much taken notice of: and they were censured[o] as unkind to all who were not of their own religion.

CHAP. IV.

CONCERNING THE JEWISH SECTS, AND THE SAMARITANS.

I. *Of the principles of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and their opposition to each other.* II. *The Sadducees members of the Jewish council.* III. *Of the Scribes and Lawyers.* IV. *Of the Herodians not mentioned by Josephus.* V. *Of the Essenes not mentioned by the Evangelists.* VI. *Of the Samaritans.*

I. FROM the frequent mention of the pharisees and sadducees in the gospels and Acts of the Apostles, it is natural to conclude, that they were the prevailing sects

[k] Σεβομενη τον Θεον. [l] Τας σεβομενας. [m] Εδεδοικεισαν δε τας εαυτων γυναικας, ἁπασας πλην ολιγων ὑπηγμενας τῃ Ιουδαικῃ θρησκειᾳ· διο μεγιστος αυτοις αγων εγενετο λαθειν εκεινας. De Bell. lib. 2. cap. 20. sect. 2.

[n] ——— Ac, veluti, te,
Judæi, cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.
Lib. i. Sat. iv. v. ult.

[o] Non monstrare vias, eadem nisi sacra colenti;
Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.
JUVEN. Satyr. xiv. v. 103, 104.

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among the Jews at that time. This is agreeable to the accounts which Josephus[a] has given of the Jewish sects; and will be evident from the particulars which will be taken notice of presently.

The pharisees, Josephus says, 'were reckoned the most 'religious of any of the Jews, and to be the most exact and 'skilful in explaining the laws.'[b] In which he concurs with St. Paul, who says, Acts xxvi. 5, "After the straitest sect of our religion, I lived a pharisee." There is an agreement not only in the sense, but also in the expression.[c]

St. Mark says, ch. vii. 3, 4, "That the pharisees, and all the Jews, except they wash, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders: and many other things there be which they have received to hold." And there is in the gospels frequent mention of the traditions of the elders. Josephus says, 'The pharisees have delivered to the people many institu-'tions as received from the fathers, which are not written in 'the laws of Moses.'[d] Whereas St. Mark says, "The pharisees, and *all the Jews*, except they wash, eat not;" his expressions are extremely just. For Josephus adds, almost immediately after the word just now cited from him, 'That 'the sadducees were able to draw over to them the rich only, 'the people not following them: for the multitude was with 'the[e] pharisees.'

In many parts of the gospels, and especially in the prosecution of our Saviour before Pilate, the common people appear to have been very much at the devotion of the pharisees. It is evident from what has been already alleged here from Josephus, that the people were usually on their side. He has said the same thing in other places. 'They 'had (says he) such an influence on the multitude, that if 'they gave out any thing against a king or an high priest, 'they were credited.'[f]

According to the evangelists, they affected the direction of public affairs, and very much abused the credulity of

[a] De B. J. lib. ii. cap. 8. sect. 14. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 1. sect. 2. et alibi.

[b] *Φαρισαιοι συνταγμα τι Ιουδαιων δοκουν ευσεβεστερον ειναι των αλλων, και τους νομους ακριβεστερον αφηγεισθαι.* De B. J. lib. i. cap. 5. sect. 2.

[c] *Κατα την ακριβεστατην αιρεσιν.* Vid. et Joseph. in vit. sect. 38. p. 923. *—της δε Φαρισαιων αιρεσεως, οι περι τα πατρια νομιμα δοκουσι των αλλων ακριβεια διαφερειν.*

[d] *Οτι νομιμα πολλα τινα παρεδοσαν τω δημω οι Φαρισαιοι εκ πατερων διαδοχης, ἁπερ ουκ αναγεγραπται εν τοις Μωυσεως νομοις.* Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 10. sect. 6.

[e] *Των μεν Σαδδουκαιων τους ευπορους μονον πειθοντων, το δε δημοτικον ουχ επομενον αυτοις εχοντων, των δε Φαρισαιων το πληθος συμμαχον εχοντων.* Ibid.

[f] *Τοσαυτην δε εχουσι την ισχυν παρα τω πληθει, ὡς και κατα βασιλεως τι λεγοντες, και κατα αρχιερεως, ευθυς πιστευεσθαι.* Ibid. sect. 5.

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the people, and the reputation they had for sanctity. "They loved salutations in the market-places, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and the uppermost rooms at feasts, devoured widows' houses, and for a pretence made long prayers," Matt. xxiii. 14. Mark xii. 38—40. Luke xx. 46, 47.

And Josephus allows, they did sometimes make an ill use of the esteem they were in for piety. Alexandra, the widow of Alexander Jannæus, had for some time the government of Judea. She being a 'very religious woman,' thought the pharisees might be her best counsellors: but 'they abusing her simplicity in this respect,' though on other accounts she was a woman of very good capacity, 'got 'the management of all things into their own hands, con-'demned or acquitted, punished or rewarded men accord-'ing to their own pleasure; in a word, she governed others, 'the pharisees governed her.'[g]

The pharisees and sadducees are plainly represented in the gospels as very different from each other, and holding in a manner opposite opinions. Josephus, in one place, calls the sadducees, 'the sect opposite to that of the pharisees.'[h] They did at some times join together in one and the same design against our Saviour. Matt. xvi. 1. "The pharisees also with the sadducees came, and tempting him, desired him that he would shew them a sign from heaven." At other times they attacked him separately, and endeavoured to ensnare or puzzle him with questions suitable to their several schemes, Matt. xxii. 23—34. We have one instance, wherein their different principles drove them into very different measures, and occasioned a downright quarrel. When St. Paul was called before the council at Jerusalem, "and perceived that the one part were sadducees and the other pharisees, he cried out in the council, Men and brethren, I am a pharisee—Of the hope and resurrection of the dead, I am called in question. And when he had so said, there arose a dissension between them:—for the sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit: but the pharisees confess both: And there arose a great cry. And when there arose a great dissension, the chief captain, fearing lest Paul should have been pulled in pieces of them,

[g] Τουτοις περισσον δε τι προσειχεν ἡ Αλεξανδρα σεβομενη περι το Θειον· οι δε, την απλοτητα της ανθρωπου κατα μικρον υπιοντες, ηδη και διοικηται των ὁλων εγινοντο, διωκειν τε και καταγειν ους εθελοιεν, λυειν τε και δειν——εκρατει δε των μεν αλλων αυτη, Φαρισαιοι δ' αυτης. De B. J. lib. i. cap. 5. sect. 2.

[h] Σαδδυκαιων αιρεσεως, οι την εναντιαν τοις Φαρισαιοις προαιρεσιν εχουσιν. Ant. lib. xiii. cap. 10 sect. 6. in.

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commanded the soldiers to go down, and to take him by force from among them, and to bring him into the castle," Acts xxiii. 6—10.

This will lead us to the consideration of some of their distinguishing tenets. I shall, therefore, set down now the account Josephus has given of their opinions concerning the points mentioned in this text. Of the pharisees he says, 'Moreover it is their belief, that there is an immortal power 'in souls, and that under the earth there are rewards and 'punishments for those who in this life have practised vir-'tue or vice; and that to these [souls] there is appointed 'an eternal prison, but that to the former there is a power 'of reviving.'[i] In another place he says of them, 'That 'they believe every soul to be immortal, but that the 'soul of the good only passes into another body, and the soul 'of the wicked is punished with eternal punishment.'[k] On the other hand he says: 'It is the opinion of the sadducees, 'that souls perish with the bodies.'[l] And in another place, 'that they deny the continuance of souls, and the punish-'ments and rewards of Hades.'[m]

It has been thought by some[n] that Josephus, in this account of the pharisees, has endeavoured to accommodate their sentiments to those of some of the Greek philosophers: and that he here represents them as believing something very much like the Pythagorean transmigration of souls. And there seem to be in the New Testament the traces of some such sentiment; particularly in some of the instances mentioned, Matt. xvi. 14. "And they said, some say, that thou art John the Baptist, some Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets." Again it is said, "His disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, *this man* or his parents, *that he was born blind*?" John ix. 2.

Some[o] think, that Josephus's words above mentioned are altogether inconsistent with the notion of a transmigration, and that they import the belief of a proper resurrection. Possibly there were different sentiments concerning this

[i] Αθανατον τε ισχυν ταις ψυχαις πιτις αυτοις ειναι, και ὑπο χθονος δικαιωσεις τε και τιμας οις αρετης η κακιας επιτηδευσις εν τῳ βιῳ γεγονε· και ταις μεν ειργμον αιδιον προτιθεσθαι, ταις δε ῥαϛωνην τυ αναβιων. Illis verò facultatem esse in vitam redeundi. vers. Huds. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 1. sect. 3.

[k] Ψυχην δε πασαν μεν αφθαρτον, μεταβαινειν δε εις ετερον σωμα την των αγαθων μονην, την δε των φαυλων αιδιῳ τιμωριᾳ κολαζεσθαι. De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 8. sect. 14.

[l] Σαδδυκαιοις δε τας ψυχας ο λογος συναφανιζει τοις σωμασι. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 1. sect. 4.

[m] Ψυχης δε την διαμονην, και τας καθ' ἁδε τιμωριας και τιμας αναιρυσι. De Bell. ubi supra.

[n] Vid. Grot. in Matt. xiv. 2. xxii. 28. Cleric. Hist. Ec. Prolegom. sect. 1 cap. 2.

[o] Basnage, Ann. Pol. Ecc. A. D. i. n. 12.

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matter among those called pharisees. It may be, they had none of them exactly that notion of a future state and resurrection, which our Lord, and his apostles after him, taught: for St. Paul says, 2 Tim. i. 10, that "Jesus Christ had brought life and immortality to light through the gospel."

However, St. Paul's notions did directly contradict those of the sadducees, and favour and confirm, not to say improve, those of the pharisees, as is evident from Josephus's account. And it is not at all wonderful, that one sect laid hold of an advantage against the other.

Without staying any longer here, I shall give a passage or two, in which Josephus, who was of the sect of the pharisees, has represented some of his own sentiments concerning these points. The city of Jotapata, where Josephus commanded, was now taken; and he and some others had hid themselves in a cave. He was for surrendering to Vespasian; the rest of the company were rather for killing themselves, and threatened to kill him if he did not come into the same sentiment. In order to dissuade them from this design, among other things, he says, 'All have mortal 'bodies, formed of corruptible matter. But the soul is im-'mortal, and being a portion of God, is housed in bodies. 'What! know you not, that they who depart out of life ac-'cording to the law of nature, and return to God the debt 'they have received from him, when it is the will of him 'that gave it, have eternal praise, and durable houses and 'generations; and that pure and obedient souls remain, 'having received an holy place in heaven, from whence, 'after the revolution of ages, they shall be again housed in 'pure bodies. But the souls of those who have laid violent 'hands on themselves, shall be lodged in the darkest 'Hades.'[p] If I mistake not, St. Paul's figures in 2 Cor. v. 1, 2, have a resemblance with these of Josephus. "For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this we groan earnestly, desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven."

[p] *Τα μεν γε σωματα θνητα πασι, και εκ φθαρτης ὑλης δημιωργειται· ψυχη δε αθανατος αει, και θευ μοῖρα τοις σωμασιν ενοικιζεται·——αρα εκ ιστε, ὁτι των μεν εξιοντων τε βιυ κατα τον της φυσεως νομον, και το ληφθεν παρα τυ θευ χρεος εκτινοντων, ὁταν ὁ δυς κομισασθαι θελη, κλεος μεν αιωνιον, οικοι δε και γενεαι βεβαιοι, καθαραι δε και ὑπηκοοι μενυσιν αι ψυκαι, χωρον υρανυ λαχυσαι των ἁγιωτατον, ενθεν εκ περιτροπης αιωνων αγνοις παλιν αντενοικιζονται σωμασιν· ὁσοις δε καθ' εαυτων εμανησαν αι χειρες, τυτων μεν ἁδης δεχεται τας ψυχας σκοτιωτερος.* De Bell. lib. iii. cap. 7. p. 1144, 1145.

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The pharisees are said in the gospels " to fast oft," Matt. ix. 14; and Josephus says, 'They practise great temperance, 'and never indulge themselves in a luxurious way of life.'[q] This is as much as is reasonable to expect from him. It was not proper to tell all the world, that they " fasted twice in a week," from sun-set to sun-set,[r] Luke xviii. 12. The Jews' fasting was one of those things which the Romans had always ridiculed.[s] And some thought they fasted on their sabbaths;[t] though that was a great mistake. Josephus, however, cannot be much blamed for endeavouring to give a good turn to what had been a foundation for many unlucky jests.

I do not remember that the evangelists have any where said expressly, that the sadducees rejected the tradition of the elders; but as these were the great concern of the pharisees, and as these two sects seem opposite to each other, I should think it very likely, even from the New Testament, that the sadducees were not very fond of these traditions; and Josephus says it plainly. 'The pharisees 'have delivered to the people many institutions as received 'from the fathers, which are not written in the laws of 'Moses. For this reason the sadducees[u] reject these things, 'saying, that those things are binding which are written, 'but that the things received by tradition from the fathers 'need not to be observed. And about these things there 'have happened many disputes and contentions.[v] And again: 'They pretend not to observe any thing beside the 'laws; and it is with them a virtue to contradict the mas-'ters of wisdom, and wrangle with them about the science 'they teach.'[w]

II. But though these two sects stood thus, in a manner, in opposition to each other, yet St. Luke represents them both as concerned together in that administration of affairs, which was allowed the Jewish nation by the Romans, to whom they were then subject: and says, that the members of the council, before which St. Paul was brought, were

[q] Οιτε γαρ Φαρισαιοι την διαιταν εξεντελιζεσιν, ωδεν εις το μαλακωτερον ενδιδοντες. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 1. sect. 3. [r] Buxt. Synag. Jud. cap. 30.

[s] Jejunia Sabbatariorum. Mart. lib. iv. Epigr. 4. [t] Ne Judæus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter Sabbati jejunium servat, quam ego hodie servavi. Suet. August. cap. 76. [u] Και δια τουτο ταυτα το Σαδδυκαιων γενος εκβαλλει, λεγον εκεινα δειν ηγεισθαι νομιμα τα γεγραμμενα, τα δ' εκ παραδοσεως των πατερων μη τηρειν· και περι τουτων ζητησεις αυτους και διαφορας γενεσθαι συνεβαινε μεγαλας. Ant. lib. xiii. cap. 10. sect. 6.

[v] Φυλακης δε ωδαμων τινων μεταποιησις αυτοις η των νομων· προς γαρ τους διδασκαλους σοφιας, ην μετιασιν, αμφιλογειν αρετην αριθμουσιν. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 1 sect. 4.

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" the one part sadducees, and the other pharisees," Acts xxiii. 6. And we have, before this, mention made of a council in which there was a good number of sadducees: " Then the high priest rose up, and all they that were with him, which is the sect of the sadducees," ch. v. 17.

And there is no reason to suspect that St. Luke has been mistaken herein. The sadducees were not excluded from public offices; but in proportion to their numbers seem to have had an equal share in the administration with the pharisees. But the reader is to judge for himself from what Josephus says. 'This opinion (speaking of the sad-'ducees) is embraced by a few only; but then they are 'some of the chief men for dignity: however, they can do 'but little; for when they are in the magistracy, they gene-'rally fall into the measures of the pharisees; (though un-'willingly, and out of pure necessity;) for otherwise they 'would not be endured by the multitude.'[w] He says likewise, 'That they are the most cruel of all the Jews in their 'judicial sentences,'[x] which I think does appear also in some instances in the Acts of the Apostles, where the pharisees were for the milder sentence, and had a majority. However these passages of Josephus plainly intimate that the sadducees were not seldom in office.

The high priests themselves were sometimes sadducees. John Hyrcanus, prince and high priest of the Jews, who died in the year 107 before the Christian æra,[y] forsook the pharisees upon a disgust and turned sadducee. 'He 'abrogated the institutions which the pharisees had pre-'scribed to the people, and punished those that observed 'them. Hence the multitude conceived an aversion for 'him and his sons. But having suppressed this disturbance, 'he afterwards lived very happily; and having administer-'ed the government in an excellent manner one and thirty 'years, he died, leaving behind him five sons.'[z] There was another instance of this about the year of our Lord 60.[a]

[w] Εις ολιγους τε ανδρας ουτος ὁ λογος αφικετο, τους μεντοι πρωτους τοις αξιωμασι· πρασσεται τε απ' αυτων ουδεν, ὡς ειπειν· ὁποτε γαρ επ' αρχας παρελθοιεν, ακουσιως μεν και κατ' αναγκας, προσχωρουσι δ' ουν οις ὁ Φαρισαιος λεγει, δια το μη αλλως ανεκτους γενεσθαι τοις πληθεσιν· Ibid.

[x] Ant. 20. cap. 8. p. 896. v. 37.

[y] Prideaux, Connect. Part II. Book iv. p. 328.

[z] Μαλιστα δε αυτον επικαρωξυνεν Ιωναθης, και διεθηκεν ουτως, ὡστε τῃ Σαδδυκαιων ποιεισθαι προσθεσθαι μοιρᾳ, των Φαρισαιων αποστας, και τατε ὑπ' αυτων καταστασθεντα νομιμα τῳ δημῳ καταλυσαι, και τους φυλαττοντας αυτα κολασαι· μισος ουν εντευθεν αυτῳ τε και τοις υιοις παρα τω πληθος διεγενετο—Υρκανος δε παυσας την στασιν, και μετ' αυτην βιωσας ευδαιμονως, και την αρχην διοικησαμενος τον αριστον τροπον· ετεσιν ενι και τριακοντα, τελευτα καταλιπων υιους πεντε. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 10. sect. 6, 7.

[a] Vid. Pagi. Crit. in Bar. et Basnage, An. P. E.

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'Cæsar having heard of the death of Festus sent Albinus 'prefect into Judea; and the king [sc. Agrippa the 'younger] took away the high priesthood from Joseph, 'and gave the succession of that office to Ananus the son 'of Ananus.—This Ananus the younger, who, as we said 'just now, had received the high priesthood, was fierce and 'haughty in his behaviour, and above all men bold and 'daring: and moreover was of the sect of the sadducees.'[b]

Many do suppose, that the high priest whom St. Luke speaks of, Acts v. 17, as being of the sect of the sadducees, was Caiaphas. but Josephus has said nothing concerning Caiaphas's principles one way or other.

We may, as we pass along, observe here the agreement between the style of the evangelists and Josephus. The people, as is evident, very generally held the tenets and observed the traditions of the pharisees; yet they are never dignified so far as to be called pharisees. They are rather an appendage than a part of the sect, and are always called very plainly the people, the multitude, and the like. The title of pharisee seems to have been almost entirely appropriated to men of leisure and substance. St. Augustine[c] made the same observation long ago.

Again, St. Mark introduces our Saviour telling the pharisees, ch. vii. 9, "Full well ye reject the commandment of God that ye may keep your *own* tradition." So that in one respect a tradition might be the fathers' and in another the pharisees'. And afterward; "Making the word of God of none effect through your tradition, which *ye have delivered*," ver. 13. And, to add no more texts, "They" (the scribes and pharisees) "bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders," Matt. xxiii. 4, Luke xi. 46. Here also the phrase and sense of the evangelists and Josephus agree together. In one of the passages just transcribed from him he says, 'The pharisees have *de-* '*livered* to the people many institutions:' in another he speaks of the institutions which the pharisees had prescribed to, or enjoined upon, the people.

III. There is in the gospels frequent mention of a set of men called scribes and lawyers. They are often joined with the chief priests, elders, and pharisees. They seem to have been men of skill and learning, and to have

[b] Ο δε νεωτερος Ανανος, ον την αρχιερωσυνην εφαμεν παρειληφεναι, θρασυς ην τον τροπον, και τολμητης διαφεροντως· αιρεσιν δε μετηει την Σαδδυκαιων· Ibid. lib. xx. cap. 8. sect. 1.

[c] Pharisæi illi Judæi erant, quasi egregii Judæorum. Nobiliores enim atque doctiores tunc Pharisæi vocabantur. Aug. Serm. 106. n. 2. T. v. Benedict.

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had a particular deference paid to them on that account, Matt. ii. 4. "And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born?—For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes," chap. vii. 39.

A passage or two of Josephus will explain these men's characters. 'Whilst he (Herod in his last sickness) lay 'under these disorders, there happened a tumult among the 'people. There were in the city two sophists [or rabbies] 'who were reckoned exceeding skilful in the laws of their 'country, and for that reason were highly honoured 'throughout the whole nation, Judas the son of Sepphoræus, 'and Matthias the son of Margalus. Not a few of the young 'men frequented them to hear them interpret the laws, 'and they had with them every day an army of the 'youth.'[d]

Of this same affair he speaks thus in his Antiquities. 'There were Judas the son of Sariphæus, and Matthias the 'son of Margalothus, men who had the most persuasive elo- 'quence of any among the Jews, and were eminent inter- 'preters of the laws, and were dear to the people because 'they taught the youth. These were daily frequented by 'those who gave themselves to the study of virtue.'[e]

Whether there be any difference between lawyers and scribes, or whether they are words perfectly synonymous, I cannot say. Perhaps some were chiefly employed in the schools, and others usually spoke in public synagogues.

IV. It ought to be observed, that Josephus has given an account of a third sect among the Jews which were called Essenes: and on the other hand there is a sort of men spoken of in the gospels of which Josephus has taken no notice, namely, the Herodians.

As for the Herodians, they (or their leaven) are not often mentioned in the New Testament; I think not above four times in all the gospels, Matt. xxii. 16. Mark iii. 6. viii. 15. xii. 13. What their particular tenets were does not appear to me, and I suppose it is not necessary I should set down here all the conjectures of learned men concerning

[d] Δυο ησαν σοφισαι κατα την πολιν, μαλιστα δοκουντες ακριβων τα πατρια, και δια τουτο εν απαντι τω εθνει μεγιστης ηξιωμενοι δοξης, Ιουδας τε υιος Σεπφωραιυ, και Ματθιας ετερος Μαργαλω· τουτοις ου ολιγοι προσηεσαν των νεων εξηγουμενοις τους νομους, και συνηγον ὁσημεραι των ἡβωντων ϛρατοπεδον· De B. J. lib. i. cap. 33. sect. 2.

[e] Ιουδαων λογιωτατοι, και παρ' ους τινας των πατρων εξηγηται νομων, ανδρες και δημῳ προσφιλεις δια παιδειαν του νεωτερω· ὁσημεραι γαρ διημερευον αυτους παντες ους προσποιησις αρετης επετηδευετο· Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 6. sect. 2.

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them.[f] They might be a subdivision or branch of one of the other sects, either of the pharisees or sadducees: or if they were properly a distinct sect from the rest, it might be a character that subsisted but a short time, at least under that name. From the time that prophecy ceased among the Jews new sects were continually arising. There were two disciples of Antigonus Sochæus that were the authors of two new sects: Sadoc of the sect of the sadducees; Baithos, or Bathus, the author likewise of a new sect which had its name from him, and which is mentioned in the Gemara,[g] though not in Josephus. There was likewise at this time a division in the sect of the pharisees, some following Hillel and others Shammai.[h] The followers of Judas of Galilee were at first but a small portion of the pharisees; in time they swallowed up almost all the other parties. Josephus, who so often says that the sects of the Jews are three, once or twice calls Judas of Galilee the leader or head of a fourth sect.[i] The reason of his not always distinguishing these from the rest was, I imagine, because they differed from the pharisees only in some few particulars. So that one and the same writer, who has professedly reckoned up the Jewish sects according to different ways of considering them, makes sometimes more and sometimes fewer: much more may two different writers, though they write professedly of this matter, which the evangelists have not done.

And after all, perhaps, these Herodians were never properly a distinct sect. Mr. Basnage, and[k] others, suppose they were some of the officers of Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, which came up to Jerusalem at the feasts, and who were more devoted to the interests of the emperor than some of the Jews: and therefore the pharisees persuaded some of them to go along with their own disciples, when they sent them to our Saviour with the question concerning the lawfulness of tribute. Their leaven might comprise several things. Mr. Basnage supposes, that one thing meant by it, might be a conformity to Roman customs in some points which were forbidden the Jews.[l] If this was the case, it is not strange, that they are not particularly mentioned by Josephus among the Jewish sects.

[f] Vid. St. Hieron. Matt. xxii. 15, 16. Prid. Conn. Part. ii. Book v. Reland. Ant. Heb. p. 242, 263. Clerici Prolegom. ad Hist. Ecc. p. 15.

[g] Vid. Reland, ubi supra, p. 262.

[h] See Dr. Prideaux's Connect. Part. ii. Book viii. at the beginning.

[i] Ant. lib. xvii. p. 794. in.

[k] Vid. Poli Synops. Matt. xxii. 16.

[l] Vid. Basnage, Ann. Polit. Ecc. Vol. i. p. 293. n. 5. p. 318. n. 16. et passim.

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The late learned Albert Fabricius[m] supposed, that the Herodians mentioned in the gospels, were the courtiers and soldiers of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee; and that the name Herodians no more denotes a sect, than Cæsareans and Pompeians, or any such like name would do. And he cites a passage of St. Jerom, which deserves to be remarked: who even banters those, who thought the Herodians were men who believed Herod the Great to be the Christ.

V. As for the Essenes not being mentioned by the evangelists, it was not their design to write the history of the Jewish sects, but of our Saviour's ministry. And it is likely this did not lead them to take any particular notice of them. They were not very numerous. Josephus computes their number at about four thousand; but I think, he means only those of them that entirely rejected marriage.[n] Philo says, that in Syria and Palestine there were about four thousand of them.[o] As they were not very numerous, so they lived very retired. Philo says, they sacrificed no living creatures, and that they shunned cities.[p] Josephus says, they sent presents to the temple, but offered no sacrifice there.[q] They seem not therefore to have come much abroad; and they would not admit a man of another sect into the apartments in which they lived.[r] In order to be admitted among them, a year's probation was required without doors, that it might be seen whether a person could bear their way of life.[s]

'The sect itself is divided into four classes, according to 'the time of their initiation. And the younger are reckoned 'so much inferior than the elder, that if any of these do but 'touch one of a junior class, they wash themselves, just as

[m] Herodem magnum tribuisse nomen sectæ Herodianorum contendunt viri doctissimi, præeunte Epiphanio, hæresi, xx. et Niceta, lib. 1. Thesauri, c. 34. Verum Herodiani, Matt. xxii. 16. Marc. iii. 6. xii. 13, fuere ministri vel milites Herodis Antipæ, qui Johannem Baptistam interfecit, et Herodis magni filius fuit. Nec magis hæresin vel sectam significat ibi hoc nomen, quam Cæsareanorum, Pompeianorum, et similia. S. Hieronymus, ad Matt. xxii. 'Mittunt igitur Pharisæi discipulos suos cum Herodianis, id est, militibus 'Herodis; seu quos illudentes Pharisæi, quia Romanis tributa solvebant, 'Herodianos vocabant, et non divino cultui deditos. Quidam Latinorum 'ridicule Herodianos putant, qui Herodem Christum esse credebant; quod 'nusquam omnino legimus.' Vid. Fabric. ad Philastr. de Hær. cap. 28.

[n] P. 793. [o] Quod omnis Probus liber, p. 876, C. D.

[p] *Ου ζωα καταθυοντες.* Ibid. [q] *Εις δε το ιερον αναθηματα τε τελλοντες, θυσιας ουκ επιτελουσι· κ. τ. λ.* Antiq. l. xviii. cap. 1. sect. 5.

[r] *Και μετα ταυτην την αγνειαν εις ιδιων οικημα συνιασιν, ενθα μηδενι των ετεροδοξων επιτετραπται παρελθειν.* De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 8. p. 1061. v. 25.

[s] *Τω δε ζηλωντι την αιρεσιν αυτων εκ ενθυς ἡ παροδος, αλλ' επ' ενιαυτον εξω μενοντι την αυτην ὑποτιθενται διαιταν.* Joseph. ibid. p. 1062. v. 18

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'they would do if they had conversed with a stranger of 'another nation.'[t]

Is it any wonder, that the evangelists had no particular occasion to mention this private set of men in writing the life of our Saviour? John xviii. 19, 20, "The high priest then asked Jesus, of his disciples and of his doctrine. Jesus answered him; I spake openly to the world, I ever taught in the synagogue, and the temple, whither the Jews always resort: and in secret have I said nothing." This is one of the glories of our Saviour's character, as it is our very great happiness, that what he said and did was public. These men would not come to him; and it would have been a disparagement for him to have gone to them. It is, I think, a just observation of Dr. Prideaux, 'that almost all that is 'peculiar in this sect, is condemned by Christ and his 'apostles.'[u] And that is sufficient for us.

Sir John Marsham has strongly represented the obscurity of this sect in a passage, which I shall place in the[v] margin.

VI. We may not improperly subjoin the Samaritans to the Jewish sects.

In the discourse that passed between our Saviour and the woman of Samaria, she tells him, "our fathers worshipped in this mountain," John iv. 20. And Josephus says, that 'mount Gerizim (the same the woman here speaks of) is 'by them esteemed the most sacred of all mountains.'[w]

The Jews and Samaritans appear to have had a very great aversion and contempt for each other. John iv. 5—9, "Then cometh he to a city of Samaria. Now Jacob's well was there. There cometh a woman to draw water. Jesus saith unto her, Give me to drink. For his disciples were gone away unto the city to buy meat. Then saith the woman of Samaria unto him, How is it, that thou, being a

[t] *Διηρηνται δε, κατα χρονον ασκησεως, εις μοιρας τεσσαρας· και τοσουτον οι μεταγενεστεροι των προγενεστερων ελλαττουνται, ὡστε ει ψαυσειαν αυτων, εκεινους απολωεσθαι καθαπερ αλλοφυλῳ συμφυροντας.* Ibid p. 1063. v. 32—34.

[u] Connect. Part ii. Book v. p. 364.

[v] Esseni autem *παρωνυμοι ὁσιοτητος*, a sanctitate nominati, *κωμωδον οικουσι, τας πολεις εκτρεπομενοι*, vicatim habitant, urbes fugiunt. Philo, Probus liber, p. 876. C. D. Gens sola, sine ullâ fœminâ, sine pecuniâ, socia palmarum. Plin. l. v. c. 17. a populorum frequentiâ separata; adeo ut non mirum sit, tantum esse de iis silentium in Evangeliis, cum essent illi Hierosolymis peregrini et ignoti. Neque rabbinorum quispiam eorum Hebraice meminit, ante Zacuthium, scriptorem nuperum. [A. D. 1500.] Marsh. Can. Chr. Sæc. ix. p. 157, 158. Franeq. 1696.

[w] *Κελευων επι το Γαριζειν ορος αυτῳ συνελθειν, ὁ αγνοτατον τε αυτοις ορων ὑπειληπται.* Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 5. sect. 1.

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Jew, askest drink of me which am a woman of Samaria? for the Jews have no dealings[x] with the Samaritans.

It seems that the Jews were wont to take up provisions at their own cost of the Samaritans, as they passed through their country; and therefore the disciples made no scruple to go into the city to buy what they wanted. And it is likely, that as Judea and Samaria were now both under one and the same government, namely that of the Romans, there was so good order preserved, that necessary accommodations should not be ordinarily refused any travellers, upon their paying the full value of them. But these people scorned to ask or receive a favour of each other, even so small a kindness as a draught of water. Our Lord did not think himself bound by the rules they followed, as he was not moved by the passions with which they were possessed. But this woman was not a little surprised, that He, being a Jew, should ask drink of her that was a Samaritan.

They all knew how they stood affected to each other. The enmity betwixt them must have been the greatest that can be conceived. Doubtless those Jews gave our Saviour the most opprobrious language, which the most furious resentment could suggest, when "they said unto him, Say we not well, that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?" John viii. 48.

It is certain, the animosity between these people had ever been very great, and new affronts and injuries had increased it about this time. Josephus has related a particular provocation, which the Samaritans gave the Jews, A. D. 8, or 9.

'When Coponius governed in Judea, an affair happened 'that deserves to be mentioned. At the feast of unleavened 'bread, which we call the passover, it was the custom of the 'priests to set open the gates of the temple at midnight. 'Soon after they had been opened, some Samaritans, who 'had come privately into Jerusalem, entered in and threw 'dead men's bones in the porticoes; for which reason the 'priests ever after guarded the temple more strictly.'[y]

The conversation which our Lord had with the woman of

[x] Cuthæi Cæsarienses interrogaverunt R. Abhuc. Patres vestri usi sunt patribus nostris: vos igitur quare non utimini nobis? Dixit ipsis, Patres vestri non corruperunt opera sua: vos corrupistis opera vestra. Talm. Hieros. apud Buxtorf, Lex. Thalm. p. 1370.

[y] Κωπωνιω δε την Ιυδαιων διεποντος, ——ταδε πρασσεται, των αζυμων της εορτης αγομενης, ην Πασχα καλεμεν, εκ μεσης νυκτος εν εθει τοις ιερευσιν ην ανοιγνυναι τε ιερυ της πυλωνας· και τοτε ων επει το πρωτον γινεται ἡ ανοιξις αυτων, ανδρες Σαμαρειται, κρυφα εις Ιεροσολυμα ελθοντες, διαρριψιν ανθρωπειων οστεων εν ταις στοαις ποιωνται. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 2. sect. 2.

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Samaria, happened as he was going from Jerusalem to Galilee. "He left Judea, and departed again into Galilee. And he must needs go through Samaria," John iv. 3, 4. And St. Luke has given us an account of an affront our Saviour met with in that country at another time, when he was passing through it to one of the feasts at Jerusalem. This may incline us to suppose, that as this was the shortest way, so it was usual for the Jews of Galilee to go this way up to their feasts. Josephus has assured us it was so. The story in which this is mentioned being remarkable, I shall set it down at length. The fact happened about the year of our Lord 52.[z]

'Moreover a difference arose between the Samaritans and 'the Jews upon this occasion. It was the custom of the 'Galileans, who went up to the holy city at the feasts, to 'travel through the country of Samaria. As they were in 'their journey, some of the village called Ginæa, which 'lies in the borders of Samaria and the great plain, falling 'upon them, killed a great many of them. When the chief 'men of Galilee heard what had been done, they went to 'Cumanus, (he was then procurator,) and desired that he 'would revenge the death of those men that had been kill-'ed. But he having been bribed by the Samaritans, paid 'no regard to them.'[a]

This passage gives light to what is said, Luke ix. 51. "And it came to pass, when the time was come that he should be received up, he stedfastly set his face to go up to Jerusalem. And sent messengers before his face, and they went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him. And they did not receive him, because his face was as though he would go up to Jerusalem." It was upon this people, that some of our Saviour's disciples were for commanding fire to "come down from heaven to consume them." Our blessed Lord rebuked his disciples: but it is evident, both from the evangelists and Josephus, that however this people might treat other travellers, or even Jews at other times, they were very apt to violate the common laws of civility and hospitality toward those that were going to worship God at Jerusalem, or that had been there upon that account.

[z] Vid. Cleric. Hist. Eccl. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 3.

[a] Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 5. sect. 1. Vid. et

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CHAP. V.

OF THE JEWS' AND SAMARITANS' EXPECTATIONS, AND THEIR IDEA OF THE MESSIAH.

I. *The Jews had expectations of the Messiah, as a temporal deliverer.* II. *Of the Jews requiring a sign.* III. *The Samaritans expected the Messiah.* IV. *The Jews and Samaritans supposed the Messiah to be a prophet as well as a king.* V. *Some reflections.*

I. TWO things are plainly intimated by the evangelists; that the Jewish nation had, about the time of our Saviour, very general expectations of the coming of the Messiah; and that the idea they formed of him, was that of a powerful and victorious temporal prince.

First, It is intimated, that they had very general expectations of the Messiah. "The Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem, to ask him, (John the Baptist,) who art thou? and he confessed and denied not: but confessed, I am not the Christ. And they asked him, what then?—and they which were sent were of the pharisees, John i. 19—24. And as the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ or not," Luke iii. 15. See ch. ii. 25, 26, John iv. 25.

Secondly, It is intimated, that the idea the Jews then had of the Messiah, was that of a powerful temporal prince. The disciples of Christ had these apprehensions; therefore there "arose a reasoning among them, which of them should be greatest," Luke ix. 46. This notion was the ground of that petition presented to our Saviour by the mother of Zebedee's children: "Grant that these my two sons may sit, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left in thy kingdom," Matt. xx. 21.

The common people, whenever they had formed a great idea of Jesus, from what he said or performed, continually betrayed expectations of his assuming some external marks of royalty, and very forwardly offer him their service, John vi. 14, 15. This was the intention of those acclamations they made, and of that solemn state, with which they attended him at last into Jerusalem; the circumstances of which are related by all the four evangelists: Matt. xxi. 8,

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9, "And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees, and strewed them in the way; and the multitude that went before, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the Son of David." John xii. 13, "Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord." The acclamations, and the ceremonies they used, sufficiently declare their meaning. When Jehu had been anointed king, 2 Kings ix. 13, they that were with him "hasted, and took every man his garment and put it under him, and blew the trumpet saying, Jehu is king."[a]

These were their expectations, this the notion they had of the Messiah; as is evident from the many impostors[b] which arose about this time in Judea; all which, according to Josephus, gained many followers. But as several passages concerning them will appear in other parts of this work, and one or two by and by in this chapter, I shall take no farther notice of them in this place. There are passages of divers ancient writers, in which these things are expressly asserted. Most of them have been already offered to the world in our own language; but nevertheless they cannot be omitted here.

One is in Josephus. 'But that which principally encou-
'raged them to the war, was an ambiguous oracle, found
'likewise in the sacred writings, that about that time, some
'one from their country should obtain the empire of the
'world. This they understood to belong to themselves.[c]
'And many of the wise men were mistaken in their judg-
'ment of it. For the oracle intended Vespasian's govern-
'ment, who was proclaimed emperor in Judea.'[d]

There are two heathen historians, who have mentioned this same thing. Suetonius in his life of Vespasian says, 'There had been for a long time, all over the east, a notion
'firmly believed, that it was in the fates, [in the decrees or
'books of the fates,] that at that time, some which came out
'of Judea, should obtain the empire of the world. By the
'event it appeared, that prediction related to the Roman

[a] Joseph. Antiq. lib. ix. cap. 6. sect. 2. [b] See the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield's Defence of Christianity, chap. i. particularly p. 29, first edit. [c] For this they had received (by tradition) that it was spoke of one of their nation. Bishop of Cov. Defence, p. 26.

[d] *Το δε επαραν αυτες μαλιστα προς τον πολεμον, ην χρησμος αμφιβολος ὁμοιως εν τοις ιεροις ευρημενος γραμμασιν, ὡς κατα τον καιφον εκεινον απο της χωρας τις αυτων αρξει της οικεμενης· τυτο οι μεν ὡς οικειον εξελαβον, και πολλοι των σοφων επλανηθησαν περι την κρισιν· εδηλυ δ' αρα περι την Ουεσπασιανυ το λογιον ἡγεμονιαν, αποδειχθεντος επι Ιυδαιας αυτοκρατορος.* Jos. de Bell. lib. vi. cap. 5. sect. 4.

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'emperor. The Jews applying it to themselves went into a 'rebellion.'[e]

What Tacitus says is much to the same purpose. Having related many calamities of the Jews, and divers prodigies that preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, he goes on: 'The generality had a strong persuasion, that it was set 'down in the ancient writings of the priests, that at that 'very time the east should prevail; and that some who 'came out of Judea should obtain the empire of the world. 'Which ambiguities foretold Vespasian and Titus. But the 'common people, according to the usual influence of human 'passions, having once appropriated to themselves this 'vast grandeur of the fates, could not be brought to under-'stand the true meaning by all their adversities.'[f]

There is a passage or two more, which I would give here, and which appear to me very material: they are the words of Celsus, who flourished not long after the middle of the second century. They are cited by Origen, from Celsus's books against the christian religion, in a good part of which he argued in the character of a Jew. 'How could we,' says he, 'who had told all men there would come one 'from God, who should punish the wicked, despise him if 'he came?'[g] And in another place he says, 'The prophets 'say, that he who is to come is great, and a prince, and 'lord of all the earth, and of all the nations, and of 'armies.'[h]

Beside these, there is another passage in Josephus,[i] which, I think, deserves a particular attention. It must be produced hereafter, upon[k] another occasion, and for that I reserve it.

II. The evangelists have related many wonderful works, of various kinds, which were performed by our Saviour. And in some places they say, he wrought signs. "And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his

[e] Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judææ profecti rerum potirentur. Id, de Imperatore Romano, quantum eventu postea predictum paruit, Judæi, ad se trahentes, rebellârunt. Cap. iv.

[f] —Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judææ rerum potirentur. Quæ ambages Vespasianum ac Titum prædixerant. Sed vulgus, more humanæ cupiditatis, sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur. Tacit. Hist. lib. v. cap. 13.

[g] Πως δε, φησιν, ἡμεις οι πασι ανθρωποις δηλωσαντες ἡξειν απο Θεου τον κολασοντα τους αδικους, ελθοντα ατιμαζομεν; Or. con. Cels. lib. i. p. 61. Ed. Cant. 4to.

[h] Οτι μεγαν και δυνατην και πασης της γης, και παντων των εθνων και στρατοπεδων κυριον φασιν οι προφηται ειναι τον επιδημησοντα. Id. lib. ii. p. 78.

[i] Ant. lib. xvii. cap. x. sub. fin.

[k] See Josephus in the Index, his account of a terrible execution at Jerusalem.

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disciples," John xx. 30. And St. Peter tells the Jews, Acts ii. 22, "that Jesus was a man approved of God among them by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by him in the midst of them." But yet, they assure us, that notwithstanding this, the Jews would be often asking him for a sign. Matt. xii. 38, "Then certain of the scribes and of the pharisees answered, saying, Master, we would see a *sign* from thee." The sadducees also had this demand to make; ch. xvi. 1, "The pharisees also with the sadducees came, and tempting him, desired him, that he would shew them a sign from heaven." Again, John vi. 30, "They said unto him, What sign shewest thou then that we may see and believe thee?" The sign they wanted must needs have been of a different kind from any of those which Jesus had given them. The words that follow, ver. 31, are somewhat remarkable: "Our fathers did eat manna in the desert, as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat." And the apostle Paul, a good while after this, says, "the Jews require a sign," 1 Cor. i. 22.

A short passage or two from Josephus will confirm and explain this matter. Representing the state of affairs in Judea under Felix, he says, 'And deceivers and impostors,[l] 'under a pretence of divine inspiration aiming at innova-'tions and changes, persuaded the people into distraction, 'and drew them into the wilderness, where they assured 'them God would show them *signs of liberty*.' This is in his Jewish War. In his Antiquities he writes thus of the same affair: 'And impostors and deceivers persuaded 'the multitude to follow them into the wilderness. For 'they said they would there show them manifest wonders 'and signs, which would be wrought by the power [or 'providence] of God.'[m] This shows they wanted some sign of liberty, or of a temporal deliverance.

III. According to St. John the Samaritans also had at this time expectations of the Messiah. "The woman saith unto him, I know that *Messias cometh*, which is called Christ: when he is come he will tell us all things. Jesus saith unto her, I that speak unto thee am he.—The woman went her way into the city, and saith to the men, Come see a man which told me all things that ever I did; is not this

[l] Πλανοι γαρ ανθρωποι και απατεωνες, προσχηματι θειασμω, νεωτερισμως και μεταβολας πραγματευομενοι, δαιμοναν το πληθος ανεπειθον, και προηγον εις την ερημιαν, ως εκει τω Θεω δειξαντος αυτοις σημεια ελευθεριας. De B. J. lib. ii. cap. 13. sect. 4.

[m] Οι δε γοητες και απατεωνες ανθρωποι τον οχλον επειθον αυτοις εις την ερημιαν επεσθαι· δειξειν γαρ εφασαν εναργη τερατα και σημεια, κατα την τω Θεω προνοιαν γενομενα. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 7. sect. 6

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the Christ? Now when the Samaritans were come unto him—and had heard him, they said unto the woman, Now we believe, not because of thy saying; for we have heard him ourselves, and know that this is the Christ the Saviour of the world," John iv. 25, 26, 29, 42.

This supposition is confirmed by an account which Josephus has given of an affair which happened in the latter end of Pilate's government, A. D. 35, or 36. 'Nor were 'the Samaritans,' says he, 'free from disturbance. For 'there was among them a man who made no scruple of a 'lie, and contrived all he said so as might best please the 'people. He published orders that they should meet toge- 'ther and go with him up to mount Garizim, which is 'esteemed by them the most holy of all mountains. He 'assured them that when they were got to the top of it, he 'would shew them the sacred vessels which had been laid 'up there underground by[n] Moses. They, taking what he 'said for truth, armed themselves, and posting themselves 'in a certain village called Tirathaba, there received all 'that flocked to them, intending to ascend the mountain in 'a large body. But a detachment of Pilate's soldiers, horse 'and foot, having first intercepted their passage, fell upon 'them in the village, and at the first attack slew some, dis- 'persed others, and took a good number prisoners, the chief 'of whom Pilate put to death.'

This affair is a proof that the Samaritans were now in expectation of some extraordinary events. This deceiver accommodated his speeches to the humour and sentiments of the people, and they credited readily what he said. But this is not all: the substance of his promises is a proof they were now in expectation of some discoverics and regulations concerning matters of religion. For certainly if they found these sacred vessels, they supposed they should have some instructions also what to do with them. Nor could they think him an ordinary prophet that should be honoured with such a commission.[o]

[n] *Ουκ απηλλακτο δε θορυβε και το Σαμαρεων εθνος· συντρεφει γαρ αυτης ανηρ εν ολιγῳ το ψευδος τιθεμενος, και εφ' ηδονῃ της πληθυος τεχναζων τα παντα, κελευων επι το Γαριζειν ορος αυτῳ συνελθειν, ὁ αγνοτατον τε αυτοις ορων ὑπειληπται, ισχυριζετο τε παραγενομενοις δειξειν τα ιερα σκευη τηδε κατορωρυγμενα, Μωυσεως τηδε αυτων ποιησαμενω καταθεσιν· οι δε εν ὁπλοις τε ησαν, πιθανον ηγουμενοι τον λογον· και καθισαντες εν τινι κωμῃ, Τιραθαβα λεγεται, παρελαμβανον τους επισυλλεγομενους, ὡς μεγαλῳ πληθει την αναβασιν εις το ορος ποιησομενοι· φθανει δε Πιλατος την ανοδον αυτων προκαταλαβομενος ιππεωντε τομπῃ και ὁπλιτων, οι συμβαλοντες τοις εν τῃ κωμῃ προσυνηθροισμενοις, παραταξεως γενομενης, τους μεν εκτειναν, τους δε εις φυγην τρεπονται, ζωγρια τε πολλους ηγον, ὡν τους κορυφαιοτατους——εκτεινε Πιλατος.* Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 5. sect. 1.

[o] See Bishop Chandler's Defence of Christianity,

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I must inform the reader, that in all our present copies of Josephus, the hiding these sacred vessels is ascribed to Moses. And his name was read in this place by Epiphanius and Zonaras.[p] But Reland suspected that for Moses we ought to read Ozes. One of his reasons is, that in an ancient Samaritan chronicle, the manuscript of which he had in his possession, there is an account of the laying up of sacred vessels by the divine appointment in a cave on Mount Garizim, during the high priesthood of Ozes, or Ozi: but that, when afterwards he came to look for them, he could not find them. Reland is inclined to think, that the high priest here intended is Uzzi, mentioned, 1 Chron. vi. 6, who was the fifth from Aaron. The story related in his Chronicle is almost the very same which is told in the second book of Maccabees, ch. ii. with scarce any other difference but that of Jeremy for Ozi, and Nebo for Garizim.[q] I shall therefore set down here the account in the Maccabees. It is, I think, an argument that according to traditions which they then had among them, the discovery of the sacred vessels would be immediately followed by very glorious times; and consequently that this passage from Josephus is to the purpose for which I have alleged it. 2 Macc. ii. 4—8, "It was also contained in the same writing, that the prophet being warned of God, commanded the tabernacle and the ark to go with him, as he went forth into the mountain, where Moses climbed up, and saw the heritage of God. And when Jeremy came thither, he found an hollow cave wherein he laid the tabernacle and the ark, and the altar of incense, and so stopped the door. And some of those that followed him came to mark the way, but they could not find it. Which when Jeremy perceived, he blamed them, saying: As for that place it shall be unknown until the time that God gather his people again together, and receive them unto mercy. Then shall the Lord shew them these things, and the glory of the Lord shall appear, and the cloud also as it was shewed under Moses, and as when Solomon desired that the place might be honourably sanctified."

IV. It has been shown that the Jews had now expectations of the coming of the Messiah, and that they hoped for a temporal salvation from him. But it is not to be thought they looked for nothing else. After the miracle of the five loaves, St. John says, chap. vi. 14, 15, "Then these men,

chap. 1. sect. 3. at the end.

[p] Vid. Hudson. Notas in Joseph. loc.

[q] Substitue pro Jeremiâ Ozin, pro monte Nebo Garizim; cætera conveniunt, Reland. Dissert. de Monte Garizim, sect. 14.

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when they had seen the miracle which Jesus did, said, This is of a truth that prophet which should come into the world. When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force, to make him a king, he departed again into a mountain himself alone." These two characters therefore of a prophet, and a king, were joined together in the thoughts of these men.

The woman of Samaria likewise plainly supposes the Messiah was to be a great prophet. She knew that when he who is called Christ was come, he would "tell them all things." Upon Jesus "telling her all things that ever she did," she concluded he was "the Christ." And she supposed this would be an argument with the men whom she went to, to believe the same thing: and we find it had great weight with them, though they were farther confirmed by what they afterwards heard from Jesus themselves. The expectation of great discoveries in matters of religion appears also in the passage just transcribed from Josephus.

V. I choose to conclude this chapter with some reflections.

1. We may now perceive one reason why our Blessed Lord often forbad men to publish the cures he had wrought upon them; why he so often moved from one place to another; why he so rarely affirmed in express terms, in the hearing of the people, that he was the Christ. Whilst they had so strong a persuasion that the Messiah would be a temporal deliverer, there was a necessity for this conduct. It was impossible otherwise to avoid giving umbrage to the Roman government, and to hinder the people from actually making attempts that would have exposed them to justice. He therefore contented himself with declaring that the kingdom of heaven was at hand, that the Father had sent him, that he was he of whom Moses and the prophets had written, that he was blessed who should not be offended in him; (all which they knew to be characters of the Messiah;) wrought miracles, preached righteousness, and endeavoured to correct their false sentiments and corrupt affections. In a word, it was necessary he should do just as he did, according to the divine character he sustains throughout the gospels.

2. We see here the ground of the different respect which seems to have been shown to John the Baptist and Jesus. "Many of the pharisees and sadducees came to his baptism," Matt. iii. 7. And of others there seems to have been a general resort. And for some time afterwards it was dangerous to deny the validity or authority of his baptism: "for all held John to be a prophet," Matt. xxi. 26. The

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general expectation of the Messiah raised their attention to John: but their particular idea of the Messiah disgusted them against Jesus. "He" (says our Lord to them) "was a burning and shining light, and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light," John v. 35. They had no doubt but that a very great person was coming among them; and they were pleased to hear John say that he was his forerunner: but when Jesus came, he was not such a person as they wished for.

2. We see here the reason of the different reception given to Jesus by the pharisees and the people. The same notions seem to have been common to all, and the passion of the people for liberty was as warm as that of the pharisees for power and grandeur. But the people could not see very far; and they hoped, even contrary to present appearances, that Jesus might some time undertake the deliverance they wanted. But the pharisees, who had more penetration, saw from the beginning that he was a man void of all worldly ambition, and that no such principle would be gratified under him. His peculiar blessings were all bestowed on the "poor in spirit, the meek, and those that were persecuted for righteousness sake:" he exhorted "men to pray, fast, give alms in secret," to entertain "the poor, the maimed, the halt, the blind," in hopes of being "recompensed at the resurrection of the just:" and he openly neglected "the traditions of the elders." They could be sure from hence, that Jesus did not intend to enrich his followers by worldly conquests; that this doctrine was no prelude to an universal temporal empire; and that according to these measures their darling principles, instead of prevailing, would be for ever disgraced. Therefore these men pursued him, almost universally, from first to last, with an uninterrupted course of secret or open malice.

4. This notion of theirs gives us the reason why many owned Jesus "for a time," and then forsook him. They came in to him upon the supposition of his being a temporal deliverer of the Jewish nation: but by his conduct, or some things they heard from him, they were convinced they had gone upon a wrong foundation.

5. It does also account for that sudden change in the people at the conclusion of our Saviour's ministry. They attend him with great state into Jerusalem; and a few days after they cry out, "not this man, but Barabbas." The reason seems to be this: his not assuming then the character of a temporal prince, or at least not giving them some sign of liberty, had been a vast disappointment, and left a

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deep resentment, which rendered them susceptible afterwards of the worst impressions from the chief priests and pharisees.

6. The particulars above mentioned may help us to conceive the truth of what is related, Acts v. 26. "Then went the captain with the officers, and brought them without violence; for they feared the people, lest they should have been stoned." Strange! that they should now have such a zeal and affection for the disciples of Jesus, whom they had so lately desired with loud voices to be crucified, as to be ready to do violence to the officers of the council for their security. But however strange this may seem, there is no manner of reason to doubt the truth of it. What has been alleged from Josephus and Tacitus assures us, that though often disappointed, they were not disheartened. Though Jesus had been crucified, a surprising power appeared in his disciples, and wonderful works were wrought by them in the name of Jesus, which were infallible proofs of his resurrection and ascension. Hereupon undoubtedly the hopes of the salvation they wished for revived in these men.

7. The Jews' expectation of a temporal deliverance for their nation, nourished and strengthened by sensual passions, together with their prodigious wickedness, which they in their fond imaginations had reconciled with the peculiar friendship and favour of God, does fully account for this people's so generally rejecting and despising Jesus, though there was the fullest proof given that he was he who was to come. John v. 43. "I am come," says our Lord, "in my Father's name, and ye receive me not; if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive." They were ready to join any one who made them promises of a temporal salvation; but they would not receive, or at least not hold to any one that did not. If they would have received any one without this condition, they would have received Jesus.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE GREAT CORRUPTION OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

THE evangelists have represented the Jewish nation as very corrupt and wicked about the time our Saviour conversed and taught in this world. When John the Baptist "saw

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many of the pharisees and sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" Matt. iii. 7. Our Lord himself calls them "an evil and adulterous generation," ch. xii. 39. When they boasted of their relation to Abraham, and yet sought to kill him, who had told them the truth, our Saviour tells them: "Ye are of your father the devil, and the works of your father ye will do," John viii. 40—44. Our Lord often intimates, that the true reason why his doctrine was so little regarded by them, was this, that their affections were entirely engaged by worldly advantages, and they had no sincere love of truth or virtue. "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world; and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil," John iii. 19. "How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not that honour which cometh from God only?" ch. v. 44. And from many other parts of the Gospels it is evident, their righteousness consisted in a regard to some ritual parts of Moses's law, and in observing the traditional rules of the elders; "making broad their phylacteries, and enlarging the border of their garments; in paying tythes of mint and anise and cummin; while they omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith," Matt. xxiii. 5—23.

That the corruption of the Jews is not at all aggravated here, is evident from the character given of these times, or of those very near them, by Josephus himself, who was zealous for the honour of his country. 'Eleazar,' says he, 'the chief man among the Sicarii,[a] was a descendant of 'Judas, who had persuaded not a few of the Jews not to 'enrol themselves, when Cyrenius the censor was sent into 'Judea. For then the Sicarii conspired against all that 'were willing to submit to the Romans. They treated all 'such as public enemies:——Affirming they were no better 'than strangers, since they surrendered to the Romans those 'privileges of their nation, which ought to be precious to 'all Jews.—But all this was mere pretence, and given out 'with no other view than to cover their cruelty and avarice. 'That was indeed a time fruitful of all sorts of wickedness 'among the Jews, so that no evil whatever was left un-'practised. It is impossible for man to contrive any new 'wickedness, which was not then committed. All were 'corrupt in their private and public character. They 'strove to exceed each other in impiety toward God, and

[a] Villains that went with short swords concealed under their clothes.

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'injustice toward their neighbour. The great men oppressed 'the people, and the people strove to ruin them. The 'former were ambitious of dominion and power, the latter 'had an insatiable thirst of violence and plunder.'[b]

It appears from hence, that the corruption of this people was general. If Josephus had not made this acknowledgment, it might have been proved by an enumeration of the many acts of injustice and villany he has related, that all sorts of people were abandoned to wickedness. I think this is not needful; I shall, however, add two or three more passages.

In his account of their affairs, whilst Felix was procurator of Judea, he has these words: 'Such was the impu-'dence of the high priests, that they would send their 'servants to the storehouses, to seize and bring away the 'tythes that belonged to the priests; by which means some 'of the priests, whose circumstances were but strait, perish-'ed for want: so far did the violence of factious men pre-'vail over justice and equity.'[c] Did not our Saviour say very truly, "It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves?" Matt. xxi. 13.

Not far off from this passage there is another, which may give us an idea of their hypocrisy, (a crime they are often charged with in the gospels,) and of their artful and impudent pretensions to religion, when they intended the greatest villanies. Felix by a large sum of money persuaded Dora, a native of Jerusalem, and an intimate friend of the high priest Jonathan, to undertake that the said high priest should be murdered. Dora accordingly hired some of the[d] robbers (so Josephus calls a set of men the country was then filled with) for this purpose. 'Some of these men 'coming up into the city, as if with a design to worship 'God, and having short swords under their coats, mixing 'themselves with the multitude, kill Jonathan. This mur-'der passing unpunished, after this the robbers came in at 'the feasts without any manner of concern; and carrying,

[b] Εγενετο γαρ πως ὁ χρονος εκεινος παντοδαπης εν τοις Ιουδαιοις πονηριας πολυφορος, ὡς μηδεν κακιας εργον απρακτον καταλιπειν, μηδ' ει τις επινοια διαπλαττειν εθελησειεν, εχειν αν τι καινοτερον εξευρειν· ουτως ιδια τε και κοινη παντες ενοσησαν, και προς ὑπερβαλειν αλληλους εν τε ταις προς τον Θεον ασεβειαις, και ταις εις τον πλησιον αδικιαις, εφιλονεικησαν· οι μεν δυνατοι τα πληθη κακουντες, οι πολλοι δε τους δυνατους απολλυναι σπευδοντες· ην γαρ εκεινοις μεν επιθυμια τυραννειν, τοις δε τυ βιαζεσθαι και τα ευπορων διαρπαζειν. De B. J. lib. vii. cap. 8. sect. 1.

[c] Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 7. sect. 5.

[d] Κακεινος ὑπακουσας εμηχανησατο δια των ληστων πραχθηναι τουτῳ τροπῳ τον φονον. Ibid. sect. 5.

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'as before, swords under their clothes, and mixing with the 'multitudes, they killed divers people; some whom they 'reckoned their enemies, some whom they were hired by 'others to destroy. This they did, not only in other parts 'of the city, but within the bounds of the temple itself.[e] 'For even there would they kill men, and yet not seem to 'commit any crime. For this reason, it seems to me, that God, detesting their impiety, forsook our city; and not 'esteeming the temple any longer a pure habitation for him, 'brought the Romans against us, threw on the city a fire to 'purify it, and delivered up us with our wives and children 'to servitude, that by these calamities we might learn 'wisdom.'

There is another noted passage of the same historian, which may not be omitted. 'I cannot say it without regret, 'yet I must declare it is my opinion, that if the Romans 'had delayed to come against these wretches, the city [Je-'rusalem] would have been swallowed up by an earthquake, 'or overwhelmed by a deluge, or else been consumed by 'fire from heaven, as Sodom was: for it bore a generation 'of men more wicked than those which had suffered such 'calamities.'[f] I conclude with the following short passage. 'To reckon up all their villanies,' says he, 'is impossible; 'but in a word, never did any city suffer so great calami-'ties; nor was there ever from the beginning of the world, 'a time more fruitful of wickedness than that was.'[g]

[e] *Ου μονον κατα την αλλην πολιν, αλλα και κατα το ιερον ενιως· και γαρ εκει σφαττειν ετολμων, ουδε εν τουτῳ δοκουντες ασεβειν.* Ibid.

[f] *Ουκ αν ὑποστειλαιμεν, ειπειν, ἁ μοι κελευει το παθος οιμαι, Ρωμαιων βραθυνοντων επι τους αλιτηριους, η καταποθηναι αν ὑπο χασματος, η κατακλυσθηναι την πολιν, η τους της Σοδομης μεταλαβειν κεραυνους· πολυ γαρ των ταυτα παθοντων ηνεγκε γενναν ασεβεστεραν.* De B. J. lib. v. cap. 13. sect. 6.

[g] *Καθ' εκαστον μεν ουν επεξιεναι την παρανομιαν αυτων, αδυνατον· συνελοντα δ' ειπειν, μητε πολιν αλλην τοιαυτα πεπονθεναι, μητε γενεαν εξ αιωνος γεγονεναι κακιας γονιμωτεραν.* Ibid. cap. 10. sect. 5.

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CHAP. VII.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF OUR SAVIOUR'S LAST SUFFERINGS

I. *Caiaphas high priest at that time.* II. *Pontius Pilate governor of Judea.* III. *Pilate's wife in Judea.* IV. *Herod the tetrarch at Jerusalem.* V. *Of the high priest's rending his clothes.* VI. *High priests spoken of in the plural number.* VII. *Pilate now at Jerusalem.* VIII. *Pilate condemns Jesus to content the Jews.* IX. *Remarks concerning Pilate's power in Judea.* X. *Of the title written upon the cross.* XI. *In Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.* XII. *Of the scoffs and derisions which our Saviour met with.* XIII. *Jesus scourged before he was crucified.* XIV. *Bore his cross.* XV. *Of his being crucified without the city.* XVI. *Of his burial.* XVII. *And embalming.*

IN the history of our Saviour's last sufferings at Jerusalem, there is mention made of four persons of distinction: Caiaphas the high priest, Pontius Pilate the governor, his wife, and Herod the tetrarch of Galilee.

I. St. Matthew says, ch. xxvi. 3, "Then assembled together the chief priests and the scribes, and the elders of the people, unto the palace of the *high priest*, who was called *Caiaphas*." And afterwards, ver. 57, "Then they that had laid hold on Jesus, led him away to *Caiaphas* the high priest." St. John likewise assures us, that at this time Caiaphas was the high priest, and has informed us of a particular omitted by St. Matthew, namely, that our Saviour was carried to Annas, ch. xviii. 13, "And led him away to Annas first, (for he was father-in-law to Caiaphas which was the high priest that same year)." And again, "Now Annas had sent him bound unto *Caiaphas the high priest*," ver. 24—28.

That Caiaphas was now high priest appears hence: he was made high priest by Valerius Gratus, predecessor of Pontius Pilate, and was put out of that office by Vitellius president of Syria, after Pilate was sent away out of the province of Judea. Josephus informs us of Caiaphas's advancement to the priesthood in these words: 'And a year 'after he [Gratus] removed him, [Eleazar the son of 'Ananus,] and gave the high priesthood to Simon the son 'of Camithus. He, having enjoyed this honour not above a

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'year, was succeeded by Joseph, who is also called *Caiaphas*
'After this Gratus went away for Rome, having been
'eleven years in Judea, and Pontius Pilate came thither as
'his successor.'[a] The same historian gives us the account of Caiaphas's removal in this manner. Vitellius whilst in Syria sent orders to Pilate to repair to Rome; after which Vitellius went up to Jerusalem, and gave directions concerning several matters. 'Having done these things,' says Josephus, 'he took away the priesthood from the high 'priest Joseph, who is called *Caiaphas*, and appointed Jo-'nathan the son of Ananus high priest, and then returned 'to Antioch.'[b]

It is evident therefore that Caiaphas was high priest all the time that Pilate was in Judea.

II. We shall presently have occasion to take notice of several things concerning Pilate: I shall only here show that *Pilate* was at this time governor of Judea. St. Luke says, ch. iii. 1, 2, "Now in the *fifteenth year* of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, *Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea*, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness." If St. Luke in this text intends not the fifteenth year of Tiberius's reign from the death of Augustus, but the fifteenth year of his proconsular power when he was made colleague of Augustus, it may possibly admit a debate, whether Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea when John the Baptist began to preach: therefore I have reserved the consideration of that particular for the next book. But there can be no question made but that Pilate was governor of Judea at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion; whether St. Luke be understood in that place to speak of the proconsular power of Tiberius, or his sole empire after the death of Augustus.

The fifteenth year of Tiberius's proconsular empire, and the twelfth of his sole empire, are pretty near coincident. For the 15th of his proconsular empire is supposed to begin[c] about the 27th of August, A. D. 25. And the 12th of his sole empire, began the 19th of August in the same year.

[a] *Ενιαυτω δε διαγενομενω, και τονδε πανσας, Σιμωνι τω Καμιθω την αρχιερωσυνην παραδιδωσιν· ω πλεον και τωδε ενιαυτω την τιμην εχοντι διεγινετο χρονος, και Ιωσηπος, ὁ και Καιαφας, διαδοχος ην αυτῳ· και Γρατος μεν ταυτα πραξας εις Ρωμην επαναχωρει, ενδεκα ετη διατριψας εν Ιουδαιᾳ· Ποντιος δε Πιλατος διαδοχος αυτῳ ἡκεν.* Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 2. sect. 2.

[b] *Και ταυτα πραξας επι ενεργεσιᾳ τω εθνει, και τον αρχιερεα Ιωσηπον, τον και Καιαφαν επικαλουμενον, απαλλαξας της ιερωσυνης, Ιωναθην καθιστησιν, Ανανω τω αρχιερεως υιον· επ' Αντιοχειας δ' αυθις εποιειτο την ὁδον.* Ibid cap. 5. sect. 3.

[c] Vid. Pagi. Crit. in Baron. A. D. 25.

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There is undoubtedly some difficulty in computing exactly the time which the evangelists have allotted to John the Baptist's and our Saviour's ministry. But whether we understand St. Luke to speak of the "fifteenth year of Tiberius's" proconsular power, or of his sole empire, I think that the earliest date of our Saviour's crucifixion must be that of the Jewish passover, which happened in the 15th year of Tiberius's sole empire, A. D. 29, and the latest date the Jewish passover, which happened in the 19th year of Tiberius's sole empire, A. D. 33.

Take any year from 29 to 33 inclusively, and Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea.

This may be made appear in this matter. Tiberius died the 16th of March, A. D. 37.[d] Vitellius received the tidings of it at Jerusalem.[e] But Pilate had been removed some time before this,[f] as is allowed by all: how long before we will not now inquire. Pilate therefore was removed from his government before the passover, A. D. 37, when he had been there ten years. So Josephus says expressly: 'And Pilate having been ten years in Judea hastened away 'to Rome, in obedience to the orders he had received from 'Vitellius, not daring to refuse.'[g] Subtract 10 from 37, and it appears that Pilate was governor of Judea before the passover in A. D. 27, and consequently before our Saviour's last sufferings.

That our Saviour was crucified in Judea in the reign of Tiberius under Pontius Pilate, is the unanimous testimony of christian writers, is particularly mentioned[h] by Tacitus, an heathen author, and is not denied by any. But this being a principal fact, I am not obliged to produce any passages relating to it now. All I am concerned to do at present is, to show that according to the notes of time mentioned by the evangelists, Pontius Pilate must have been governor of Judea when our Saviour was crucified. This I presume I have made appear from Josephus, who must be allowed to have known what government his own country was under at that time.

III. St. Matthew says, chap. xxvii. 19, that "when he [Pilate] was set down on the judgment-seat, his *wife* sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just

[d] Ibid. A. 37. n. ii.

[e] Joseph. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. vi. p. 806. in.

[f] Ibid. cap. v. sect. 2.

[g] Και Πιλατος, δεκα ετεσιν διατρψας επι Ιυδαιας, εις Ρωμην ηπειγετο, ταις Ουιτελλιυ πειθομενος εντολαις, εκ ον αντειπειν. Joseph. ibid.

[h] Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui, Tiberio imperitante, per *Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum*, supplicio affectus erat. Ann. lib. xv. cap. 44.

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man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him."

So long as the commonwealth subsisted, it was very unusual for the governors of the provinces to take their wives with them; and afterwards Augustus seems not much to have approved of it.[i] But, however, the contrary custom prevailed. It is evident from Tacitus, that at the time of Augustus's death, Germanicus had his wife Agrippina with him in Germany.[k] And in the beginning of Tiberius's reign he carried her with him into the east.[l] And Piso the prefect of Syria took his wife also along with him at the same time.[m] But there is nothing can render this more apparent, than a motion made in the Roman senate by Severus Cæsina, in the fourth consulship of Tiberius and second of Drusus Cæsar, A. D. 21, 'That no magistrate, to 'whom any province was assigned, should be accompanied 'by his wife;'[n] except the senate's rejecting it, and that with some indignation.[o]

IV. St. Luke says, ch. xxiii. 7, that "when Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether the man were a Galilean. And as soon as he knew that he belonged to Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him to Herod, who himself was also at Jerusalem at that time." As this Herod was the son of Herod the Great, and a Jew, there is all the reason in the world to suppose, that he often went to Jerusalem at the Jewish feasts. Josephus has particularly mentioned his being there at one of their feasts, A. D. 37, which I believe none will deny to be the feast of the passover. He is speaking of Vitellius president of Syria. 'Having given directions about these matters, he '[Vitellius] went up to Jerusalem with Herod the tetrarch 'and his friends to worship God, a feast of the Jews being 'nigh at hand.'[p]

Having despatched these general things, we may now take the remaining particulars in the order in which they lie.

V. Whilst our Saviour was under examination before the high priest and rulers of the Jews, after they had in vain

[i] Disciplinam severissime rexit, ne legatorum quidem cuiquam nisi gravate, hibernisque demum mensibus, permisit uxorem intervisere. Sueton. in Aug. cap. 24. [k] Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 40, 41. [l] Id. lib. ii. cap. 54. [m] Ibid. cap. 55. [n] Inter quæ Severus Cæcina censuit, ne quem magistratum, cui provincia obvenisset, uxor comitaretur. Id. An. lib. iii. cap. 33. [o] Paucorum hæc adsensu audita, plures obturbabant neque relatum de negotio, neque Cæcinam dignum tantæ rei censorem. Ibid. cap. 34. [p] Αυτος τε μετα Ηρωδυ του τετραρχυ και των φιλων εις Ιεροσολυμα ανηει, θυσων τω Θεω, εορτης πατριυ Ιυδαιοις ενεστηκυιας. Joseph. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 6. sect. 3.

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attempted to get evidence against him from witnesses, it is related, Matt. xxvi. 63—65, that the high priest "said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said: nevertheless I say unto you, hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Then the high priest *rent his clothes*, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy."

It has been thought by some that the high priest might not rend his clothes: but that he might, and did do so, upon extraordinary occasions, will appear from the following particulars. The author of the first book of Maccabees says, ch. xi. 71, "Then Jonathan rent his clothes, and cast earth upon his head." Jonathan was then high priest; the occasion of this action was his men's running away from their enemies. Lightfoot in his Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon this text of St. Matthew, quotes these words from Maimonides: 'When witnesses speak out the 'blasphemy which they heard, then all hearing the blas-'phemy are bound to rend their clothes.' As the high priest among the Jews was one of their judges, and was present at their trials, he must be comprehended in this rule. I subjoin to these a passage of Josephus. Perhaps it will not be thought to come up to our point, because he does not speak of the high priest in the singular number. But I do not see why the person who was actually in the high priesthood must be excluded; and in one respect it exceeds the fact now before us. For Caiaphas undoubtedly had on at this time his ordinary clothes; whereas Josephus speaks of the priests rending the garments which they wore in their ministrations at the temple.

The case was this: Florus governor of Judea had plundered the sacred treasury at Jerusalem[q] and committed many other abuses. Hereupon the Jews being highly provoked, were ready to break out into war with the Romans. And a great number of them being got together into an open place in the city, gave out many reflections upon Florus. Josephus says, that upon this, 'The chief men and the 'high priests, being filled with concern, *rent their garments*, 'and falling down upon their knees[r] beseeched the people 'to be peaceable, and to bear patiently what had passed 'already, rather than provoke Florus to do still worse.'

When this tumult was appeased, Florus intending (as

[q] De Bell. J. lib. ii. cap. 14. sect. 6. [r] Οι δυναται συν τοις αρχιερευσι τας εσθητας περιερρηξαντο. Ibid. cap. 15. sect. 2.

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Josephus supposes) to exact conditions the people would not comply with, and thereby to bring on an open war, called the chief men to him, and told them, that 'he would 'esteem this a testimony of their fidelity and of their inten- 'tion to be quiet for the future, if the people would go out 'of the city and salute his soldiers which were then coming 'from Cæsarea.' The chief men of the Jews then called the people to the temple and desired them to submit to these demands, but were not able to prevail upon them. 'Then every priest and minister of God, when they had 'brought forth the holy vessels, being clothed in the vest- 'ments which they wear in their sacred functions, entreated 'them not to exasperate the Romans to come and take away 'from them those things which were consecrated to God. Then 'might be seen the high priests themselves with ashes on their 'heads, and their breasts naked, *their garments being rent.*'[a]

VI. In this history we have frequent mention of chief priests, in the plural number. Matt. xxvi. 59, "Now the chief priests and elders and all the council sought false witness against him." Mark xiv. 53, "And they led Jesus away to the high priest: and with him were assembled the chief priests and the elders and the scribes." I know not, but this may be thought by some an impropriety in the evangelists' expression, because strictly there was but one high priest among the Jews at a time. This is certainly very true, and the evangelists appear to have known it very well. But then all those who had ever bore the office of high priest were called so likewise, and I believe some others besides; I need not now enquire who. But so far is this style from affording any just objection against the sacred historians, that it may very well be reckoned one proof of their being well acquainted with the things of which they have written, since it is the usual style of Josephus. I need not produce any particular passages for the proof of it. The expression occurs more than once in those I have just now transcribed.

VII. We are informed, that from the high priests our Saviour "was led away, and delivered to Pontius Pilate." All the evangelists assure us of this, Matt. xxvii. 2; Mark xv. 1; Luke xxiii. 1; John xviii. 28, 29. It is plain from the New Testament, and other ancient writings, that the

[a] Ενθα δη πας μεν ιερευς, πας δ' υπερητης τε Θεε, τα αγια σκευη προ- κομισαντες, και τον κοσμον εν ω λειτεργειν εθος ην αυτοις, αναλαβοντες,—κατ- ηντιβολην φυλαξαι τον ιερον κοσμον αυτοις, και μη προς αρπαγην των Θειων κειμηλιων Ρωμαιοις ερεθισαι· τους δε αρχιερεις αυτους ην ιδειν, καταμωμενους μεν της κεφαλης κονιν, γυμνους δε τα στερνα, των εσθητων περιερρηγμενων. Ibid. sect. 3, 4.

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Roman governor of Judea usually resided at Cæsarea,[t] there being only an inferior officer left at Jerusalem, with a band or legion of soldiers, to keep all things there in order: but yet it is certain, that at the time of their great feasts, and especially at the passover, the governor himself was wont to be at Jerusalem, to prevent or suppress disturbances. There is frequent mention in Josephus's history of the presence of the procurators of Judea, or of the presidents of Syria, at Jerusalem at these times. I have just now shown that Vitellius, president of Syria, was at Jerusalem, at the passover, A. D. 37. He had been there also at the passover of the year before, as is very plain in Josephus.[u] In the reign of Claudius, Cumanus, procurator of Judea, was at Jerusalem at one of the passovers.[v] And afterwards, in the reign of the same emperor, Quadratus, president of Syria, having sent away Cumanus, just now mentioned, to give an account of his administration to Cæsar, went up himself to Jerusalem. Josephus's words are these: 'Having finished these affairs, he went up from 'Lydda to Jerusalem: and finding the people celebrating 'the feast of unleavened bread very quietly, he returned to 'Antioch,[w] the seat of the presidents of Syria.' In another place he speaks of a great number of Jews, who presented complaints at the passover to Cestius Gallius, president of Syria, against Florus their own governor, then likewise at Jerusalem.[x]

Moreover, very probably Pilate was often at Jerusalem, at the feasts, for the administration of justice. Jerusalem was the chief city of Judea, and had a council in it. And it was very usual for the Roman governors to go, at times, to the chief towns of their provinces, on this account, as is evident from many passages of the Roman authors.[y] And

[t] Haud dubiâ destinatione discessere, Mucianus Antiochiam, Vespasianus Cæsaream: illa Syriæ, hæc Judææ, caput est. Tacit. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 79. vid. et Joseph. de B. J. lib. ii. cap. 9. sect. 2. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 4. sect. 1. lib. xx. cap. 4. sect. 4. [u] Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 5. sect. 3. [v] Ibid. lib. xx. cap. 4. sect. 3. de B. J. lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 1. [w] *Ταυτα διαπραξαμενος, απο Λυδδων αναβαινει εις Ιεροσολυμα· και καταλαβων το πληθος αγον την των αζυμων εορτην αθορυβως, εις Αντιοχειαν επανηει.* de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 6. [x] Ibid. cap. 14. sect. 3. [y] Paucos dies ipse [*Cæsar*] in provinciâ moratus, quum celeriter omnes conventus percurrisset, publicas controversias cognovisset, &c. A. Hirt. de Bell. Gall.—Laodiceam pridie kal. Sext. venimus: ibi morati biduum perillustres fuimus, honorificisque verbis omnes injurias revellimus superiores. Quod idem dein Apameæ quinque dies morati, et Synnadis triduum, Philomeli quinque dies, Iconii decem fecimus. Nihil eâ jurisdictione æquabilius, nihil lenius, nihil gravius. Cic. ad Att. lib. v. ep. 20. vid. et lib. vi. ep. 2. Quo loco mihi non prætermittenda videtur præclari imperatoris egregia ac singularis diligentia. Nam scitote esse oppidum in Siciliâ nullum

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it may be fairly concluded from the evangelists, that Pilate was at Jerusalem now for this very end: as it is also very plain, that he had used to keep court there at this feast. "Ye have a custom," says he, "that I should release unto you one at the passover," John xviii. 39.

VIII. In the account the evangelists have given us of Pilate's conduct, there are several things very remarkable; which ought therefore to be considered and accounted for. The high priests and elders of the Jews were very earnest for our Saviour's condemnation; but Pilate appears very backward to pronounce any sentence upon him. "He knew that for envy they had delivered him," Matt. xxvii. 18. When they charged him with stirring up the people, and saying that he was a king, "Pilate said unto him, Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world. Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth.—Pilate saith unto him, What is truth? And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them, I find in him no fault at all," Luke xxiii. 2, 3. John xviii. 33, 36—38.

There being no proof of any disturbances caused by our Saviour among the people, Pilate inquires into this charge, of his taking upon him the title of a king: and perceiving that he intended not by it any worldly government, but only that his design had been to teach men some certain principles, he asks him "What is truth?" or what was that truth which he professed to teach? But not being solicitous to know particularly what these principles were, and being satisfied from what he had already heard from our Saviour, that there was nothing seditious in them, he did not stay for an answer to this question, but immediately goes out to the Jews, and tells them, "I find in him no fault at all."

Grotius supposes that Pilate, by the kingdom our Saviour spoke of, understood such a kingdom as the Stoics ascribed to their wise men, a kingdom no more prejudicial to the Roman government than theirs.[s] He certainly conceived of our Saviour as a leader only of some innocent sect, and apprehended, that it was nothing but envy and secret malice, that moved the pharisees to demand judgment against him.

ex iis oppidis, in quibus consistere prætores, et conventum agere solent, quo in oppido non isti, ex aliquâ familiâ non ignobili, delecta ad libidinem mulier esset. In Ver. lib. v. cap. 11. [s] Grot. in Joh. xviii. 38.

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But notwithstanding what Pilate said of the innocence of Jesus, the Jews were still pressing for a sentence against him. However Pilate could not yet be prevailed on to answer their demands, but ordered him to be scourged; and the soldiers platted "a crown of thorns, and put it upon his head, and they put on him a purple robe," abused and mocked him. Pilate hoping[a] they might be satisfied with this, "went forth again; and saith unto them, Behold, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him. When the chief priests therefore, and the officers saw him, they cried out, saying, Crucify him, crucify him. Pilate saith unto them, Take ye him and crucify him; for I find no fault in him. The Jews answered him, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God. *When Pilate therefore heard that saying he was the more afraid,*" John xix. 1–8.

Many learned and judicious expositors understand by these last words, that Pilate became yet more afraid than before to pass sentence of condemnation upon Jesus; lest, after all, he should prove to be some extraordinary person. They think, that having, probably, received some accounts of our Saviour's miracles, and hearing this charge that he "had made himself the son of God," he was brought into some doubts whether he might not be some uncommon person, like those heroes or demi-gods, which were so much spoken of among the Greeks and Romans, and therefore he was seized with a fresh fear of being concerned in his death.[b]

The words will bear another sense, and ever since I have read Josephus, in whom there are divers instances of the Jewish zeal about this time, and of tumults and seditions which they run into, upon the least affront offered to their religious institutions, some of which tumults Pilate had been witness to, I have understood these words in a different sense; and have thought that Pilate finding they interested their religion in this cause, and that they were resolute in it, became afraid he must at last submit to them. And I am glad to find, that I am not singular in this interpretation.

[a] So Augustine understood this place. Tunc cum flagellâsset Jesum, et a militibus veste illusoriâ, multisque illusionibus male tractari permisisset; (credo ut hoc modo saltem eorum furorem mitigaret, ne usque ad mortem sævire pertenderent;) exiit iterum Pilatus foras, et dicit eis: Ecce adduco eum vobis, &c. Aug. De Cons. Evang. l. iii. c. 13. n. 46. Ed. Bened.

[b] Metuens, ob res miras deo auditas, ne forte verum esset ortum eum divino satu, sicut Romani et Græci de heroibus suis credebant. Grot. in loc. vid. et Hammond, &c.

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Beza says upon this place, 'he was not without reason afraid, 'that an open sedition might happen, if he did not comply 'with the multitude.'[c]

But this sense being liable to an objection, from an expression St. John uses after this, it will be needful to consider what follows. John xix. 9—12. Pilate having heard this, "went again into the judgment-hall, and saith unto Jesus, Whence art thou? but Jesus gave him no answer. Then saith Pilate unto him, Speakest thou not unto me? Knowest thou not, that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee? Jesus answered, Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above: therefore he that delivered me unto thee, hath the greater sin. And from thenceforth Pilate sought to release him."

These last words may be reckoned an objection to the sense in which I understand the words above mentioned.* But certainly St. John does not hereby intend, that Pilate then began to seek to release Jesus. He has, before this, related divers attempts which Pilate had made to bring the Jews to temper. What he means hereby is, that he still sought to release him; that upon hearing what Jesus said in this last examination, he made another trial of the Jews, to see if they could not be contented. Our Lord had maintained his innocence, told Pilate that he could have no power against him, if it had not been allowed by the providence of God for particular ends and reasons; and that they who had delivered him to him, had been guilty of an heinous and aggravated crime. Pilate, therefore, being still satisfied of his innocence, made one and another attempt after this, to bring the Jews to consent to his being released. But at length, "the voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed. When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but rather a tumult was made, then delivered he him unto them to be crucified," Luke xxiii. 23; Matt. xvii. 24; John xix. 16.

So that, whether the fear which seized Pilate, upon the Jews telling him that Jesus had "made himself the son of God," was a fear arising from an apprehension, that he might be some extraordinary person, and more than a man;

[c] *Magis metuit.*] Ergo jam antea perculsus erat, alternante nimirum conscientiâ, et clamoribus Judæorum, nunc etiam legem prætexentium: non temere veritus, ne tandem seditio aperta erumperet, nisi multitudinis voluntati obtemperaret. Bez. Nov. Test. in loc. Calvin also allows that the words are capable of this sense. Duplex potest elici sensus: prior est, quod veritus fuerit Pilatus ne sustineret aliquam culpam si exortus esset tumultus, quia Christum non damnâsset; alter, quod, andito Filii Dei nomine, mens ejus religione tacta fuerit. Which last Calvin approves, in loc.

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or whether it was an apprehension of disturbances and tumults, if he did not hearken to the Jews; yet it is evident from the passages last quoted, and from many others in the gospels, that the evangelists have represented Pilate's condemnation of our Lord, as extorted from him.

He told them once and again, that he "found no fault in him:" he had him scourged, and brought him out to them in a mock royal dress, hoping they might be satisfied with this punishment and disgrace. It being his custom at the passover to release to them some prisoner of their nation, and the people being gathered together in great numbers, and now demanding this favour of him, he proposed to them that Jesus might be the person. But they being moved by the high priests, "desired that Barabbas might be released;" a criminal so infamous, that no one not void of all shame, would have spoken for him; a man that had been taken up in an insurrection against the Roman government, and that had committed robbery and murder. Not being able, by all these methods, to move the compassion or equity of the Jews; nor observing that there was any party among the common people, that favoured Jesus; and being willing "to content the people, he delivered Jesus unto them to be crucified," Mark xv. 15. The evangelists are unanimous in the account, that this sentence was pronounced only "to content the Jews;" that is, either to secure the peace of the province, or to maintain his interest with the people, when he saw that nothing could satisfy or appease their rage but the death of Jesus. "When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent from the blood of this just person; see ye to it. Then answered all the people and said, His blood be on us, and on our children," Matt. xxvii. 24, 25; Luke xxiii. 24, 25; John xix. 14—16.

It will seem strange to some, that a Roman governor should have any inducements to comply with the demands of people, contrary to his own judgment and inclination. But he that considers the account we have of the principles and behaviour of the Jewish nation at this time will be satisfied the evangelists have here given a just and true representation of this transaction; and will be convinced, that a Roman governor, with all his authority, could not pass by any thing which they apprehended to be a breach on their religious constitution without hazarding the peace of

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his province. All this will not justify an unrighteous sentence, but that this was the case is plain.

We have seen that the high priests pretended, that Jesus had been guilty of blasphemy, in making "himself the Son of God," and that "by their law he ought to die," John xix. 7. And Pilate had had experience of their prodigious firmness and zeal for all the parts of their religion. There are two particular proofs they gave him of this, related by Josephus; the one on occasion of his placing the Roman ensigns in Jerusalem; the other upon his attempting to bring water into the city with money taken out of the sacred treasury. The former is related by Josephus thus: 'Pilate, the prefect of Judea, sending his army from 'Cæsarea, and putting them into winter quarters at Jeru-'salem, brought the carved images of Cæsar, which are on 'the ensigns, into the city, in violation of the Jewish laws, 'since our law forbids the making of any images. For 'which reason the former governors were wont to come into 'the city with ensigns destitute of those ornaments. Pilate 'was the first who set up images in Jerusalem; and he did 'it privately, the army making their entry in the night 'time. But as soon as the people knew it, they went in a 'vast body to Cæsarea, making earnest supplication for 'many days that the images might be removed. He not 'granting their petition, thinking it would be dishonourable 'to the emperor to do so, and they still persisting in their 'request to him; on the sixth day, having privately order-'ed his soldiers to their arms, he seated himself on his 'tribunal in the Circus, near which he had placed his men, 'that they might be in readiness. And when the Jews 'came to him thither with their petition, his soldiers having, 'upon a signal given, surrounded them, he threatened them 'with immediate death, if they did not give over their 'clamours, and return home. They then threw themselves 'on the ground, and offered their necks to the sword, and 'said, "they could die much more easily, than they could 'dare to do any thing contrary to the wisdom of their laws." 'Pilate, surprised at their firmness in the observation of 'their laws, immediately gave orders for bringing back the 'images from Jerusalem to Cæsarea.'[c]

There immediately follows after this an account of the disturbance raised at Pilate's attempting to bring water into the city, at the expense of money taken out of the sacred treasury. Josephus says, 'That many thousands got together,

[c] Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 4. sect. 1.

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'crying out, that he ought to desist from this undertaking; 'that many vented most reproachful speeches against him. '—Some were killed and others wounded in this tumult, 'but at length the sedition was suppressed.'

Both these attempts of Pilate were made at the beginning of his government. Some learned men, who suppose that Pilate came into Judea, A. D. 25, place them in that year.[e] And others who suppose that Pilate was not procurator of Judea till the year 27, place them there.[f] I am of opinion, the first attempt was made by him at the beginning of the first winter after his arrival in the province, and the other the summer following. Undoubtedly, he had seen the Jews' firmness upon both these occasions, and possibly upon some others, before the time of the event which we are considering.

We have another attempt of Pilate's, of the same nature, mentioned in the letter which Agrippa the elder sent to Caligula, as this letter is given us by Philo. In some particulars it has a great resemblance with the story Josephus has told, of Pilate's bringing the ensigns into Jerusalem, and in others it is very different from it: which has given occasion to some learned men to suppose, that Philo has been mistaken.[g] For my own part, as I make no doubt, but Josephus's account of the ensigns is true; so I think, that Philo may also be relied on for the truth of a fact he has mentioned, as happening in his own time in Judea: and consequently I judge them to be two different facts.

Agrippa, reckoning up to Caligula the several favours conferred on the Jews by the imperial family, says: 'Pi-'late was procurator of Judea. He, not so much out of 'respect to Tiberius, as a malicious intention to vex the 'people, dedicates gilt shields, and places them in Herod's 'palace within the holy city. There was no figure upon 'them, nor any thing else which is forbidden, except an 'inscription, which expressed these two things, the name of 'the person who dedicated them, and of him to whom they 'were dedicated. When the people perceived what had 'been done,—they desired this innovation of the shields 'might be rectified, that their ancient customs, which had 'been preserved through so many ages, and had been 'hitherto untouched by kings and emperors, might not now 'be violated. He refused their demands with roughness: 'such was his temper, fierce and untractable. They then 'cried out, do not you raise a sedition yourself; do not you

[e] Cleric. Hist. Ecc. [f] Basnage Ann. Pol. Eccl.
[g] Vid. Basnage Ann. P. E. A. 27. n. 6.

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'disturb the peace by your illegal practices.—It is not 'Tiberius's pleasure, that any of our laws should be broken 'in upon. If you have received any edict, or letter from 'the emperor to this purpose, produce it, that we may leave 'you, and depute an embassy to him, and entreat him to 'revoke his orders. This put him out of all temper; for 'he was afraid, that if they should send an embassy, they 'might discover the many mal-administrations of his govern-'ment, his extortions, his unjust decrees, his inhuman 'cruelties. This reduced him to the utmost perplexity. 'On the one hand, he was afraid to remove things that had 'been once dedicated, and was also unwilling to do a fa-'vour to men that were his subjects: and on the other 'hand, he knew very well the inflexible severity of Tibe-'rius. The chief men of the nation observing this, and 'perceiving that he repented of what he had done, though 'he endeavoured to conceal it, write a most humble and 'submissive letter to Tiberius. It is needless to say, how 'he was provoked, when he had read the account of Pilate's 'speeches and threatenings, the event showing it suffi-'ciently. For he soon sent a letter to Pilate, reprimanding 'him for so audacious a proceeding, requiring also, that the 'shields should be removed. And accordingly they were 'carried from the metropolis to Cæsarea by the sea-side, 'called Sebaste, from your great grandfather, that they 'might be placed in the temple there consecrated to him: 'and there they were reposited.'[h]

The reader doubtless observes the several different circumstances of this story from that of the ensigns, which Josephus has told; and particularly, that this dedication of the shields was made some time after Pilate had been in the province, because now he had been guilty of many mal-practices in his government; whereas, the fact which Josephus has related, happened very soon after his arrival in the province. This circumstance may be an argument, that Philo did not take the ensigns for shields; it being very unlikely he should mistake the time of such an affair.

I cannot however be positive that this fact happened before our Saviour's crucifixion. But yet, methinks, it may help us to form an idea, how Pilate understood that threatening speech of the Jews, John xix. 12, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend." For, supposing this affair of the shields not to have happened till after our Saviour's crucifixion, (which however is not certain,) yet undoubtedly Pilate had, before this time, committed many

[h] Philo de leg. ad Cai. p. 1033, 1034.

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abuses. And though he might be very well satisfied, the acquitting Jesus and setting him at liberty would not be deemed any crime, if the case was fairly stated; yet he might be unwilling to provoke the principal men of the Jewish nation to send Tiberius an account of his behaviour on other occasions. This we may the more easily credit, not only because at all times the remonstrances of a province were very much dreaded by the prefects, but because they were more especially so under Tiberius; who was very solicitous for the peace of his provinces, and had endeavoured to secure them from the exactions of his officers. And it was for this reason, as he himself said, that he suffered the presidents to remain in the provinces for so long a time, because they all endeavoured to enrich themselves, and the shorter time they staid in them, the more eager they were to improve it to that end.[i]

Thus we see how Pilate, a man chiefly swayed by a regard to his private interest, might be in subjection to a clamorous and tumultuous people, in an affair in which they pretended their religion was concerned.

IX. I have, in the second chapter, shown at large, what power the Jewish magistracy and the Roman governor were possessed of at this time in Judea. But the justness of the evangelist's account upon this head (in which likewise they are perfectly harmonious) appears to me so very material, that I know not how to forbear making here two or three remarks upon occasion of Pilate's pronouncing the sentence of condemnation on Jesus; which is a proof of his supreme authority in that country, in capital causes.

1. According to the evangelists then, the Jews had not now the power of life and death. I have showed, that according to other ancient authors, they had it not at this time, and could not have it, whilst in the state of a Roman province.

2. According to the evangelists, Pilate had the power of life and death. So he has also in Philo and Josephus. This is a place, in which later writers would have been in great danger of tripping. The accuracy of the evangelists is remarkable on two accounts. 1. Judea, though sometimes called a province, was properly a branch of the province of Syria:[k] but yet had a Roman governor residing in

[i] Vid. Joseph. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 7. sect. 5.

[k] Iturææque et Judæi, defunctis regibus Sohemo atque Agrippa, *Provinciæ Syriæ Additi.* Tacit. Ann. 12. cap. 23. What Tacitus here says was done upon the death of Agrippa, had been the case before his reign: and was so, particularly, in the time of Pilate; as is evident, in that he was displaced by Vitellius, president

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it with supreme authority, which was a very uncommon thing. 2. Pilate's proper title was that of procurator. The reader may perceive this from my translations of many passages concerning the Roman governors of Judea, in which, in conformity to Josephus's style, I also call them procurators. Tacitus also calls Pilate procurator.[l] Now this was ordinarily the title of the officer that took care of the emperor's revenue in a province, and is equivalent to that of quæstor under the republic, or in a province subject to the senate; which officer had not the power of life and death. But Pilate, though he had the title of procurator, had the power of a president. The evangelists, usually give Pilate, Felix, and Festus the title of governor; a general word, and very proper, according to the usage of the best writers, and of Josephus in particular, in many places.

3. According to the evangelists, the Jewish council having, as they pretended, convicted Jesus of blasphemy, and judged him guilty of death, they go with him to Pilate; and they seem to have expected that Pilate should confirm their sentence, and sign an order that he might be punished accordingly. And they afterwards openly and confidently insist upon it, that he should not acquit a person who, they said, had been guilty of a crime, which according to their law was capital. John xix. 7, "The Jews answered him, we have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the son of God." This appears to me very observable: but yet nothing is more likely than that they should talk in this way, since they were governed by the Romans according to their own laws, as I have shown above.[m] These are the remarks I had to make in this place.

But I would also take this opportunity of adding a text, not yet insisted on, which, if I understand it aright, is a fresh indication, that according to the sacred writers, the Jews had not now supreme power within themselves. When the Jewish elders had brought Jesus before Pilate, he said to them, John xviii. 29, 30, "What accusation bring you against this man? They answered and said unto him, *If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee.*" The original word, and our English word malefactor, I think, usually denote a criminal guilty of one of the worst of crimes: such as are ordinarily punish-

of Syria. Vid. et Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 8. sect. 1. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. ult. sect 5. et. alibi.

[l] Ann. 15. cap. 44. See above, p. 145. n. [b].

[m] See ch. ii. p. 83.

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ed with death, perpetual imprisonment, the mines, galleys, or some such very heavy punishment. These words then, in their mouths, import thus much: 1. 'If the crime he is 'charged with were not capital, we should have punished 'him ourselves, and not have come to you. 2. If he were 'not really guilty, we would not have accused him.' But to return to the course we were in.

X. Pilate having at length passed sentence on Jesus, and delivered him to be crucified, it will be proper next to consider what is said of an inscription put upon the cross. John xix. 19, 20, "And Pilate wrote a title and put it on the cross: and the writing was, *Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews.*" This was the usual custom of the Romans, when any were condemned to death, to affix to the instrument of their punishment, or to order to be carried before them, a writing expressing the crime for which they suffered. And this writing was called in Latin, title, which word St. John has made use of. It will be sufficient to give an example or two of this in the margin.[n]

XI. St. John says that this title was "written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin." And it was at this time usual at Jerusalem, to set up advertisements, that were designed to be read by all sorts of people, in several languages. Titus, in a message he sent to the Jews by Josephus, when the city was almost in his hands, and by which he endeavoured to persuade them to surrender, says: 'Did you not erect pil-'lars with inscriptions on them in the Greek and in our 'language, "Let no one pass beyond these bounds?"'[o]

XII. Every one must needs observe the scoffs and derisions our Saviour met with. There are three or four instances recorded in the evangelists. One was whilst he was in the high priest's house. "Then did they spit in his face and buffeted him, and others smote him with the palms of their hands; saying, Prophesy unto us, thou Christ, who is he that smote thee?" Matt. xxvi. 67, 68; Mark xiv. 65. Pilate hearing our Lord was of Galilee sent him to Herod; and before he was dismissed by him,

[n] Romæ publico epulo servum, ob detractam lectis argenteam laminam, carnifici confestim tradidit [Caius] ut, manibus abscissis, atque ante pectus e collo pendentibus, præcedente titulo qui causam pœnæ indicaret, per cœtus epulantium circumduceretur. Suet. in Calig. c. 34. Patrem familias quod Thracem mirmilloni parem, munerario imparem dixerat, detractum e spectaculis in arenam, canibus objecit, cum hoc titulo, Impie locutus parmularius. Sueton. Domit. cap. 10. *Δια τε της αγορας μεσης μετα γραμματων την αιτιαν της θανατωσεως αυτω δηλωντων διαγαγοντος, και μετα ταυτα ανασταυρωσαντος.* Dio, lib. liv. p. 523. A.

[o] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vi. cap. 2. sect. 4.

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"Herod with his men of war set him at nought: and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe," Luke xxiii. 11. He was insulted and mocked by the soldiers, when Pilate ordered him to be scourged the first time, that by that lesser punishment he might satisfy the Jews and save his life, as is related by St. John.[p] After Pilate had condemned him to be crucified, the like indignities were repeated by the soldiers, as we are assured by two evangelists. Matt. xxvii. 27—31; Mark xv. 16—20, "And they stripped him and put on him a scarlet robe, and when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it on his head, and a reed in his right hand: and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, saying, Hail king of the Jews. And they spit upon him, and took the reed, and smote him on the head."

These are tokens of contempt and ridicule which were in use at that time. Dio, among the other indignities offered to Sejanus the favourite of Tiberius, (in whose reign our Saviour was crucified,) as they were carrying him from the senate-house to prison, particularly mentions this; 'That 'they struck him on the head.'[q] But there is one instance of ridicule which happened so soon after this time, and has so great a resemblance with what our Saviour met with, that it ought to be set down here at length. Caligula, the successor of Tiberius, had in the very beginning of his reign given Agrippa the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip, being about the fourth part of his grandfather Herod's dominions, with the right of wearing a diadem or crown. When he was setting out from Rome to make a visit to his people, the Emperor advised him to go by Alexandria as the best way. When he came thither he kept himself very private; but the Alexandrians having got intelligence of his arrival there, and of the design of his journey, were filled with envy, as Philo says, at the thoughts of a Jew's having the title of king. Many ways they showed their indignation—one was this:

'There was one Carabas, a sort of distracted fellow, that 'in all seasons of the year went naked about the streets. 'He was somewhat between a madman and a fool, the com-'mon jest of boys and other idle people. This wretch they 'brought into the theatre, and placed him on a lofty seat, 'that he might be conspicuous to all: then they put a thing 'made of paper on his head for a crown, the rest of his 'body they covered with a mat instead of a robe, and for 'a sceptre one put into his hand a little piece of a reed

[p] John xix. 1, 2. See Dr. Clarke's paraphrase of these two verses.

[q] Επι κορρης επαιον. Dio, lib. lviii. p. 628. A.

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'which he had just taken up from the ground. Having thus 'given him a mimic royal dress, several young fellows with 'poles on their shoulders came and stood on each side of 'him as his guards. Then there came people toward him, 'some to pay their homage to him, others to ask justice of 'him, and some to know his will and pleasure concerning 'affairs of state; and in the crowd were loud and confused 'acclamations of Maris, Maris; that being, as they say, the 'Syriac word for lord, thereby intimating whom they in- 'tended to ridicule by all this mock show;[r] Agrippa being 'a Syrian, and king of a large country in Syria.'[s]

XIII. Before our Saviour was had away to be crucified he was scourged. "Then released he Barabbas unto them; and when he had *scourged* Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified," Matt. xxvii. 26, Mark xv. 15. That it was the usual custom of the Romans, before execution, to scourge persons condemned to capital punishment, is evident from many examples recorded in ancient historians. I shall set down from them in the margin two or three instances in the original words.[t] Accounts of the executions of persons generally run in this form; They were stripped, whipped, and beheaded, or crucified, according as the sentence was.

XIV. Another particular mentioned here is, that our Saviour bore his cross. John xix. 16, 17, "And they took Jesus and led him away; and he bearing his cross went forth." But he having been fatigued by a long examination and a double scourging, (as it seems,) they were obliged after he had gone a short way to put it upon another. "And they laid hold on one Simon a Cyrenian: and on him they laid the cross that he might bear it after Jesus," Luke xxiii. 26, Mark xv. 21.

This was the constant practice among the Romans for criminals to carry their own cross. Insomuch that Plutarch makes use of it as an illustration of the misery of vice: 'that every kind of wickedness produces its own particular

[r] Ειτ' εκ περιεστωτος εν κυκλῳ πληθυς εξηχει βοη τις ατοπος, Μαριν αποκαλεντων· ουτως δε φασιν τον κυριον ονομαζεσθαι παρα Συροις· ῡδεσαν γαρ Αγριππαν και γενει Συρον, και Συριας μεγαλην αποτομην εχοντα, ἡς εβασιλευσε. In Flacc. p. 970. B. C.

[s] Judea is here reckoned by Philo a part of Syria; as it is also by many other writers.

[t] Missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium, nudatos virgis cædunt. Liv. lib. ii. c. 5. Productique omnes, virgisque cæsi, ac securi percussi. Id. lib. xxvi. c. 15. Ους μαστιξι προαικισαμενος ανεσταυρωσε (Φλωρος.) Joseph. p. 1080. 45. Μαστιγωμενοι—ανεσταυρουντο τω τειχει αντικρυ. Id. p. 1247. 24. Ζων γαρ κατεκαυθη προτερον αικισθεις. Id. p. 1327. 43.

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'torment, just as every malefactor, when he is brought 'forth to execution, carries his own cross.'[u]

XV. It appears from the evangelists that our Lord was crucified without the city. "And he bearing his cross went forth to a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha," John xix. 17. "For the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city," ver. 20. And the apostle to the Hebrews has likewise mentioned this circumstance: "Wherefore Jesus also—suffered without the gate," Heb. xiii. 12.

This is conformable to the Jewish law, and to examples mentioned in the Old Testament. Numb. xv. 35, "And the Lord said unto Moses, The man shall surely be put to death: all the congregation shall stone him with stones without the camp." 1 Kings xxi. 13, "Then they carried him" [Naboth] "forth out of the city, and stoned him with stones that he died." This was done at Jezreel, in the territories of the king of Israel, not far from Samaria. And if this custom was practised there, we may be certain the Jews did not choose that criminals should be executed within Jerusalem, the sanctity of which they had so high an opinion of, and which they were very zealous to preserve free from all ceremonial impurity, though they defiled it with the practice of the most horrid immoralities. It is possible indeed they might, in their sudden and ungoverned rage, a thing they were mighty subject to at this time upon any affront offered to their laws or customs, put persons who thus provoked them to death, upon the spot, in the city, or the temple, or wherever they found them: but whenever they were calm enough to admit the form of a legal process, I dare say, they did not approve of an execution within the city.

And among the Romans this custom was very common,[v] at least in the provinces. The robbers at Ephesus which[w] Petronius Arbiter mentions, were crucified by order of the governor of the province without the city. This was the custom likewise in Sicily, as appears from Cicero.[x]

[u] Και τῳ σωματι των κολαζομενων ἑκαστος των κακουργων ἐκφερει τὸν αυτὸ σταυρον· ἡ δε κακια των κολαστηριων ἐφ' ἑαυτην ἑκαστον ἐξ αυτης τεκταινεται. Plutarch. de iis qui sero puniuntur, p. 554. A. Paris. 1624.

[v] Credo ego istoc exemplo tibi esse eundum actutum extra portam, dispessis manibus patibulum cum habebis. Plautus in Mil. Glor. Act. 2. Scen. iv.

[w] Quum interim imperator provinciæ latrones jussit crucibus adfigi, secundum illam eandem casulam, in quâ recens cadaver matrona deflebat. Satyr. cap. 71.

[x] Quid enim attinuit, cum Mamertini more atque instituto suo crucem fixissent post urbem in viâ Pompeiâ, te jubere in eâ parte figere

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XVI. All the four evangelists have particularly mentioned our Saviour's burial: that "Joseph of Arimathea went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus; Then Pilate commanded the body to be delivered. And when Joseph had taken the body, he laid it in his own new tomb," Matt. xvii. 58—60; Mark xv. 45, 46; Luke xxiii. 50—53; John xix. 38—40. And it may be fairly concluded, the rulers of the Jews did not disapprove of it: since they were solicitous that the bodies might be taken down, and not hang on the cross the next day. John xix. 31, "The Jews therefore," says St. John, "because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain on the cross on the sabbath-day, (for that sabbath-day was an high day,) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away."

Burial was not always allowed by the Romans in these cases. For we find that sometimes a soldier was appointed to guard the bodies of malefactors, that they might not be taken away and buried.[y] However it seems that it was not often refused, unless the criminals were very mean, and infamous. Cicero reckons it one of the horrid crimes of Verres's administration in Sicily, that he would take money of parents for the burial of their children whom he had put to death.[z] Both Suetonius[a] and Tacitus[b] represent it as one of the uncommon cruelties of Tiberius in the latter part of his reign, that he generally denied burial to those who were put to death, by his orders, at Rome. Ulpian in his treatise of the Duty of a Proconsul says; 'The bodies of 'those who are condemned to death are not to be denied to 'their relations: and Augustus writes in the tenth book of 'his own life, that he had been wont to observe this cus-'tom;'[c] that is, to grant the bodies to relations. Paulus says: 'that the bodies of those who have been punished, '[with death,] are to be given to any that desire them in 'order to burial.'[d]

quæ ad fretum spectaret. in Verr. lib. v. c. 66. n. 169. [y] Miles cruces asservabat, ne quis ad sepulturam corpora datraheret. Petron. Arb. Satyr. c. 71. [z] Rapiunt eum ad supplicium dii patrii; quod iste inventus est, qui e complexu parentum abreptos filios ad necem duceret, et parentes pretium pro sepulturâ posceret. In Verr. lib. i. cap. 3.

[a] Nemo punitorum non et in Gemonias abjectus, uncoque tractus. Vit. Tiber. c. 61. [b] Et quia damnati, publicatis bonis, sepulturâ prohibebantur. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 29. [c] Corpora eorum qui capite damnantur cognatis ipsorum neganda non sunt: et id se observâsse etiam D. Aug. lib. x. de Vitâ suâ, scribit. Hodie autem eorum, in quos animadvertitur, corpora non aliter sepeliuntur, quam si fuerit petitum et permissum; et nonnunquam non permittitur, maxime majestatis causâ damnatorum. l. i. ff. de cadaver. Punit. [d] Corpora animadversorum quibuslibet

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It is evident therefore from these two lawyers, that the governors of provinces had a right to grant burial to the bodies of those who had been executed by their order: nay, they seem to intimate, that it ought not usually to be denied when requested by any.

We may then depend upon it, that burial was ordinarily allowed to persons put to death in Judea. The law of Moses is express, that malefactors should be buried. Deut. xxi. 22, 23, "And if a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree, his body shall not remain all night on the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day—that thy land be not defiled." And the later Jews retained a reverence for this law. A body of the Idumeans having been let into Jerusalem by the zealots, in order to strengthen their party; after the mention of very great barbarities they had committed in the city and in the temple, Josephus gives their neglect to bury those whom they had murdered, as one of the strongest proofs of their wickedness. 'They 'came,' says he, 'to such impiety, as to 'throw out men 'unburied, though the Jews had so great concern for burial, 'as to take down and bury before sun-set those who were 'crucified by a legal sentence.'[e] Since burial was so strictly required by the Mosaic law, and was so agreeable to the sentiments and inclinations of the Jewish people, we have all the reason in the world to suppose it was seldom denied by the Roman governors in that country.

XVII. St. John says, ch. xix. 39, 40, "There came also Nicodemus, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. Then took they [Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus] the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes, with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury." This may seem to some a large quantity of spices to be bestowed on a single body at its interment. And it has been made an objection by a modern[f] Jew against the history of the New Testament. And yet, according to St. Mark and St. Luke, Mary Magdalene and some other women having observed the "sepulchre, and where the body was laid," went and "brought sweet

petentibus ad sepulturam danda sunt. l. iii. eod.

[e] Προηλθον δε εις τοσουτον ασεβειας, ὡστε και αταφους ῥιφαι, καιτοι τοσουτην Ιουδαιων περι τας ταφας προνοιαν ποιουμενων, ὡστε και τους εκ καταδικης ανασταυρωμενους προ δυντος ηλιου καθελειν τε και θαπτειν. De B. J. l. iv. c. 5. sect. 2.

[f] Amram, in B. Kidder, affirms, that this was enough for two hundred dead bodies, and that it could not be carried with less than the strength of a mule, and therefore not by Nicodemus. Kidder's Demonstrat. of the Messias, Part III. ch. iii. sect. 11.

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spices, that they might anoint him. And on the first day of the week, early in the morning, they came to the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared," Mark xvi. 1, Luke xxiii. 55, 56, xxiv. 1.

But the largeness of this quantity will not surprise any who consider the Jewish custom; and that they were wont not only to embalm or anoint the body, but to lay it also in a bed of spices. It is said of Asa, 2. Chron, xvi. 14, "They buried him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours, and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecaries' art: and they made a very great burning for him." The Jews of this time seem not to have fallen short of their ancestors in this kind of expense: for Josephus in the account of Herod's funeral procession says: 'The soldiery 'was followed by five hundred slaves and free-men bearing 'sweet spices.'[g] He mentions the same number in the War, and in the Antiquities. It is likely there were spices here for a burning, as well as for a bed to lay Herod's body in.

It is likewise objected by the same Jew, that the quantity of spices mentioned by St. John was a load for a mule, and therefore could not be carried by Nicodemus. One would not have expected such an objection from a reasonable creature, who might know it to be a very just, as well as common way of speaking, to ascribe to any person that which is done by his order or direction. St. John has made particular mention of Joseph and Nicodemus as present at the burial of Jesus. They were both of them men of substance, and may be supposed to have ordered the attendance of some of their servants on this occasion.

[g] Πενταχοσιοι δε υπ' αυτους των οικετων και απελευθερων αρωματοφοροι. de B. J. l. i. c. ult. sect. 9. Τουτους ειποντο πενταχοσιοι οικετων αρωματοφοροι. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 8. sect. 3. As Bishop Kidder has not quoted these passages, I hope they will not be unacceptable here.

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CHAP. VIII.

OF THE TREATMENT WHICH THE APOSTLES AND OTHER DISCIPLES OF JESUS MET WITH FROM JEWS AND GENTILES.

I. *The malice of the Jews against the first christians, and the favour showed to them by governors and other Roman officers, according to St. Luke.* II. *Proofs of the Jewish malice from other writers.* III. *The Romans at this time protected all people in the observation of their several religious rites.* IV. *The Jews in particular.* V. *Instances of the justice and equity of Roman governors to men of different religions.* VI. *An objection considered.* VII. *Three observations for clearing up this matter.* VIII. *A difficulty removed; and the conclusion.*

I. THERE is no one that has read the New Testament, but must have observed the implacable malice of the Jews not only against our Saviour, but also against the apostles; and the heat and rage with which they opposed them, not only in Judea, but likewise in all other countries where they met with them, because they did not practise and recommend all their particular rites and traditions. But the Roman officers and governors were far from being equally offended with the neglect they showed of their religion, and usually protected them from the injuries the Jews would have done them.

At Thessalonica, Acts xvii. 5—9, "The Jews which believed not, moved with envy, took unto them certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city in an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, and sought to bring them [Paul and Silas] out to the people. And when they found them not, they drew Jason and certain of the brethren unto the rulers of the city, crying, These that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also, whom Jason has received, and these all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying, that there is another king, one Jesus. And they troubled the people and the rulers of the city, when they heard these things. And when they had taken security of Jason, and the other, [brethren,] they let them go." This was a piece of great goodness. The magistrates did not imprison Jason and

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those with him, but took their security that Paul and Silas should appear if called for; which it is likely they never were.

St. Paul preached a year and six months at Corinth, and the Jews commenced a warm prosecution against him. But it was impossible to move Gallio, elder brother of Seneca the stoic philosopher, and then deputy of Achaia, to give any judgment upon the case. He protected Paul from their rage, stopped the prosecution, and did not so much as give Paul the trouble of replying. Acts xviii. 11—16, "And he continued there [at Corinth] a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them. And when Gallio was deputy of Achaia, the Jews made insurrection with one accord against Paul, and brought him to the judgment seat, saying, This fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law. And when Paul was now about to open his mouth, Gallio said unto the Jews, If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you. But if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it, for I will be no judge of such matters. And he drave them from the judgment seat."

At Ephesus, Demetrius a silversmith, "which made silver shrines for Diana, with the workmen of like occupation," made a speech to the people in behalf of themselves and their goddess; insomuch that "the whole city was filled with confusion, and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre. And when Paul would have entered in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not." And "certain of" the *chief of Asia*, "which were his friends, sent unto him, desiring him that he would not adventure himself into the theatre," Acts xix. 24—31.

By "the chief men of Asia," or Asiarchs, as it is in the Greek,[a] we are to understand the rulers of the games of Asia.[b] It is generally supposed they were priests. But if they were not always priests, it is certain, that the rulers of games were magistrates of considerable wealth and reputation. And it was a piece of civility in them to send Paul a message from the theatre to advise him of the temper of the people, and to dissuade him from coming thither.

The town-clerk went yet farther, for he reprimanded the people who had been drawn into a riot by Demetrius and the other artificers and their workmen: assuring them, they

[a] Τινες δε και των Ασιαρχων. Polit. Ecc. A. 55. n. 7.
[b] Vid. Grot. et Whitb. in loc. Basnage, Ann.

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might depend upon having justice done them according to the law, but that for this assembly they had deserved to be punished. Acts xix. 35—40, "And when the town-clerk had appeased the people, he said, Ye men of Ephesus, what man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana?—seeing then that these things cannot be spoken against, ye ought to be quiet and to do nothing rashly. For ye have brought hither these men, which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess. Wherefore if Demetrius and the craftsmen—have a matter against any man, the law is open; and there are deputies, let them implead one another. But if ye inquire any thing concerning other matters, it shall be determined in a lawful assembly. For we are in danger to be called in question for this day's uproar, there being no cause whereby we may give an account of this concourse." He blames the tumultuous assembly, and asserts the innocence of Paul and his companions, for as much as they had not been guilty of sacrilege, or of reviling their goddess; that is, had done nothing against religion that was punishable by the laws.

When the Jews had seized St. Paul at Jerusalem with intent to kill him, neither Lysias, the chief captain there, nor Felix the governor to whom Lysias sent him, nor Festus his successor, would condemn him, though earnestly importuned by the Jews. Acts xxii. xxiv. xxv.

St. Paul had made but a short progress in his voyage from Cæsarea to Rome, before he received a particular civility from Julius "a centurion of Augustus's band," to whom he and the other prisoners were committed. Acts xxvii. 2, 3, "And entering into a ship of Adramyttium, we launched, meaning to sail by the coasts of Asia.—And the next day we touched at Sidon. And Julius *courteously entreated Paul*, and gave him liberty to go unto his friends to refresh himself."

When the apostle and his company were shipwrecked in their voyage to Rome, the soldiers formed a design "to kill the prisoners, lest they should escape. But the (forementioned) centurion," who had the charge of them, "kept them from their purpose, being willing to save Paul," Acts xxvii. 42, 43.

And when he came to Rome he was well used there. "The centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard: but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him. There he dwelt two whole years in his own hired house and received all that came in unto

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him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him," Acts xxviii. 16, 30, 31. And there is no doubt but that he was quite freed from these bonds, and travelled again into Asia, Phil. i. 25. ii. 24.

We have here not one only but many instances of lenity, or justice at least, in the Roman officers or governors, toward Paul and other the first followers of Jesus: some in one place, and some in another: at Thessalonica, Corinth, Ephesus, in Judea, at Rome. These officers withstood the tumults, remonstrances, solicitations of the Jews of all characters, and of the common people of their own religion.

These facts did not all happen in one and the same reign. Pilate made some efforts to set Jesus at liberty in the reign of Tiberius. Gallio was deputy of Achaia under Claudius. Felix was sent into Judea by Claudius; but the justice which he and Festus did Paul was in the time of Nero. And it was from the captain of the guard or chief favourite of this same emperor, that he received so good treatment at Rome.

If Gallio only, who was a man of much wit and good sense,[c] and of a sweet and gentle disposition,[d] and, (if we may credit his brother,) of much generosity and virtue,[e] had protected the first followers of Jesus from the inquiries which were offered them, we might have ascribed such conduct to his eminent qualifications. But Felix was infamous for his exactions and other crimes, not in Judea only, but at Rome; and yet he could not be brought to condemn Paul.

Not that I think that Felix did Paul all the justice he ought to have done; far from it. After the first hearing of Paul and the chief priests and elders at Cæsarea, he ought to have released him: and his detaining an innocent man in prison so long as he did Paul, and leaving him in chains when he went out of the province, were very unrighteous actions.

St. Luke says, Acts xxiv. 27, "But after two years Porcius Festus came into Felix' room: and Felix willing to *show the Jews a pleasure*, left Paul bound." I believe

[c] Vid. Dion. Cass. lib. lxi. p. 689. init. [d] Nemo enim mortalium uni tam dulcis est quam hic omnibus. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. in Præf. [e] Solebam tibi dicere, Gallionem fratrem meum (quem nemo non parum amat, etiam qui amare plus non potest) alia vitia non nosse, hoc etiam odisse.—Hoc quoque loco blanditiis tuis restitit, ut exclamares invenisse te inexpugnabilem virum adversus insidias, quas nemo non in sinum recipit. Id. ibid.

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that Felix at this time showed the Jews a double pleasure; released robbers and other criminals, and "left Paul bound." The former pleasure St. Luke has omitted, according to his great candour and moderation, observable upon divers occasions in other parts of his history. But I make very little doubt but it was now done. Josephus has particularly taken notice that Albinus, successor of Porcius Festus, did so when he left the province, and that he aimed at pleasing the Jews in it. Josephus says, that thereby the prisons were emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.[f] Felix and Albinus were both of them disagreeable in their administration. It is likely they both took the same method of pacifying the Jews at the conclusion. Perhaps Felix's conduct was the pattern Albinus followed; nor was it, I suppose, an uncommon thing, for governors to release some prisoners at their leaving a province.

Porcius Festus was also manifestly unjust to Paul, in that he did not set him at liberty, but constrained him to appeal to Cæsar.

But though they did not do Paul all the justice which they ought to have done, yet they did not condemn him to death as the Jews desired. It is plain they withstood very pressing solicitations, and possibly, considerable offers of money. Felix gave him a great deal of liberty after the first hearing at Cæsarea, Acts xxiv. 23, which we may suppose was also allowed by Festus. Though they had neither of them resolution enough to release Paul against the inclinations of the people of their province, they both give plain indications they thought him an innocent man. And it cannot be questioned but that Festus transmitted a favourable account of him to Rome.

In order to find out the true reason and foundation of this conduct, I mean the favour showed to the disciples of Jesus by the Roman officers, it is needful to consider the grounds they go upon, and the reasons they themselves assign for it, as represented by St. Luke.

The reader will recollect the speeches of Gallio, and the town clerk of Ephesus, so that I need not repeat any part of them here. The substance of them all is, in short, in the letter which Lysias sent with Paul to Felix at Cæsarea. "And when I would have known the cause, wherefore they accused him, I brought him forth into their council, whom I perceived to be accused of questions of their law, but to have nothing laid to his charge worthy of death, or of bonds." Acts xxiii. 28, 29.

[f] Jos. Ant. lib. xx. c. 8. sect. 5.

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And with this agrees also the account, which Festus gave of Paul's affair at length to king Agrippa, Acts xxv. 13—27. "And after certain days, king Agrippa and Bernice came unto Cæsarea to salute Festus. And when they had been there many days, Festus declared Paul's cause unto the king, saying. There is a certain man left in bonds by Felix. About whom, when I was at Jerusalem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me, desiring to have judgment against him. To whom I answered, it is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face.—Therefore when they were come hither without any delay, on the morrow I sat on the judgment-seat, and I commanded the man to be brought forth. Against whom when the accusers stood up, they brought none accusations of such things as I supposed: but had certain questions against him of their own superstition, and of one Jesus, which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive. And because I doubted of such manner of questions, I asked him, whether he would go to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these matters. But when Paul had appealed to be reserved unto the hearing of Augustus, I commanded him to be kept till I might send him to Cæsar. Then Agrippa said unto Festus, I would also hear the man myself:—And on the morrow, when Agrippa was come, and Bernice, with great pomp,—at Festus' commandment Paul was brought forth. And Festus said, King Agrippa, and all men which are here present with us, ye see this man, about whom *all* the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me, both at Jerusalem, and also here, crying out, that he ought not to live any longer. But when I found that he had committed nothing worthy of death, and that he himself hath appealed to Augustus, I have determined to send him. Of whom *I have no certain thing to write unto my lord;* wherefore I have brought him forth before you, and especially before thee, O king Agrippa, that after examination had, *I might have somewhat to write.* For it seemeth to me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him."

Strange! Felix, it is likely, left behind him some memorial concerning this prisoner, and Festus had given Paul and his accusers a solemn hearing at Cæsarea: the high priest and the elders, and all the multitude of the Jews, had dealt with him about Paul once and again, at Jerusalem, and at Cæsarea: Festus seems to have spared no pains to go to the bottom of the matter: and yet after all, he

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brought him before Agrippa, that he "might have somewhat to write to Augustus." According to this account, the Roman empire must have had no laws, at this time, against new sects in religion, or the leaders of them, provided they injured no man's civil property, and gave no disturbance to other people in their worship.

Let us however see the progress of this examination before Agrippa and Bernice, and those who were with them, Acts xxvi. 4—23. Paul acquaints them with the manner of his life from the first, informs them of his conversion, freely declares his principles and conduct; tells them, that he had "seen a light from heaven, and heard a voice;" that he had been sent unto the "Gentiles, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, that they might receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith that is in Jesus." He lets them know, that he had not been "disobedient to the heavenly vision, but showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God;—that having obtained help of God, he continued unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, that Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should show light unto the people and to the Gentiles."

Paul here acknowledgeth two things, most contrary to the general opinion of the Jews at that time; first, "that Christ should suffer," and secondly, he mentions particularly his commission "to go to the Gentiles;" which thing, when he related in his speech to the people at Jerusalem, Acts xxii. 22, 23, "they lift up their voices, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth; for it is not fit that he should live." And he now declares, that he had propagated these principles every where with all his might.

Well, what is the result? Why, truly, Paul's discourse appears to Festus so extravagant, that he tells him he was "beside himself;" only he softens the charge a little, by subjoining, that it was "much learning" that "made him mad." But still there was no crime discerned. Nay, after all this, Paul had the presence of mind to deliver a solemn wish, that not only Agrippa, but also "all that heard him that day, were not only almost, but altogether such as he was, except his bonds. And when he had thus spoken, the king rose up, and Bernice, and they that sat with them. And when they were gone aside, they talked between them-

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selves, saying, this man doth nothing worthy of death, or of bonds. Then said Agrippa, (a Jew, but well acquainted with the Roman constitution,) This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar," Acts xxvi. 30—32.

The sum, I think, is this; that since St. Paul had affirmed in his defence before Felix, ch. xxiv. 12, that "they had not found him in the temple disputing with any man, neither raising up the people, neither in the synagogues, nor in the city;" and before Festus, ch. xxv. 8, that "neither against the law, neither against the temple, nor yet against Cæsar, had he offended any thing at all:" And, since the Jews had brought no proofs of any such offences, but only there were some differences between Paul and the Jews, concerning "certain questions of their own superstition" [religion]; Paul was an innocent man, and might have been very justly set at liberty, and left to himself to go and propagate his principles in the way he had done hitherto.

This then was the reason of this conduct; they were not used to interpose their authority in differences purely religious: there was no act of sedition, injustice, or violence proved against Paul, or any of his companions: and these were the only things which these officers had a right to punish.

Here are therefore two things, which we are to look for some foreign proof of; namely, the fierce opposition made by the Jews against the followers of Jesus Christ; and then, in the next place, that the Roman officers had no right, according to the constitution of the Roman government at that time, to punish men for innocent principles, but only for wicked practices.

II. To the first point, the proceedings of the Jews, little needs to be said. Their character[g] for violence is so allowed, that no one can well suspect the evangelists have misrepresented them: not to say, that it was by no means their interest to say these things of them if not true. I shall however allege a passage or two to this purpose. Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, written about the 140th[h] year of the christian æra, says, that in his time, 'the Jews cursed[i] in their synagogues all that believed, in 'Christ. This,' says he, 'is all you can do. You have 'not now the power of killing us yourselves, because others

[g] Πολλα μεν δη και δεινα και οι Ιυδαιοι τους 'Ρωμαιους εδρασαν (το γαρ τοι γενος αυτων, δυμωθεν πικροτατον εστι') Dio. l. lix. p. 405. D.

[h] Vid. Pagi, Critic. in Baron. A. C. 148.

[i] Καταρωμενοι εν ταις συναγωγαις υμων τους πιστευοντας επι τον Χριστον. Dialog. p. 234. B.

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'have the governing of things. But this you have done, 'whenever you have been able. Nor have any other peo- 'ple showed so much enmity against us and Christ as you, 'who have been likewise the authors of all those prejudices, 'which others have conceived against that righteous per- 'son and us his followers. For after that you had crucified 'that one unblamable and righteous man, (by whose stripes 'they are healed who go to the Father through him,) when 'you knew that he was risen from the dead, and ascended 'up into heaven, according as the prophecies had foretold 'he should, you were so far from repenting of your evil 'deeds, that you sent out from Jerusalem chosen men into 'all the world, giving out that the sect of the christians is 'atheistical, and saying all those evil things of us, which 'they, who know us not, do still say of us.'[k] And Ter- tullian affirms the same thing; 'That the Jews were the 'principal authors of the evil reports which were spread 'abroad concerning the christians.'[l]

III. Moderation and equity toward men of a different religion are more uncommon things. And therefore, it will be needful to be more particular on this head, and to ac- count for the protection, which the heathen officers gave St. Paul and others, when the multitude would have mob- bed them, or when the Jewish magistrates demanded a ju- dicial sentence against them.

I shall therefore show, that the Roman people did at this time protect all men in the practice of their several religious rites and institutions.

In the first place I shall consider, how they treated the heathen people in those provinces which they had sub- dued.

And secondly, I shall give a brief account of the treat- ment which the Jews received from them.

1. I shall consider how they treated the heathen people, in those provinces which they subdued to their obedience.

Livy informs us, that the Anagnini, a people in Italy, having disobliged the Romans, the senate took away from them several privileges, which they had let them enjoy to that time. 'Their senates were dissolved, and their magis- 'trates were deprived of all power and authority, except 'what was necessary for the administration of their religious 'rites.'[m] This was done in the year of the city 449, before

[k] Ibid. C. D. [l] Et credidit vulgus Judæo. Quod enim aliud genus seminarium est infamiæ nostræ? Tertul. ad Nat. l. i. c. 14.

[m] Anagninis, quique arma Romanis intulerant—concilia, connubiaque adempta: et magistratibus, præterquam sacrorum curatione, interdictum. Liv.

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Christ 305; and is a proof, that they esteemed all men's religion inviolable.

The people of Syracuse in Sicily had an ancient custom of choosing an annual priest to Jupiter. It is one of the heavy charges which Cicero brings against Verres, that whilst he was prætor of that province, he had obstructed the people there, in the usual method of the choice, in order to get into the priesthood a creature of his own.[n]

Verres had a strong fancy for fine[o] statues: and, whenever he had seen any such in any town or city, as he travelled in his province, he would send to the people, and inform them of a desire he had to purchase of them the statue of such or such a god or goddess. Sometimes the people out of fear of his resentments complied with his desires, though with much regret. But others were more resolute, and told him plainly, such things could not be done without impiety. However this wretch (as Cicero says) would send his servants in the night time to steal images, which the people refused to part with. There was a statue of Ceres at Enna, which stood in an open place before her temple. 'The curious workmanship of it was a strong 'temptation, but its bulk obstructed a clandestine removal. 'She held in her right hand a beautiful image of victory. 'This he caused to be taken away and brought to his 'house.'[p]

This statue of Ceres was, it seems, in great veneration at Rome, as well as in Sicily. Let us now hear what Cicero says to the judges upon the trial of Verres. 'Heal, O ye 'judges, the wounds given to the religion of your allies; 'preserve your own. For this is not the branch of any 'foreign or strange religion. But if it were, and if 'you did not see fit to adopt it into your own religion, 'yet you ought to be willing to secure it by an exem- 'plary punishment of him who has offered to violate 'it.'[q]

lib. ix. cap. 43. n. 24.

[n] —— Sacerdotia: quibus in rebus non solum jura, sed etiam deorum religiones immortalium omnes repudiavit. Syracusis lex est de religione, quæ in annos singulos Jovis sacerdotem sortito capi jubebat, &c. in Verr. lib. ii. cap. 51.

[o] Deum denique nullum Siculis, qui ei paulo magis affabre atque antiquo artificio factus videretur, reliquit. In Verr. act. i. l. c. 5. n. 14.

[p] Ante ædem Cereris in aperto et propatulo loco signa duo sunt, Cereris unum, alterum Triptolemi, et pulcherrima et perampla. His pulchritudo periculo, amplitudo saluti fuit, quod eorum demolitio atque asportatio perdifficilis videbatur. Insistebat in manu Cereris dextrâ simulachrum pulcherrime factum Victoriæ. Hoc ille e signo Cereris avellendum asportandumque curavit. In Verr. lib. iv. cap. 49. n. 110.

[q] Medemini religioni sociorum, judices: conservate vestram. Neque enim

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Of all heathen rites within the bounds of the Roman empire, the Egyptian seem to have been the most different from those of the Romans. They were contemned and ridiculed by the emperors, by Augustus in particular,[r] and by the Roman[s] authors. And, if we may credit Philo, no strangers came into Egypt, but they were tempted to laugh at them, and banter them, till they became accustomed to those absurdities: and all travellers of good sense were wont to be filled with the utmost astonishment, joined with pity.[t]

But yet they were practised, without any molestation from the Romans: and continued to be so, long after the time I am at present concerned with.[u]

It is true the Egyptian rites were more than once prohibited in the city of Rome. Augustus 'laid a restraint 'upon them, and forbade the performing them in the city or 'suburbs, or within five hundred paces of the suburbs.'[v] And by Tiberius's order 'the temple of Isis at Rome was 'demolished, and her image thrown into the Tiber.'[w] But then this was for an high offence; and because her priests, under the cloak of religion, had promoted acts of de-

hæc externa vobis religio, neque aliena: quod si esset, si suscipere eam nolletis; tamen in eo, qui violàsset, sancire vos velle oporteret. Ibid. cap. 51. n. 114. ——Sancire (inquit Servius) est sanguine fuso confirmare. Hinc noster in orat. pro Bald. Sanctiones ait sacrandas aut genere ipso, ut obtestatione et consecratione legis; aut pœnâ, cum caput ejus qui contra facit consecratur. Hotom. not. in loc.

[r] *Και της αυτης ταυτης αιτιας, ωδε τω Απιδι εντυχειν ηθελησε· λεγων Θεως, αλλ' ουχι βως, προσκυνειν ειθισθαι.* Dio. l. li. p. 455. A.

[s] Omne fere genus bestiarum Ægyptii consecraverunt. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. cap. 15.

——————Qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat! Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc ——————— Illic
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
Juv. Sat. xv. in.

[t] *Ὡν τι αν γενοιτο καταγελαστοτερον; και δη των ξενων οι πρωτον εις Αιγυπτον αφικομενοι, πριν τον εγχωριον τυφον ταις διανοιαις εισοικισασθαι, εξησθενηκασι χλευωζοντες· οσοι δε παιδειας ορθης εγευσαντο, την επ' ασεμνοις πραγμασι πεμνοποιαν καταπλαγεντες, οικτιζονται τους χρωμενους.* Philo de Decalogo. p. 755. E.

[u] *Οι δε Αιγυπτιοι και αιλουρους, και κροκοδειλους, και οφεις, και ασπιδας, και κυνας, θεους νομιζουσιν· και τουτοις πασιν επιτρεπετε και υμεις και οι νομοι.* Athenag. Legat. p. 2. A Parisiis. 1636. Nemo se ab invito coli volet, ne homo quidem: atque ideo et Ægyptiis permissa est tam vanæ superstitionis potestas, avibus et bestiis consecrandis, et capite damnandis qua aliquem hujusmodi deum occiderint. Unicuique etiam provinciæ et civitati suus deus est.——Sed nos soli arcemur a religionis proprietate. Sed apud vos quodvis colere jus est, præter Deum verum. Tertul. Apol. cap. 24.

[v] *Τα τε ιερα τα Αιγυπτια επεισιοντα αυθις εις το ασυ ανεσειλεν· απειπων μηδενα μηδε εν τω προαστειω αυτα εντος ογδοον ημισαδιον ποιειν.* Dio. lib. liv. p. 525. A.

[w] Joseph. Ant. l. xviii. cap. 4. sect. 4.

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bauchery which were ruinous of the peace of families, and that in the very temple itself which she had at Rome.[x]

And Flaccus the president of Egypt,[y] in the latter end of the reign of Tiberius, prohibited their fellowships at Alexandria; which they held under a pretence of religion indeed, but made use of for drunkenness only and such like excesses: on other accounts they met with no interruptions.

And those sacred rites which were more properly their own, were as severely restrained, when they were known to be abused to the like infamous practices. For this reason the Bacchanalia were prohibited at Rome and throughout Italy by a decree of the senate.[z] A. U. 568, before Christ 186.

That I may not enter into needless particulars, I shall take notice here of but one thing more. Philo says, that when the Jews waited on Petronius president of Syria, to entreat him not to proceed as yet to erect the statue of Caligula at Jerusalem, they desired that he would give them leave to send an embassy to the emperor: 'Possibly, say they, we 'may obtain thus much, not to be treated worse than the 'meanest of all people, whose religion is preserved invio-'late.'[a]

IV. In the second place I shall give a brief account of the treatment which the Jews had from the Romans.

The Jews received very considerable favours and privileges from Alexander; and they enjoyed the same under his successors in Syria and Egypt, though with some interruptions, especially in Syria.[b] But I intend not to go so high as this. I take notice of this only, because the Jews enjoyed under the Romans the most extensive privileges out of Judea, which had been granted by Alexander and his immediate successors; and because the privileges which they received first from them, seem to have been in a great

[x] Id. ibid.

[y] *Τας τε ἑταιρειας και συνοδους, αἱ αει επι προφασει θυσιων ἱστωντο, τοις πραγμασιν εμπαροινησαι, ἑλενε.* Philo, in Flac. p. 965. D.

[z] Deinde senatûsconsulto cautum est, Ne qua Bacchanalia Romæ, neve in Italiâ essent. Si quis tale sacrum solenne et necessarium duceret, nec sine religione et piaculo se id omittere posse, apud prætorem urbanum profiteretur; prætor senatum consuleret; si ei permissum esset, quum in senatu non minus centum essent, ita id sacrum faceret, dum ne plus quinque sacrificio interessent: neu qua pecunia communis, neu quis magister sacrorum, aut sacerdos esset. Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 18.

[a] *Ταχα τυ πρεσβευσαμενοι πεισομεν,—η περι τυ μη παντων, και των εν εσχατιαις εθνων, οἱς τετηρηται τα πατρια, ελαττον ενεγκασθαι.* Philo, de Leg. ad Cai. p. 1026. E.

[b] Vid. Joseph. Ant. lib. xii. cap 3. sect. 1. Contr. Apion. lib. ii. sect. 4

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measure the models of those immunities which were granted by the Romans.

For Josephus says, that 'Seleucus Nicator gave them '[the Jews] the privileges of citizens in all the cities which 'he built in Asia and in lower Syria, and even in Antioch 'the metropolis of his kingdom, and made them equal to 'the Macedonians and Grecians; which rights[c] they still 'enjoy.'

When Flaccus the prætor of Asia was accused[d] at Rome of several mal-administrations in that province, one of the charges brought against him was, that he by an edict had forbid the Jews of Asia to send any money out of that province to Jerusalem. Cicero endeavours to defend Flaccus's conduct in this as well as other matters; but Cicero[e] owns, that the Jews did then send money to Jerusalem annually from Italy, and from all the provinces subject to the commonwealth. The bringing a charge against Flaccus upon this head is a proof that his edict was a novelty. Nor does Cicero produce an instance of a like restraint laid upon the Jews before this, by the president of any province, which he certainly would have done if there had been any.

There were after this several decrees passed by Julius Cæsar and the senate of Rome, in favour of the Jews who lived in Alexandria, Syria, and Asia; which were lodged in the capitol at Rome, and copies of them directed to the cities in which the Jews dwelt; requiring the magistrates of those cities to put them in their public acts, engraved upon two tables of brass, one in the Roman, another in the Greek language.[f] We have likewise in Josephus copies of the decrees of Delos, Laodicea, Pergamos, Sardis, and other cities in their proper forms; which were passed and registered there in pursuance of the decrees of the Roman senate: 'Declaring, that out of their piety to God, and the 'concern they have always had for the support of religion, 'and in imitation of the Roman people who are benefactors 'to all mankind, who had written to them that the Jews 'should be permitted to perform the sacred rites of their 'religion, observe their usual feasts, and hold their assem-'blies; they ordain that the Jews who think fit so to do,

[c] Joseph. Ant. ubi supra. See Prideaux, Conn. Part. I. Book viii. year before Chr. 293. p. 572.

[d] About the year 60 before Christ.

[e] Sequitur auri illa invidia Judaïci.——Cum aurum Judæorum nomine quotannis ex Italiâ, et ex omnibus vestris provinciis Hierosolymam exportari soleret, Flaccus sanxit edicto, ne ex Asiâ exportari liceret. Pro. Flacc. cap. 28.

[f] Vid. Joseph. Ant. lib. xiv. cap. 10. sect. 2.

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'both men and women, do keep the sabbaths and perform 'sacred rites according to the Jewish laws.—And if any 'man, whether magistrate or private person, do give them 'any let or hinderance herein, he shall be fined, and be 'reckoned debtor to the city.'[g] This is the substance of the decree of the city of Halicarnassus, which the rest resemble.

But the rites of the Jews being extremely different from those of all others, and the people of most of the cities being superior in number to the Jews, they were often giving them disturbance: and perhaps the Jews did sometimes give them offences which they needed not to have done. It was then the business of the Roman officers to do them justice, according to the edicts of the senate and the emperor.

And we have some instances of their receiving relief from the higher powers, when they had been injured, and it is likely could not obtain satisfaction from the ordinary officers; either through their want of inclination, or of sufficient power and authority to control the dispositions of the people where they resided.

When Agrippa the favourite of Augustus was in the East with extraordinary power, as he was passing through Ionia with *Herod the Great*[h] in his company, the Jews made complaints to him, that they were hindered in sending their tribute to the temple at Jerusalem; that they were obliged to serve in the army;[i] and had many other hardships put upon them inconsistent with the privileges granted them by the Romans.[k] Agrippa gave them and their adversaries a solemn hearing, and in court confirmed to them their ancient privileges, and gave orders, 'that no

[g] Επει το προς το θειον ευσιβες, και οσιον εν απαντι καιρω δια σπυδης εχομεν, κατακολωθυντες τω δημω των Ρωμαιων παντων ανθρωπων ονπι ενεργετη, και οις περι της Ιυδαιων φιλιας και συμμαχιας προς την πολιν εγραψεν, οπως συντελωνται αυτοις αι εις τον Θεον ιεροποιαι και εορται αι ειθισμεναι και συνοδοι· δεδοκται ημιν Ιυδαιων τους βυλομενους ανδρας τε και γυναικας τατε Σαββατα αγειν και τα ιερα συντελειν κατα τους Ιυδαϊκους νομους·——αν δε τις κωλυση η αρχων η ιδιωτης, ὁδε τω ζημιωματι υπευθυνος εστω, και οφειλετω τη πολει. Ibid. sect. 23.

[h] About the 13th or 14th year before the nativity of our Lord, according to the common account.

[i] The Jews had been excused from serving as soldiers, because they could not travel on the sabbath, nor have provisions agreeable to their laws and customs. Vid. Joseph. Ant. lib. xiv. cap. 10. sect. 12.

[k] Και τας επηρειας ελεγον ας επηρεαζοντο, μητε νομοις οικειοις εωμενοι χρησθαι,—και την εις Ιεροσολυμα χρηματων αναπιθεμενων αφαιροιντο, τρατων και λειτηργιων αναγκαζομενοι κοινωνειν,——Ρωμαιων αυτοις επιτρεψαντων κατα τους οικειους ζην νομους. Ant. lib. xvi. cap. 2. sect. 3.

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'one should molest them in the observation of their peculiar 'rites and customs.'[l]

Some time after this,[m] the Jews who lived in Asia and in Cyrene in Libya, were oppressed and abused by the people in those countries; upon which the Jews sent an embassy to Augustus himself for redress. Josephus has preserved a copy of the edict of the emperor upon this occasion: wherein, having first briefly mentioned the favours showed to the Jews by Julius Cæsar, and their fidelity to the Roman state, 'He ordains by his own authority, with the 'advice of his council, that the[n] Jews do practise their pe- 'culiar rites according to the law of their country, that their 'offerings be inviolable, that they be permitted to send 'them to Jerusalem, and to deliver them to those who are 'deputed to carry them to Jerusalem, that they be not 'obliged to give appearance in any court of justice on the 'sabbath, nor on the day before, being the preparation, after 'the ninth hour. And if any man be taken stealing their 'sacred books or their sacred money, out of the places of 'their worship, or out of the chests in which they are kept, 'he shall be deemed sacrilegious, and his goods shall be 'confiscated to the public treasury of the Romans.'

And Philo assures us, that Augustus maintained throughout his reign the indulgence given to the Jews: 'that there 'was in his time a large quarter of the city of Rome on 'the other side of the Tiber inhabited by Jews; that Au- 'gustus[o] knew they had oratories there, and they resorted 'to them, especially on the sabbaths, and that they also sent 'money instead of first-fruits by their own officers to Jeru- 'salem.'

In the reign of Tiberius they were generally well used. They were indeed banished out of Italy by an edict: but it was for a misdemeanor committed by some villains of

[l] *Βεβαιων αυτοις ανεπηρεαστως εν τοις οικειοις διατελειν εθεσι.* Ibid. sect. 5.

[m] Year before Christ 9. [n] *Εδοξε μοι και τω εμω συμβουλιω μετα ὁρκωμοσιας γνωμη δημω Ῥωμαιων, τους Ιουδαιους χρησθαι τοις ιδιοις θεσμοις κατα τον πατρωον αυτων νομον, τατε ἱερα ειναι εν ασυλιᾳ, και αναπεμπεσθαι εις Ἱεροσολυμα, και αποδιδοσθαι αυτα τοις αποδοχευσιν Ἱεροσολυμων, εγγυας τε μη ὁμολογειν αυτους εν σαββασιν, η τη προ ταυτης παρασκευη, απο ὡρας ενατης· εαν δε τις φωραθη κλεπτων τας ἱερας βιβλους αυτων, η τα ἱερα χρηματα, εκ τε σαββατειου, εκ τε ανδρωνος, ειναι αυτον ἱεροσυλον, και τον βιον αυτου ενεχθηναι εις το δημοσιον των Ῥωμαιων.* Ant. lib. xvi. cap. 6. sect. 2. vid. et Philon. de Legat. ad Cai. p. 1035. E. 1026. A. B.

[o] *Ηπιστατο δε και προσευχας εχοντας και συνιοντας εις αυτας και μαλιστα ταις ἱεραις ἑβδομαις ὁτε δημοσια την πατριον παιδευονται φιλοσοφιαν· ηπιστατο και χρηματα συναγαγοντας απο των απαρχων ἱερα, και πεμποντας εις Ἱεροσολυμα δια των τας θυσιας αναξοντων.* Ibid. p. 1014. D.

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their nation at Rome.[p] The only hardship of it was, that a great many innocent persons suffered beside the guilty. On other occasions Tiberius showed them all the favour they could desire, especially after the death of Sejanus; and is much applauded for it by Philo.[q] It was in the latter end of this reign that Vitellius president of Syria performed an act of great complaisance to them. He was marching with his forces against Aretas king of Petra, in pursuance of orders he had received from Tiberius, and intended to pass through Judea. 'But some of their chief 'men waited upon him and entreated him not to lead his 'army through their country, because it was contrary to 'their laws that any images should be brought into it; 'whereas there were a great many in his ensigns. And he 'hearkened to them, altered his intention, and ordered his 'troops another way.'[r]

During the reign of Caligula, they met with great hardships, especially at Alexandria. But the orders which Caligula had given for the erecting a statue to himself as a god, in the temple at Jerusalem, and for punishing the Jews if they opposed it, did not take effect. By the kind and prudent management of Petronius president of Syria, and the intercessions of Agrippa the Great, delays were obtained, and Caligula died before the attempt was made.

Claudius the next succeeding emperor renewed to them all their privileges. He directed in particular, by a decree, that the Jews at Alexandria should be restored to all their rights, which had been injuriously taken away from them[s] in the reign of Caligula. He likewise published another edict in favour of the Jews living in other parts, in which he says: 'We approve that the Jews should in all parts of 'the world subject to us, practise the rites of their country 'without molestation; exhorting them likewise[t] to use this

[p] Jos. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 4. sect. 5. [q] Ubi supra, p. 1015. B. C.

[r] Ὡρμημενῳ δ' αυτῳ δια της Ιυδαιων αγειν τον ϛρατον, ὑπαντιασαντες ανδρες οἱ πρωτοι παρῃτυντο δια την της χωρας ὁδον· υ γαρ αυτοις ειναι πατριον, περιορᾳν εικονας εις αυτην φερομενας· πολλας δ' ειναι σημαιας επικειμενας· και πεισθεις μετεβαλε τε της γνωμης το επι τοιυτοις προβυλευσαν, και δια τυ μεγαλυ πεδιυ κελευσας χωρειν το ϛρατοπεδον· κ. τ. λ. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 6. sect. 3.

[s] Βυλομαι μηδεν δια την Γαϊυ παραφροσυνην των δικαιων τῳ Ιυδαιων εθνει παραπεπτωκεναι, φυλασσεσθαι δε αυτοις και τα προτερον δικαιωματα· κ. λ. Ibid. l. xix. c. 5. sect. 2.

[t] Καλως υν εχειν και Ιυδαιυς τυς εν παντι τῳ ὑφ' ἡμας κοσμῳ τα πατρια εθη ανεπικωλυτως φυλασσειν, οἱς και αυτοις ηδη νυν παραγγελλω μυ ταυτῃ τῃ φιλανθρωπιᾳ επιεικεϛερον χρησθαι, και μη τας των αλλων εθνων δεισιδαιμονιας εξυθενιζειν, τυς ιδιυς δε νομυς φυλασσειν· τυτο μυ το διαταγμα τυς αρχοντας των πολεων και των κολωνειων και μυνικιπιων, των εν τῃ Ιταλιᾳ και των εκτος, βασιλεις τε και δυναϛας δια των ιδιων πρεσβευτων εγραψασθαι βυλομαι εκκει-

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'our humanity with moderation and sobriety, and not to 'reproach the religions of other nations, but to observe their 'own laws. And I will that all magistrates of cities and 'colonies and municipal places, both within and without 'Italy, and all kings and princes, have this my edict tran- 'scribed by their own officers, and that within thirty days 'it be fixed in some public place where it may be con- 'veniently read by all men.'

There was in the beginning of this reign,[u] a remarkable piece of justice done the Jews at Doris in Syria, by Petronius president of that province. The fact is this: Some rash young fellows of the place got in and set up a statue of the emperor in the Jews' synagogue. Agrippa the Great made complaints to Petronius concerning this injury. Whereupon Petronius issued a very sharp precept to the magistrates of Doris. 'He terms[v] this action an offence not 'against the Jews only, but also against the emperor: says, 'It is agreeable to the law of nature, that every man should 'be master of his places according to the decree of the em- 'peror. I have, says he, given directions that they who 'dared to do these things contrary to the edict of Augustus, 'be delivered to the centurion Vitellius Proculus, that they 'may be brought to me and answer for their behaviour. 'And I require the chief men in the magistracy to discover 'the guilty to the centurion, unless they are willing to have 'it thought, that this injustice has been done with their 'consent; and that they see to it that no sedition or tumult 'happen upon this occasion; which I perceive is what 'some are aiming at.——I do also require, that for the fu- 'ture you seek no pretence for sedition or disturbance, but 'that all men worship [God] according to their own cus- 'toms.'

The reader will perhaps indulge a short interruption here in the course of this narration, in favour of an account

μενον τε εχειν, εκ ελαττον ἡμερων τριακοντα, ὁθεν εξεπιπιδυ καλως αναγνωσθηναι δυναται. Ib. sect. 3.

[u] A. D. 41, or 42.

[v] *Παρανομουντας εκ εις μονυς Ιυδαιυς, αλλα και εις τον αυτοκρατορα,——τῃ φυσει δικαιυ οντος ἱνα ἑκαστον των ἱδιων τοπων κυριευειν κατα το Καισαρος επικριμα·— τυς μεν παρα το διαταγμα τυ Σεβαστυ τοιαυτα τετολμηκοτας, ἐφ' ὡ και αυτοι ηγανακτησαν οι δοκυντες αυτων εξεχειν, ὡ τῃ ἱδιᾳ προαιρεσει γεγενησθαι λεγοντες, αλλα τῃ τυ πληθυς ὁρμῃ, ὑπο ἑκατονταρχυ Προκλυ Ουιτελλιυ εκελευσα επ' εμε αναχθηναι των πεπραγμενων λογον αποδωσοντας, τοις δε πρωτοις αρχυσι παραινω, ει μη βυλονται δοκειν κατα την αὐτων προαιρεσιν γεγενησθαι το αδικημα, επιδειξαι τυς αιτιυς τῳ ἑκατονταρχῃ, μηδεμιας ταυσεως μηδε μαχης εωντας αφορμην γενεσθαι, ἡν περ δοκυσι μοι Θηρευεσθαι δια των τοιυτων ἐργων.—εις τε αν το λοιπον, παραγγελλω, μηδεμιαν προφασιν ταυσεως μηδε ταραχης ζητειν, αλλα ἑκαστυς τα ἱδια Θρησκευειν ἐθῃ.* Ant. lib. xix. c. 6. sect. 3.

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we have in the xvith of the Acts of the Apostles, of a transaction that in some respects resembles this fact at Doris, and may receive considerable light from it.

St. Paul was at Philippi in Macedonia: (it was now the 11th year of[v] Claudius.) He there cured a "certain damsel possessed with a spirit of divination, which brought her masters much gain by soothsaying. And when her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas, and drew them into the market-place unto the rulers——and the multitude rose up together against them, and the magistrates rent off their clothes, and commanded to beat them. And when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast them into prison, charging the jailor to keep them safely. And when it was day the magistrates sent the sergeants, saying, let those men go. And the keeper of the prison told this saying to Paul.—But Paul said,——They have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans, and have cast us into prison, and now do they thrust us out privily? but let them come themselves and fetch us out.—And when they heard that they were Romans—they came, and besought them, and brought them out, and desired them to depart out of the city," Acts xvi. 16—39.

Here we have an instance of a tumult raised by some self-interested and designing men, the common people incensed by their arguments, the magistrates drawn into an act of injustice. Petronius seems to have suspected, that the disorder at Doris had been committed with the connivance of the rulers there. It is not at all unlikely that the magistrates of cities and towns, who possibly were but a few degrees above the common people, might sometimes approve of these outrages and act a part in them: but the presidents and proconsuls, men of a larger genius, who had been educated at Rome and served offices there, who were better acquainted with the Roman constitution, had a greater charge, and were more immediately accountable to the emperor and the senate for the observation of their edicts and the peace of the provinces, never or very rarely entered into these measures; but punished such disorderly practices when they happened, and by fresh precepts endeavoured to prevent them for the future.

However, this act of the magistrates at Philippi was a sudden thing; ("they have beaten us openly uncondemned.") The order was given without a hearing; and as soon as it was light the next morning, they sent their officers with directions that the prisoners should be released.

[v] Vid. Pears. Ann. Paul. p. 11. A. ch. 51.

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They soon repented of what they had done, and notwithstanding the specious pretences and obnoxious charges of the masters of this damsel, that Paul and Silas had taught customs which were not lawful for them to observe—they were sensible they had gone beyond their commission, and were apprehensive of being called to an account, by a higher authority to which they were subject. This order of release was sent before they had heard that these men were Romans, and whilst they knew no better than that they were mere Jews, and defended by no other privileges than those that belonged to all of that nation. And the history Josephus has given us of the fact at Doris, and the conduct of the president of Syria upon the occasion of it, may very well render every part of this relation here highly probable. When these magistrates knew that Paul and Silas were Romans, their concern was still increased; and their own interest obliged them to all the farther condescensions which Paul demanded.

But to return to the course of the narration.

There was another signal instance of the moderation of Claudius to the Jews, which may not be passed by. But before I produce it, I must give some short history of the vestment of the high priest,[x] which I shall do in almost the very words of Josephus; who says, that Herod the Great and his son Archelaus had this sacred vestment in their keeping, and lodged it in the castle Antonia; and that the Roman procurators who succeeded to them in the government of Judea finding it there, kept the possession of it till Vitellius president of Syria, in the latter end of Tiberius's reign, gave it to the Jews to keep it themselves. The high priest wore this garment four times only in the year; at the three great feasts and on the day of the fast. It was delivered to him seven days before these seasons, and was first purified before he put it on. The next day after these solemnities were over, it was returned to the officer of the chest. This was the method whilst it was kept by Herod and the Roman governors. But, as was just hinted, Vitellius gave it to the Jews, that they might lock it up in a chest of their own in the temple, and take it out thence for their use without asking particular leave.[y]

But when Cuspius Fadus[z] was procurator of Judea, he received orders from the emperor to take 'the holy gar-'ment which the high priest alone wears into his own pos-'session.' Josephus does immediately before this mention a

[x] Την στολην τε αρχιερεως.

[y] Joseph. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 5. sect. 3.

[z] A. D. 45.

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disturbance which the Jews of Paræa gave to some of their neighbours. He does not say that irregular proceeding had brought upon them this disagreeable message: though it was highly probable, that it was owing to their irregular conduct in that or some other affair.

But however that be, when Fadus had received these orders, he called together 'the high priests[a] and chief men 'of Jerusalem, acquainted them with the emperor's orders, 'and commanded them "to deliver to him the vestment of 'the high priest, that it might be lodged in the castle of 'Antonia, as formerly." They did not dare absolutely to 'refuse: but they earnestly entreated Fadus, and Cassius 'Longinus president of Syria, who was then likewise at 'Jerusalem,' (and who was indeed come thither with forces on purpose to prevent the sedition which it was apprehended the delivery and execution of this order might occasion;) 'that they would give them leave to send am-'bassadors to the emperor, and that they would wait till 'fresh directions came from Rome; with which request 'they complied.' When the Jewish ambassadors came to Rome, they found there Agrippa the younger, who seconded their petition. The emperor granted their petition, and sent by them a letter directed to the magistrates of Jerusalem, the senate, people, and the whole nation of the Jews: in which he says, 'Agrippa—having introduced to me your 'ambassadors, who thankfully acknowledge the benefits I 'have conferred upon your nation, and earnestly beseeched 'me, that you might have the sacred vestment and the 'crown in your own keeping, according as it had been al-'lowed by the excellent and my well beloved Vitellius, I 'have granted that so it should be. I have ratified this 'sentence from that principle of piety with which I am 'possessed, and because I will that all men worship [God] 'according to the laws of their country.'[b]

This argument will be imperfect if I do not show some instance of this equity to the Jews in the reign of Nero. The only fact I shall mention here is this. It happened in the time that Festus was governor of Judea,[c] who was the person who sent Paul to Rome. Agrippa the younger

[a] Ὁς δη και τοτε μεταπεμψαμενος τους αρχιερεις, και τους πρωτους Ἱεροσολυμιτων, κατα την κελευσιν τυ αυτοκρατορος, παρηνεσεν αυτοις τον στοδηρη χιτωνα, και την ἱεραν στολην ἡν φορειν μονος ὁ αρχιερευς εθος εχει, εις την Αντωνιαν, ἡπερ εστι φρουριον, καταθεσθαι, κειμενην ὑπο τη Ῥωμαιων ἐξουσιᾳ, καθα δη και προτερον ην. Ant. lib. xx. c. 1. sect. 1.

[b] Συγκατεθεμην δε τη γνωμη ταυτη, πρωτον δια το εμαυτυ ευσιβες, και το βουλεσθαι ἑκαστους κατα τα πατρια θρησκευειν· ib. sect. 2.

[c] A. D. 60. Basnage Ann. P. E. A. 60. n. 3.

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raised the buildings of the house in which he resided when he was at Jerusalem, and which had been the palace of the Asmonæan family: by which he had not only a fine prospect of the city, but likewise overlooked the inner court of the temple. 'When the people of Jerusalem saw what he 'had done they were greatly incensed: for neither do our 'customs nor our laws permit, that any beside the priests 'should see what was done in the temple. They therefore 'raised a high wall at the extremity of the west side of the 'inner court of the temple,[d] whereby they obstructed not 'only the king's view [sc. Agrippa's] out of his dining-'room, but also the view from the western portico without 'the court, where the Romans used to keep guard on the 'festival days. Agrippa was exceedingly provoked at it, 'and Festus the governor yet more; and commanded 'them to pull the wall down again. But they desired he 'would permit them to send ambassadors to Nero. Festus 'giving them leave, they deputed to Nero ten of their chief 'men, and Ishmael the high priest, and Helchias the keeper 'of the sacred treasury. Nero having given them an audi-'ence, not only forgave what they had done, but allowed 'that the building should remain.'[e]

This must be acknowledged to be a remarkable instance of goodness. It shows a great backwardness in Nero, or those who then governed him, to break in upon their religion, or any thing they esteemed sacred. This palace of Agrippa and the Roman fort stood either directly west, or at least very near west of the temple. The entrance into the temple was at the east end, so that they had no view from these buildings into the temple itself; only the high ground they stood upon and the loftiness of the fabric, gave a view into the inner court where the sacrifices were performed. And it being, as it seems, inconsistent with their law, or at least with their customs, that their sacred acts should be overlooked by any but the priests, the building that obstructed the view was permitted by the emperor to remain. I have already taken notice of the permission the Roman government had given the Jews, to kill any Gentile, though a Roman, who entered beyond the bounds prescribed to those who were not Jews, and need not repeat it here.

[d] Τοιχον αν εγειρουσιν επι της εξεδρας ὑψηλον, ἡτις ην εν τῳ εσωθεν ἱερῳ τετραμμενη προς δυσιν. [e] Νερων δε διακουσας αυτων, ουκ μονον συνεγνω περι τω πραχθεντος, αλλα και συνεχωρησεν οὑτως εαν την οικοδομιαν, τῃ γυναικι Ποππῃα, θεοσεβης γαρ ην, ὑπερ των Ιουδαιων δεηθειση χαριζομενος. Ant. lib. xx. c. 8. sect. 11.

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V. I have now brought down my account of the treatment which the Roman commonwealth and empire gave to the several religions which obtained in the countries under their dominion, and particularly to the Jewish religion during the period I am concerned with. There are in this short view several acts of goodness and justice done to the Jews by presidents of provinces, besides the edicts and declarations of the senate or the emperors. But as the particulars relating to this subject mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, are chiefly instances of the conduct of governors of provinces, or the officers next in authority under them, it will not be amiss to add two or three more testimonies relating to the behaviour of persons of those characters.

'There happened likewise, says Josephus, another disturbance at Cæsarea;[f] the Jews and Syrians, who lived 'there promiscuously, running both into a seditious behaviour. For they would have it that the city was theirs, 'because the founder of it, Herod their king, was a Jew. 'These allowed that the founder indeed was a Jew, but 'they asserted, that notwithstanding that the city was the 'Greeks'. For if it had been given to the Jews, there 'would have been no right of erecting statues and temples 'in it. This point they disputed one with another till they 'came to blows, and the more resolute of each party had 'daily skirmishes together. For the elders of the Jews 'were not able to keep the seditious part of their own people in order; and the Greeks were ashamed to yield to 'the Jews. These had the advantage in point of wealth 'and strength of body; but the Greeks had the encouragement and assistance of the soldiers. For the greatest part 'of the Roman garrison there consisting of men raised in 'Syria, they were ready to join with the Greeks as being 'their countrymen.[g] The officers however did their best 'to suppress these disturbances, and from time to time 'seized the most factious of each side, and punished them 'with scourging or imprisonment. But yet the sufferings 'of those who were apprehended did very little restrain or 'terrify the rest, for they were the rather the more provoked 'to be seditious. At length the Jews having had the better in a combat, Felix coming into the market-place required them to withdraw peaceably, threatening them severely if they did not. They not obeying him, he ordered

[f] A. D. 56. vid. Basnage, Ann. Polit. Ecc.

[g] Τοις γη μην επαρχοις φροντις ην ανασελλειν την ταραχην, και τους μαχιμωτατους εκατερωθεν αει συλλαμβανοντες εκολαζον μαστιξι και δεσμοις. Cæterum militum præfectis curæ erat tumultum comprimere, &c. Hudson. Vers.

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'his soldiers in amongst them: many were killed upon the 'spot, whose goods[h] happened also to be plundered after- 'wards. The sedition still continuing there, he having se- 'lected several of the chief men of each body sent them to 'Nero, that they might both lay their several pretensions 'before him.'[i]

This is the account which Josephus gives of this affair in the Jewish War. In his Antiquities[k] a part of this story stands thus: 'At length they came to throwing of stones 'at each other: and many were wounded on both sides. 'The Jews however had the victory. Felix then perceiving 'this contention between them like to become a sort of open 'war, came out to them and desired the Jews to give over. 'They not obeying him, he gave his soldiers orders to take 'their arms and fall upon them; and he slew a great many, 'took more prisoners, and gave his soldiers leave to plun- 'der some houses which were full of treasure. But the 'more moderate and the most eminent men of the Jews, 'being concerned for themselves as well as for their people, 'entreated Felix to order his soldiers to retreat and to spare 'the rest, and also to forgive what had passed. And Felix 'granted their requests.'

These passages of Josephus deserve the more to be respected, because they assure us of the good measures taken by Felix, a person not much celebrated for the justice of his administration in other matters, and by the chief officers under him, where they had concerns with men of different religions: and that they did not attempt to subvert the rights of either side, but only endeavoured to keep the peace among them, as far as they were able, at a season in which the Jews were extremely resolute and tumultuous. And St. Paul received some civilities from Felix, as well as from Lysias, one of his principal officers.

Josephus gives an account of a sedition raised by the Jews at Alexandria, about the time[l] the war broke out in Judea. Having mentioned the privileges granted to the Jews there by Alexander the Great, he says; 'And when

[h] *Αναιρει συχνους, ων διαρπαγηναι συνεβη και τας υσιας.*

[i] De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 13. fin.

[k] *Φηλιξ δε, ως εθεασατο φιλονεικιαν εν πολεμω τροπω γενομενην, προπηδησας, πανεσθαι τους Ιυδαιους παρεκαλει· μη πειθομενους δε τους στρατιωτας οπλισας επαφιησι, και πολλους μεν αυτων ανειλε, πλειους δε ζωντας ελαβεν, οικιας δη τινας των εν τη πολει πολλων πανυ χρηματων γεμουσας διαρπαζειν εφηκεν τοις στρατιωταις· οι δε των Ιυδαιων επιεικεστεροι, και πρωτοντες κατα την αξιωσιν, δεισαντες περι εαυτων, παρεκαλουν τον Φηλικα τους στρατιωτας ανακαλεισθαι τη σαλπιγγι, και φειδεσθαι το λοιπον αυτων, δυναι τε μετανοιαν επι τοις πεπραγμενοις· και Φηλιξ επεισθη.* Lib. xx. cap. 6. sect. 7.

[l] A. D. 66.

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'the Romans became masters of Egypt, neither Cæsar the 'first (of that name) nor any of his successors would suffer 'the honours conferred upon them [the Jews] by Alexan- 'der to be diminished. There were however continual con- 'tentions between them and the Greeks. And[m] *though the 'Presidents daily punished many on both sides*, yet animosi- 'ties increased. And as there were disturbances at that 'time in other places, so especially at Alexandria. The 'Alexandrians having called an assembly to consider of the 'embassy they were about to send to Nero, a great many of 'the Jews came into the amphitheatre, and mixed them- 'selves with the Greeks. When some of the Alexandrians 'perceived them, they cried out, that there were enemies come 'in amongst them, to be spies upon their debates, and 'immediately laid hands upon several of them. Some 'others perished as they were getting out: and three in 'particular, which had gotten out, were taken and brought 'back. These they threatened to burn alive. Hereupon, 'all the Jews in general came to the rescue of these men. 'They began with throwing stones at the Greeks: then 'getting lighted torches they surrounded the amphitheatre, 'and threatened to set fire to it, and burn all the people 'there to a man. So they would have done, if Tiberius 'Alexander, prefect of the city, had not prevented them. 'Though indeed he did not begin immediately with hostili- 'ties; but sending some persons of distinction to them, 'advised them to be peaceable, and not to draw upon them- 'selves the Roman garrison. But these seditious people 'ridiculed the advice, and reviled Tiberius.'

The president happened to have with him five thousand soldiers, who had halted at Alexandria, in their march from Libya into Judea, beside the two legions, the usual garrison there.

Tiberius therefore ordered his soldiers to their arms. The Jews made a long defence, but when once they were routed, there was a dreadful slaughter of them: 'fifty 'thousand were killed. Nor would any of them have been 'left alive, if they had not submitted, and cried out for 'mercy. Alexander then taking compassion on them, or- 'dered his soldiers to desist. They being always trained 'to obedience, gave over the slaughter at the very first 'word of command. But the Alexandrians, being filled with 'inveterate hatred, were difficultly drawn off, and could

[m] Και των ηγεμονων πολλας ὁσημεραι παρ' αμφοιν κολαζοντων, ἡ τασις μαλλον παρωξυνετο.

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'scarce be restrained from insulting and abusing the dead 'bodies.'[n]

This is indeed a long story. But the passage containing not only a character of the usual conduct of the presidents of Egypt, but giving us likewise an instance of a very great moderation, I was unwilling to abridge it very much. I term it moderation; for so it seems to me, for the governor to send amicable advice to so tumultuous a body of people, and warn them of the consequences of obstinacy, instead of coming upon them with his forces, especially when he was so well provided. And it was very honourable to accept the first tenders of submission.

I shall give but one passage more relating to this matter. 'They [the Jews] received likewise,' says Josephus, 'con-'siderable honours from the kings of Asia, because they had 'served them in their wars. Seleucus Nicator gave them 'the privileges of citizens in Antioch, the metropolis of his 'kingdom, which privilege they enjoy to this day. I need 'give no other proof of it than this, that the Jews refusing 'to use oil prepared by other people, the Gymnasiarchs[o] 'gave them a certain prescribed piece of money instead of 'the oil which should be allowed[p] them. And when the 'people of Antioch, in the time of the late war, would have 'broke in upon this custom, Mucianus, then president of 'Syria, obliged them to continue it. And afterwards, when 'Vespasian and his son Titus were become lords of the 'whole world, and the Alexandrians and Antiochians de-'sired that the rights of citizenship might be taken from the 'Jews, they would not comply with their desire. From 'whence any may perceive the equity and true greatness[q] 'of the Romans, and especially of Vespasian and Titus; who 'though they had undergone many fatigues in the war with 'the Jews, and had been very much offended with them, 'that they would not submit themselves to them, but 'fought against them to the last as long as they were 'able, yet they did not take away from them the fore-'mentioned citizenship: but so moderated and resisted their 'own former displeasure against the Jews and the entreaties 'of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, people of the great-'est consequence, as not to abrogate any part of the ancient 'privileges given to the Jews, out of favour for those cities,

[n] De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 18. sect. 7, 8.

[o] Officers that governed the places of exercise in the Greek cities.

[p] *Τεκμηριον δε τους Ιυδαιους, μη βυλομενους αλλοφυλῳ ελαιῳ χρησασθαι, λαμβανειν ὡρισμενον τι παρα των γυμνασιαρχων εις ελαιου τιμην αργυριον.*

[q] *Την Ῥωμαιων επιεικειαν και μεγαλοφροσυνην.*

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'or out of resentment toward those wicked people whom 'they had vanquished; saying, that they who had taken up 'arms against them, and had been subdued by them, had 'been sufficiently punished; and that it would be unjust 'to deprive those of their privileges, who had committed 'no fault.'[r] Here is one remarkable instance of Jewish niceness, and more than one example of Roman generosity.

These are authentic testimonies in behalf of the equity of the Roman government in general, and of the impartial administration of justice by the Roman presidents toward all the people of their provinces, how much soever they differed from each other in matters of religion.

It is undoubted, that many of these presidents were guilty of extortion, and other acts of injustice, and endeavoured to enrich themselves in the provinces. But there seems not to have been any one thing, which the Romans were more concerned to preserve inviolable, than the religion of all the people whom they conquered; judging, it is likely, that there is nothing gives a people so universal a disgust, as injuries done to their religion; and that therefore, the only way to preserve peace throughout their empire, was to protect all men every where in the practice of their own religious[s] rites.

VI. I imagine, however, that the reader will be apt to recollect here the several violations of things sacred, which I have related to have been committed by Verres in Sicily; and he may be inclined to think, that such instances do very much weaken this argument.

But then it ought to be remembered likewise, that these actions were very much cried out upon, and Verres was called to an account for them. Besides, there is no reason to think there were many such as Verres, whose administration was infamous to a[t] proverb. It ought also to be considered, that Verres was prætor of Sicily under the commonwealth, at a time when the courts of judicature at Rome, before whom complaints from the provinces were brought, were extremely corrupt; when justice was administered very slowly, and oftentimes not obtained at all. There are in Cicero himself many acknowledgments of the bad state of

[r] Jos. Ant. lib. xii. cap. 3. init. [s] Quid? hem! mediocrine tandem dolore eos affectos esse arbitramini? non ita est, judices: primum quod omnes religione moventur: et deos patrios, quos a majoribus acceperunt, colendos sibi diligenter et retinendos esse arbitrantur. Cic. in Verr. lib. iv. c. 59. [t] Eodem tempore Metellus, Siciliæ prætor, cum fœdissimâ illâ C. Verris prætura Siciliam adflictam invenisset, &c. P. Oros. Hist. l. vi. c. 3. p. 376. Ed. Havercamp.

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affairs at that time in this respect.[u] And I believe, the provinces were much happier under the emperors for a considerable time below the period of the evangelical history, than they had been for some time under the commonwealth.

There was a very signal piece of justice done the Jews by the emperor Claudius. It lies so much in the very midst of our history, that it is not easy to pass it by. In the time that Cumanus, predecessor to Felix, was procurator of Judea, there happened a difference between the Jews and Samaritans; the rise of which was an assault made by the Samaritans upon some Galileans as they were going up to Jerusalem. Cumanus not doing his duty, complaints were made to Ummidius Quadratus, president of Syria. The Jews affirmed that Cumanus had been bribed by the Samaritans, and each side made many complaints. Quadratus came into Judea, punished some himself, sent several of the chief Jews and Samaritans, as well as Cumanus, and Celer the tribune, to Rome, to give an account of themselves to Claudius: who, having heard both sides, pronounced sentence, banished[v] Cumanus, and ordered that Celer the tribune should be had back to Jerusalem, and after he had been led through the city, be beheaded.

I cannot be certain that Celer had the same post at Jerusalem under Cumanus, that Lysias had under Felix, though Josephus gives Celer the same title that St. Luke does Lysias. Nor would I be understood to insinuate, that this punishment of Celer was the chief cause of Lysias's good conduct. He appears to me so just, punctual, and prudent in every part of his behaviour, during that short time that St. Paul was at Jerusalem, after he was taken into custody, that I take it for granted he was actuated by some better principle. But though this favourable supposition be a piece of justice to Lysias, yet I make no doubt, but that this execution of Celer was a restraint upon some people; and that St. Paul and many others in Judea, and possibly in other provinces likewise, had some benefit by it.

I have, I hope, in this chapter and other parts of this work, given passages enough to enable every reader to judge for himself in this point; and whereby he may be

[u] Spoliâsti Siculos. Solent enim inulti esse in injuriis suis provinciales. Cic. in Verr. lib. iii. cap. 41. Lugent omnes provinciæ: queruntur omnes liberi populi: regna denique jam omnia de nostris cupiditatibus et injuriis expostulant. Ibid. cap. 89.

[v] *Τῳ Κυμανῳ φυγην επεβαλε, Κελερα δε τον χιλιαρχον εκελευσεν αγοντας εις τα Ἱεροσολυμα, παντων ὁρωντων επι την πολιν πασαν συραντας, οὑτως ἀποκτειναι.* Antiq. lib. xx. c. 5. sect. 3. vid. et de B. p. 1074. 20.

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assured the Jews enjoyed their religion in Judea and out of it, without any very considerable molestations. They had, particularly in Judea, their high priests, frequented Jerusalem at their great feasts; images and other abominations were kept out of the country, or if they were brought in they were soon carried back again.

Nay, there appear in the accounts I have given, several positive proofs of an equal administration of justice in divers parts, where injuries were offered; and more might be given. A Roman soldier in Judea having rent and burnt a book of the laws of Moses, the forementioned Cumanus, at the request of the Jews, had him put[w] to death. I believe that most will allow, a capital punishment of a crime not particularly specified, it is likely, in any law whatsoever, to be an act of complete justice at least.

VII. It will be needful, however, in order fully to clear up this matter, to subjoin two or three remarks.

1. It must be owned, that according to the Roman laws no man might introduce any new gods, or worship publicly or privately any strange or foreign gods not allowed of by public authority.[x]

2. But yet the disciples of Jesus Christ were under the protection of the Roman laws, since the God whom they worshipped, and whose worship they recommended, was the God of the heavens and the earth, the same God whom the Jews worshipped, the worship of whom was allowed of all over the Roman empire, and established by special edicts and decrees in most, perhaps in all the places in which we meet with St. Paul in his travels.

It is evident that St. Paul makes his defence before Felix in Judea upon this foot. "They neither found me in the temple disputing with any man.—But this I confess to thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I *the God of my fathers*," Acts xxiv. 14. They call this way a sect, a new sect; grant it to be so: but in this way I worship the God of my fathers, the same God which they do, and believe all things which are written in the law and the prophets as firmly as any Jew whatever: nor do I say any thing inconsistent with them, or which I cannot support by them: and therefore I am entitled to protection equally with them, since I have not attempted nor advised any disturbance or insurrection. This therefore was a very just

[w] Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 4. sect. 4. de B. J. lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 2.

[x] Separatim nemo habessit deos neve novos: Sed ne advenas, nisi publice adscitos, privatim colunto. Cic. de legib. lib. ii. cap. 8. init.

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and proper defence before Felix, a heathen magistrate, and it was completely valid.

And the Roman magistrates out of Judea, and the heathen people every where, considered St. Paul and his companions as Jews. It was so evidently in Achaia. The Jews brought Paul before the judgment-seat, "saying, This fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law," Acts xviii. 13. But Gallio supposed that Paul had as good a right to protection as themselves, and that the differences between Paul and them were no other than such as might happen between men of one and the same religion; and that the only reason why Paul was brought before him, was the envy, malice, and bigotry of some of the leading men among the Jews of his province. "If it be a question of words and names," says he, "*and of your law*, look ye to it, for I will be no judge of such matters," ver. 15.

From whence I think it appears, that Gallio was not so ignorant of the case brought before him as some may be ready to imagine. If, says he, the matter in dispute[y] be a "word," some particular opinion[z] and doctrine, which you say Paul preaches; or of names whether Jesus may be called the Christ; (or perhaps he means of matters about which the difference is so small that it is rather a controversy about names than things;) or "of your law," whether it obliges all men to be circumcised who go over to the worship of your God, I will be no judge between you concerning such matters.

If the sense I here give of these words, and particularly "of your law," be right, it is an evidence that Gallio knew very well that Paul had converted heathens to his sentiments, and yet he took no offence at it: only he was resolved not to pass any judicial sentence upon these matters. And indeed I think it plain from St. Luke's account, that Gallio had heard the Jews tell their story out. But when they had done, he had more honour and good sense than to oblige Paul to make an apology for his principles in court, under the character of a criminal or accused person.

Nor is it at all strange, that Gallio did not resent St. Paul's converting men from heathenism to the worship of the true God; since the Jews had done the same thing in many parts of the Roman empire without offence, though not with so good success as St. Paul.

[y] Περι λογου. [z] Σαδδυκαιους δε τας ψυχας ὁ ΛΟΓΟΣ συναφανιζει τοις σωμασι. Joseph. p. 793. 20. εις ολιγους τε ανδρας ουτος ὁ ΛΟΓΟΣ αφικετο. Ibid. 23.

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But to proceed. It is apparent that the heathen people also considered the apostle and those with him as Jews.

It is with this speech that the masters of the damsel at Philippi come before the magistrates, when they brought along with them Paul and Silas: "These men, *being Jews*, do exceedingly trouble our city," Acts xvi. 20. And though the magistrates were so far heated and misled by these men, as to order Paul and Silas to be beaten and imprisoned; yet they had no sooner reflected upon what they had done, but they were sensible that they themselves had broken the laws, in punishing men that were Jews for spreading their principles, and that they were liable to be reprimanded for it.

The uproar at Ephesus affords a remarkable proof of the same thing. The silversmiths that made shrines for Diana began a popular speech there, Acts xix. 26—34, "Ye see," say they, "and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying, *that they be no Gods which are made with hands.*" (All the Jews said the same thing.) "And the whole city was filled with confusion.—And they rushed with one accord into the theatre.—And they drew Alexander out of the multitude, *the Jews putting him forward.* And Alexander beckoned with the hand, and would have made his defence unto the people. But when they knew that he was a *Jew*, all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

Alexander was put forward by the Jews, and undoubtedly intended to have declaimed against Paul; but so soon as the people knew that he was a Jew, instead of hearkening to him, they were thrown into a fresh ferment.

I think I need not add that Festus so understood the matter likewise, his words having been already more than once produced, in which he tells Agrippa, that when Paul's accusers stood up they had only "certain questions against him of *their own superstition*," Acts xxv. 18, 19.

3. It ought to be observed, that the first followers of Jesus did every where observe an admirable decorum in all their words and actions. It may perhaps be inconceivable by some, how they should be able thus to behave every where, animated as they were with a warm as well as just zeal for the truths of the christian doctrine, and a thorough dislike of all the abominations and absurdities of the heathen worship. But yet it is certain they did so. We have uncontested evidence of it.

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St. Luke assures us, Acts xvii. 16, that when St. Paul was at Athens, "his spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the city was wholly given to idolatry." But when he comes to make his speech in the Areopagus, his temper and address are equal to his argument, which certainly can never be exceeded. According to our translation indeed there is harshness in the very introduction: "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious:" whereas the original[a] is peculiarly soft, if any censure was intended: but[b] I apprehend that St. Paul tells them, he perceived they were "in all things very devout." This would give no offence at Athens. It was their peculiar[c] character, the encomium which they were fond of above any other.

[a] Si lenitatem Pauli spectemus——confirmat hoc imprimis a Δεισιδαιμονια traducta vox: cui quidem inest multâ suavitate permista castigatio. Sam. Drake, S. T. P. de Arâ Ignoto Deo Sacrâ. Cantab. 1724. p. 12.

[b] Κατα παντα ως δεισιδαιμονεστερους ὑμας θεωρω. The word δεισιδαιμονια is often used in a bad sense, but it has also a good, or at least an innocent meaning. Festus tells Agrippa, that Paul's accusers had nothing against him "but certain questions περι της ἰδιας δεισιδαιμονιας, of their own superstition," Acts xxv. 19. It should be rendered *religion*. It cannot be supposed that Festus would speak contemptuously to Agrippa of the Jewish, that is, Agrippa's own religion: when Agrippa was come to Cæsarea with his sister Bernice to salute him. It is also apparent, that Festus does show Agrippa a great deal of respect. Josephus says, that Manasses having repented of his idolatry and other sins against God, he resolved for the future πασῃ χρησθαι περι αυτον δεισιδαιμονιᾳ, to be constant in the worship of him. Jos. p. 437. 20. Claudius, in his edict published in favour of the Jews, exhorts them μη τας των αλλων δεισιδαιμονιας εξυθενιζειν, id. p. 866. 18. not to set at nought, or to revile the religions of other nations. Vid. eund. p. 632. 39. p. 1066. 31. It appears also from what follows, that St. Paul had not blamed the Athenians. Having mentioned the inscription of the altar, "To the unknown God;" he goes on, ὁν ουν αγνοουντες ευσεβειτε; "whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you." The verb here used for worship is always expressive of a laudable piety. See examples in Grotius upon the place. The harsh sense of the word Δεισιδαιμονια, is inconsistent with the whole design of St. Paul's argument. If he had told them at first that they were superstitious, he encourages them in it, and endeavours to make them more so. If St. Paul's instance had been that of some false god, there had been some reason to put the harsh sense upon the word in this place. But now there is no reason at all for it; since the inscription he produces directly intended, or at least comprehended under it, the true God, whom St. Paul preached. I think therefore that St. Paul says: "I perceive that ye are in all things very devout. For as I passed along, and observed the objects of your worship, I found also an altar with this inscription: *To the unknown God.* Whom therefore ye worship without knowing him, him do I declare unto you."

[c] Ει γαρ τι αλλο της Αθηναιων πολεως, και τουτ' εν πρωτοις εστιν εγκωμιον, το περι παντος πραγματος, και εν παντι καιρῳ, τοις θεοις ἑπεσθαι, και μηδεν ανευ μαντικης και χρησμων επιτελειν. Dionys. Hal. de Thucyd. Judic. sect. 40. vid. et Sophoc. Œd. Col. v. 1000. et seq. It was customary for eminent strangers who spoke in public at Athens, to give them in their first discourse some commendation from the wisdom of their laws and institutions, or some

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It is true, St. Luke says, that at the conclusion, ver. 32, "when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked: and others said, We will hear thee again of this matter." It is very possible, some might be surprised at the novelty of St. Paul's principles, and be inclined to make themselves merry with them. But I do not perceive by St. Luke that they were; I think, there could not be any exceptions made to the propriety or decency of any of his expressions.

St. Luke has not recorded any of the discourses made by St. Paul, or those who were with him at Ephesus. But however, we have authentic evidence of the innocence of their words and actions there also. "Ye have brought hither," says the town-clerk to the people of Ephesus, Acts xix. 37, "these men, which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess." He says this of Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in his travels. So that this temper and prudence were not peculiar to St. Paul, but common to him with his companions. What the town-clerk says here may be relied on: he is speaking to the enraged multitude: if there had been any blasphemies uttered by these men he had made them his own.

The conduct or express declarations of Felix, Festus,

other topic. St. Paul had good reason not to be defective in this point upon so nice an occasion. He could very truly say they were a devout people. It was extremely to his purpose, and they would be much pleased to hear it from him. Ἡ μεν δη διαλεξις επαινοι ησαν τω αστεως, και απολογιαι προς τους Αθηναιους, υπερ τω μη προτερον προς αυτους αφιχθαι. Philost. Vit. Alex. Sophist. sect. 3. Αθηναιοις μεν γαρ επιδεικνυμενος αυτοσχεδιως λογους, ὁτε και πρωτον Αθηναζε αφικετο, ως ες εγκωμιον κατεστησεν ἑαυτον τω αστεως, τοσουτων οντων, ἁ τις ὑπερ Αθηναιων ειποι· id. Vit. Polem. sect. 4. It was therefore a singularity in Polemon, a most proud man, that in his discourse at Athens, at his first visit, he said nothing in their praise. There is another like example particularly observed in Adrian the sophist. Μεσος δε οὑτω παῤῥησιας επι τον Θρονον παρηλθε, τον Αθηνησιν, ὡς και προοιμιον οἱ γενεσθαι της προς αυτους διαλεξεως, μη την εκεινων σοφιαν, αλλα την ἑαυτου. id. vit. Adrian. sect. 2. Grotius understood St. Paul to speak here of the Athenians in the way of commendation, as I do.

I take the liberty to add, in this third edition, a passage or two from Mr. Warburton, confirming the interpretation I have given of this text. His words are these: 'Athens was a city the most devoted to religion of any 'upon the face of the earth. On this account their poet Sophocles calls it 'the sacred building of the gods, Αθηνων των Θεοδμητων.' Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses. B. i. Sect. 4. p. 136. 2d. Edit. Again: 'This 'was the reason why St. Paul, who was regarded as the bringer in of foreign 'gods, was had up to the court of Areopagus; not as a criminal, but rather as 'a public benefactor, who had a new worship to propose to a people, "above 'all others religious, ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστεροι."' Id. ib. Book ii. Sect. 6. p. 296.

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Agrippa, are testimonies to the like unblamable and inoffensive behaviour of St. Paul at Jerusalem.

I do not say, that according to laws since enacted in some states, the apostles would not have been judged offenders. But it ought to be remembered, that the Romans did for a long time as far surpass many modern governments in the justice and equity of their political maxims, as in the grandeur of their empire: nor had they yet renounced or departed from them.

Had there been any affront offered by Paul to the Jewish religion, either Felix or Festus would have discovered and punished it. When such things were done by Romans they could not escape. Undoubtedly therefore Paul had been as innocent in Judea as he had been out of it.

Upon the whole then, from the several particulars here alleged, it must appear highly probable, that the chief officers of such a government as the Roman was at the rise of the christian religion, should treat the first preachers of it just as they are represented by St. Luke to have done.

They had no authority by virtue of any edicts or decrees then passed, to enter into the controversies then on foot between several cities in Egypt, who worshipped some one animal and some another, but none of them the gods of the Romans. These governors had not been wont to interpose between any of the sects of the Jews, of which there had been several for a long time, when no tumult or sedition arose among them. The Jews it is likely would have thought it the highest injustice, and would have made the loudest complaints if they had. The first christians did not differ more from the pharisees or essenes, I do not say from the sadducees, than these three sects differed one from another. How can it be thought then, that these governors should undertake to suppress the first[d] christians, when they were obliged to protect all the rest; not this or that sect, but all the Jews in general?

The Roman government protected the many rites of all their provinces. They protected Jews and heathens in one and the same city. The Jews had been now for some while, from time to time, making proselytes of Greeks and Syrians; converted them to the worship of the true God, the God

[d] 'When the Romans permitted the Jewish synagogues to use their own 'laws, and proper government, why, I pray, should there not be the same 'alteration allowed to the apostolical churches? the Roman censure had as 'yet made no difference between the judaizing synagogues of the Jews and the 'christian synagogues, or churches of the Jews: nor did it permit them to 'live after their own laws, and forbid these.' Dr. Lightfoot, Hebr. and Talmud. Exerc. on Matt. iv. 23.

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whom the christians preached; and brought them, some indeed to part only, others, to the observation of all the peculiar rites of their religion. This they had done, and the presidents gave them no interruption or molestation. Must not then these officers have esteemed it, as St. Luke represents them to have done, a new species of envy and malice in the Jews, to bring before them and desire justice against Paul and his companions, barely because they did not submit to them in every particular? And must not these officers have been prepared likewise to control their own people, when they would have abused Paul for what the Jews had been permitted to do; that is, for converting men to his peculiar sentiments when his principles were not at all more disagreeable to them, than those of the Jews; and his behaviour was far more peaceable and inoffensive than theirs had been?

VIII. There is however one difficulty which I am aware may be started by some persons. If the Roman government, to which all the world was then subject, was so mild and gentle, and protected all men in the profession of their several religious tenets, and the practice of all their peculiar rites, whence comes it to pass, that there are in their epistles so many exhortations to the christians to patience and constancy; and so many arguments of consolations suggested to them as a suffering body of men? Does not the apostle Paul tell the Philippians, Phil. i. 29, that "to them it was given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake?" And the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. ii. 14, "that they had suffered like things of their own countrymen; even as they" (the churches of Judea) "have of the Jews?" Is not Timothy directed, 2 Tim. ii. 2, to "endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ"? Are not the Hebrews reminded, Heb. x. 32, that they had "endured a great fight of affliction?" Does not St. Peter intimate, that they whom he wrote to had "been in heaviness through manifold temptations?" 1 Pet. i. 6.

To this I answer,

1. That the account St. Luke has given in the Acts of the Apostles, of the behaviour of the Roman officers out of Judea and in it, is confirmed not only by the account I have given of the genius and nature of the Roman government, but also by the testimonies of the most ancient christian writers. The Romans did afterwards depart from these moderate maxims; but it is certain that they were governed by them, as long as the history of the Acts of the Apostles

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reaches. Tertullian and divers others do affirm, that Nero was the first emperor that persecuted the christians;[e] nor did he begin to disturb them till after Paul had left Rome the first time he was there, (when he was sent thither by Festus,) and therefore not till he was become an enemy to all mankind. And I think, that according to the account which Tacitus has given of Nero's inhuman treatment of the christians at Rome, in the tenth year of his reign, what he did then was not owing to their having different principles in religion from the Romans, but proceeded from a desire he had to throw off from himself the odium of a vile action, namely, setting fire to the city, which he was generally charged[f] with. And Sulpicius Severus, a christian historian of the fourth century, says the same thing.[g]

2dly, I answer, that if the reader will be at the pains of comparing the epistles of the New Testament with the history of the Acts of the Apostles, he will find a perfect harmony in all these particulars which are mentioned in both.

Thus St. Paul writes to the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. ii. 14, "Ye became followers of the churches which in Judea are in Christ Jesus: for ye also have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they have of the Jews." And St. Luke informs us, Acts xvii. 5, that at "Thessalonica, the Jews which believed not, moved with envy, took unto them certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city on an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason."——

As, according to St. Luke, they were the Jews who usually began, or aggravated the disturbances against Paul; so Paul himself ascribes his own sufferings, and those of others likewise, to the Jews. Thus it follows in the place just now cited from him: 1 Thess. ii. 15, 16, "who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men: forbidding us to speak unto the Gentiles that they may be saved." And to the Galatians he says, Gal. v. 11, "And I, brethren, if I yet preach circum-

[e] Consulite commentarios vestros: illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam, cum maxime Romæ orientem, cæsariano gladio ferocisse. Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Primus omnium persecutus Dei servos. Lactantius de Mortib. Persecut. c. 2. Hic primus christianorum nomen tollere aggressus est. Sulpic. Sev. Hist. l. ii. c. 40.

[f] Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos—Tacit. Ann. xv. c. 44.

[g] Neque ullâ re Nero efficiebat, quin ab eo jussum incendium putaretur. Igitur vertit invidiam in christianos, actæque in innoxios crudelissimæ quæstiones. Sulpic. ibid. c. 41.

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cision, why do I yet suffer persecution? Then is the offence of the cross ceased." From which words it is plain, that all the apostle's sufferings came from the bigoted Jews; and that, if it had not been for them, he might have preached the gospel quietly enough.

3dly, Though the Romans were masters of the world, and were governed by these moderate maxims, as I have shown; yet the first christians might be exposed to many hardships and sufferings, as they certainly were. The sources of them are very evident. There was a heavy persecution in Judea, which commenced not long after our Saviour's ascension, and lasted, probably, several years. The Jews had a right to call men before the council, could excommunicate men out of their synagogues, scourge and beat them; they could bring men before the governor, and prosecute for capital crimes. Doubtless, they exerted all the power they had against the believers, and did other things they had no right to do; partly, through connivance it is likely of the governor, and partly, perhaps, because he could not hinder them. Then Herod Agrippa was king of Judea three years and more; and he, out of his own aversion to christianity, and to please the Jews, was an inveterate enemy of the followers of Jesus. And after this, when Judea was again put under Roman procurators, beside the lesser punishments the Jews could inflict themselves, they could prosecute before the procurators, as they did Paul. And we find, that though Felix and Festus were both convinced of his innocence, yet they did neither of them dare to release him against the inclinations of the people of their province. And such was the Jewish influence in this cause, that by their means Paul was kept two years in prison in Judea, and as many afterwards at Rome.

As for the sufferings which the christians were liable to out of Judea, every one must be sensible, that wherever Paul, or any other made any considerable number of converts among the heathens, many of the common people were provoked, and would be apt to insult them; and in some places, the inferior magistrates might be so weak as to concur with them, Acts xvi. 22. Besides, the Jews were numerous every where, throughout the Roman empire. When Paul was at Lystra, ch. xiv. 19, "there came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people; and having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead." How the Jews of Thessalonica behaved, we have seen just now, ch. xvii. 5. These very same Jews of Thessalonica followed Paul

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and Silas to Berœa, " and stirred up the people," ver. 13. In Achaia, " the Jews made insurrection against Paul, and brought him before the judgment seat," ch. xviii. 12. At Ephesus, they would have heightened the rage of the people, though " the whole city was," before, " filled with confusion," ch. xix. 29. When this " uproar was ceased, and Paul was about to sail into Syria, the Jews laid wait for him," ch. xx. 1—3.

Nor ought it to be supposed, that the Jews were inconsiderable enemies. The malicious, however unfurnished, will always find some weapons; rage makes men, for a time at least, strong and terrible. We see a great deal of enmity against the first followers of Jesus, in the Jewish speeches and proceedings in Judea and other parts. But perhaps it is not easy to form a complete idea of it. What vexation must it not have given to the generality of this people, who were now in full expectation of subduing the whole world to themselves, to see a number of men of their own nation travelling over the Roman empire teaching that Jesus, who had been crucified, was the Messiah, the great king and deliverer that had been promised to the Jews; inviting Gentiles also to the participation of all the privileges of the people of God, without insisting on circumcision or other rites of their law!

The peculiar principles, temper, and disposition of the Jewish people deserve to be somewhat farther considered in this place. These were such, that though the Roman governors had taken the first christians into their special protection, they could not have secured them from all injuries. The Jews then not only scorned subjection and obedience to others, and affected liberty and independence, but they expected dominion over all mankind. This we may perceive from divers characters and admonitions in the New Testament, and from the writings of Josephus. " They despise governments," says St. Peter, " presumptuous are they, self-willed: they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities," 2 Pet. ii. 10. Jude 8. For this reason, there was so great occasion for those earnest exhortations to the believers among the Jews, not to follow the example of the rest of their countrymen, but " to submit themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake," 1 Pet. ii. 13. Again, " Let none of you," says the same Apostle, 1 Pet. iv. 15, " suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil-doer, or as a busy body in[h] other men's matters." This last character, I apprehend, is not generally

[h] Η ὡς αλλοτριοεπισκοπος.

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understood. A mere prying into, or meddling with the concerns of private families or particular persons, would not have been ranked with crimes that exposed to the severest censures of the civil magistrate. The word, I think, intends one that affects the inspection and direction of the affairs of other men; and in this place relates to the[i] public affairs of other people. Of this temper of the Jewish people at that time, we have a remarkable specimen in the long passage I have transcribed above, concerning the business at Alexandria: where divers Jews intruded themselves into the public councils of the people of that place; and the rest of the Jews would have rescued the offenders, or destroyed the whole people of Alexandria, if the president had not been furnished with a good body of regular forces. We have seen above,[k] that in the time of Felix, the Jews at Cæsarea were not contented with equal rights of citizenship, but would have the preference. They became, after that, still more and more troublesome and tumultuous. Their behaviour at Alexandria, just now mentioned, is a proof of it. The Jews' disdain of other men, and their thirst of dominion, ran so high at last, that they put the people of the several countries in which they lived, and the whole Roman empire, into a fright. They had been hated before, but now they were feared.[l] Josephus says expressly, that the expectation they had of some one from their country, who would obtain the empire of the world, was the great thing that induced them to the war with the

[i] The phrase we have here is not that used in other places for an impertinent inquisitiveness. See 2 Thess. iii. 11; 1 Tim. v. 13. Αλλοτριος signifies sometimes a man of another nation. Αλλ' ἡς αλλοτριος ων, πολιτης γεγονα, Dionys. H. p. 468. 10. And if it should be still supposed, that Peter intends only a meddling with private affairs; yet he must refer to a busy, governing temper, that led them into a very offensive conduct: since these busy bodies are reckoned up with criminals, who, in those places, could have their proper punishment from none but the chief Roman officers; or as Philostratus expresses it, judges who had the sword: δικαστα γαρ δεισθαι αυτας [δικας επι μοιχυς, &c.] ξιφος εχοντος. Vit. Sophist. l. i. n. 25. sect. 2.

[k] P. 193, &c.

[l] Ου μην οι Συροι των Ιυδαιων ελαττον πληθος ανηρων, αλλα και αυτοι τας εν ταις πολεσι λαμβανομενας ανεσφαττον, ω μονον κατα μισος, ὡς προτερον, αλλ' ἡδη και τον εφ' ἑαυτοις κινδυνον φθανοντες. Joseph. de B. J. l. ii. cap. 18. sect. 2. Josephus says, the revolt of the Jews, A. D. 66, gave Nero a great deal of concern, though he endeavoured to conceal it. Antiq. l. xx. c. 1. His appointing Vespasian, the most experienced and successful commander at that time, general in the war, is a proof of it, especially considering the aversion he had for his person. Peregrinatione Achaïcâ inter comites Neronis, cum, cantante eo, aut discederet sæpius, aut præsens obdormisceret, gravissimam contraxit offensam: prohibitusque non contubernio modo, sed etiam publicâ salutatione, secessit in parvam ac deviam civitatem, &c. Sueton. in Vespas. cap. 4. vid. et Tacit. Ann. lib. xvi. cap. 5.

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Romans.[m] If the Romans were not able to preserve the heathen people from all injuries from the Jews, (as it is certain[n] they were not,) much less could they secure the christians, who were above all others the object of their envy. And if the Jews thought themselves able to contend with, and overturn the Roman empire, it cannot be supposed unlikely, that they should attempt to destroy a christian, without asking the Romans leave, when they would not do it for them.

St. Jerom[o] in divers places of his Commentaries, describes the sufferings of the apostles, and the causes and occasions of them, in a way very agreeable to the account here given by me.

These discouragements and sufferings then, the first christians met with and underwent, whippings in synagogues, excommunications from the ordinary places of God's worship, beatings in public market-places: tumults, some that endangered, others that cost them their lives, Acts xiv. 19. ch. vii. 54—60; during the reign of Herod Agrippa, imprisonment and death; in the rest of this period, from the beginning to the end of it, troublesome prosecutions before heathen governors in Judea, and out of it; the severest reproaches, and dangerous conspiracies, and lyings in wait of the Jews in all parts; among the heathen, the scorn and ridicule of the great and the witty, insults of the common people, and abuses of inferior magistrates; lastly, perils from false brethren, who might find it no hard matter to augment the prejudices, both of Jews and Gentiles, against a singular set of men.

It may be, I think, reasonably supposed, that the sufferings of the followers of Jesus, in the period we are now concerned with, were not equal to those, which they were afterwards exposed to, when the Roman emperors treated them as public enemies, authorized their officers every where to punish them, and countenanced the common people in those abuses and outrages they were disposed to of

[m] See above, p. 138.

[n] Vid. Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. c. 18. sect. 1, 5. et alibi.

[o] Quod autem crebro Paulus in carcere fuerit, et de vinculis liberatus sit, ipse in alio loco dicit: in carceribus frequenter, de quibus nonnunquam Domini auxilio, crebro ipsis persecutoribus nihil dignum in eo morte invenientibus, dimittebatur. Nec dum enim super nomine christiano senatûsconsulta præcesserant: nec dum christianum sanguinem Neronius gladius dedicârat. Sed pro novitate prædicationis, sive a Judæis invidentibus, sive ab his qui sua videbant idola destrui, ad furorem populis concitatis, missi in carcerem, rursum, impetu et furore deposito, laxabantur, &c. Hieron. Comm. in Ep. ad Philem. p. 453. Conf. eund. in Ep. ad Gal. c. vi. p. 315.

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themselves. Much less did they equal the torments which good men have undergone, since men of the most exquisite malice and subtilty, in several ages, have improved persecution into a science, and devoted themselves to this work as their solemn business and profession; till at length they have completed this worst of all inventions, and with a dexterity truly diabolical, have at once increased the fatigue of the sufferer, and abated the horror and compassion of all heedless and inconsiderate spectators. These things perhaps may (but these only could) make us think the difficulties, dangers, and sufferings of the first christians small.

But yet, after all, if we duly consider the vast sensibility of human nature to pain and disgrace; I believe it will be allowed, that the subsistence and growth of christianity, under the discouragements it met with in its very infancy, at a time when there had been but few examples of patience and constancy under sufferings, in any case that bears any near resemblance with this, are a strong argument in favour of its divine original; and a proof, that they who then embraced it, and were steady in the profession of it, were, upon the best evidences, fully persuaded of the facts on which it depends; and were animated by the hopes of that great reward, which is one distinguished article of the christian doctrine.

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CHAP. IX.

CONCERNING DIVERS OPINIONS AND PRACTICES OF THE JEWS.

I. *The Jews, at the time of their great feasts, came up to Jerusalem in great numbers, from all parts.* II. *The Jews of Jerusalem frequented the temple at other times.* III. *Their hours of prayer.* IV. *Their zeal for the temple.* V. *For the law.* VI. *Of their synagogue worship.* VII. *They practised at this time the vow of the Nazarite, and shaved their heads.* VIII. *Of their inflicting forty stripes save one.* IX. *Of private zeal.* X. *The paying tribute to the Romans, a great grievance to the Jews.* XI. *Nevertheless there were publicans of the Jewish nation.*

THE Jews appear to have been, in the time of our Saviour and his apostles, very zealous for the temple, and devout and exact in the observation of the rituals of the Mosaic law. The New Testament abounds with proofs of this zeal. I shall take notice of some instances.

I. They came up to Jerusalem at the feasts, in great numbers, not only from those parts of Judea that lay near the city, but also from Galilee, and likewise from foreign countries, where they resided. John iv. 3, "He [Jesus] left Judea, and departed into Galilee. Ver. 45, Then when he was come into Galilee, the Galileans received him, having seen all the things that he did at Jerusalem at the *feast*, for they also went unto the feast.—Ch. vii. 1—4. After these things Jesus walked in Galilee.—Now the Jews' feast of *tabernacles* was at hand. His brethren therefore said unto him, Depart hence, and go into Judea, that thy disciples also may see the works that thou doest: For there is no man that doeth any thing in secret, and he himself seeketh to be known openly: if thou do these things, show thyself to the world." This reasoning of theirs is built upon the supposition, that there would be a general resort at Jerusalem, "at the feast of tabernacles, which was then at hand." Ch. xi. 55, 56, "And the Jews' *passover* was nigh at hand, and *many* went out of the country, up to Jerusalem, before the passover, to purify themselves. Then sought they for Jesus, and spake among themselves, as they

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stood in the temple, what think ye, that he will not come unto the feast?——Ch. xii. 12, 13, And on the next day *much* people that were come to the *feast*, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm-trees and went forth to meet him.—Ver. 23, And there were certain Greeks among them that came up to worship at the feast." See Acts. ii. 5.

I shall set down from Josephus evidences of all these particulars.

'At that time[a] the feast was approaching, in which the 'Jews are wont to eat unleavened bread. The feast is 'called the passover, and is kept in remembrance of their 'departure out of Egypt: they observe it with great joy, 'and at this feast offer up more sacrifices than at any other, 'and an innumerable multitude of persons come up to 'worship God, not only out of Judea, but also from other 'parts.'[b]

Again, 'When the feast which is called the passover was 'nigh,[c] in which it is our custom to eat unleavened bread, 'and a great multitude was gathered together *from all 'parts*,[d] Cumanus fearing some disturbance might happen 'among them, ordered a cohort of the soldiers to take 'their arms, and post themselves in the porticoes of the 'temple.'[e]

Again, 'From Antipatris Cestius marched to Lydda, but 'found no men in it, for all the people were gone up to Je- 'rusalem, to the feast[f] of tabernacles. However, meeting 'with fifty men, he slew them all, burnt the city, and went 'forwards, and pitched his camp at a place called Gabao, 'at the distance of fifty stadia from Jerusalem. The Jews 'perceiving the enemy to approach to their metropolis, 'neglecting the feast, betook themselves to their arms; and 'placing great confidence in their numbers, marched out 'to the fight with loud shouts, but very little order, not so 'much as minding the rest of the seventh day. For it 'happened to be the sabbath, which is respected and ob- 'served by them above all others.'[g] This sabbath is the day spoken of, John vii. 37, where it is called, "the last day, that great day of the feast;" of which Moses says, "It is a solemn assembly, and ye shall do no servile work therein," Lev. xxiii. 36.

[a] Year before Christ 3, or 4. It was the passover next after Herod's death.

[b] *Κατεισι δε πληθυς αναριθμητος εκ της χωρας, ηδη δε και εκ της ὑπορειας επι θρησκειᾳ τυ Θευ.* Jos. Ant. lib. xvii. c. 9. sect. 3.

[c] A. D. 48. [d] *Πανταχοθεν.* [e] Ant. lib. xx. c. 4. sect. 3.

[f] A. D. 66. [g] De B. J. lib. ii. cap. 19. init.

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But the number of people that resorted to Jerusalem upon these occasions, will appear more particularly from a computation, which the priests made at the passover of this very same year.[h]

Cestius, just now mentioned, president of Syria, desired the priests to number the people, if they had any way of doing it. 'The feast of the passover was then at hand, in 'which they kill sacrifices from the ninth to the eleventh 'hour: and there is concerned in each sacrifice, a sort of 'fraternity, of at the least ten in number, and sometimes 'twenty. The priests then endeavoured to gratify him, and 'they found the number of sacrifices amount to two hun-'dred fifty-six thousand five hundred. And reckoning a 'company of ten to each sacrifice, the whole number of 'persons must have been two millions and seven hundred 'thousand,[i] and these all clean and pure. For all leprous 'persons,—and all who are under any kind of defilement, 'are excluded from this sacrifice, as are also the strangers 'that come up to worship.'[k]

The concluding sentence of this passage is a proof, that some strangers, Greeks as St. John calls them, ch. xii. 20, did come up to the Jewish feasts. These are the persons, who are called devout men, and men that fear God. They are also termed proselytes of the gate. If they had been proselytes of righteousness, that is, circumcised, they would have had a right to eat of the passover. For so was the law: "This is the ordinance of the passover: there shall no stranger eat thereof. But every man's servant that is bought for money, when thou hast *circumcised* him, then shall he eat thereof," Exod. xii. 43, 44.

In another place Josephus says, that when this Cestius Gallus came to Jerusalem, a little before this very same feast of the passover, he was surrounded by the people there, to the number of three millions, who made their complaints to him against their own procurator[l] Gessius Florus: and, as Dr. Hudson has observed, this number does mightily correspond with the above-mentioned computation; for if the number of those who were clean was 2,700,000, it is

[h] 66.

[i] There is some error in one of these numbers in Josephus. For 256,500, which was the number of the sacrifices, multiplied by ten, make but 2,565,000. But Dr. Hudson says, that some are for reading the number of the sacrifices 270,000, which multiplied by ten makes the number of persons here mentioned.

[k] *Γινονται δ' ανδρων, ἱν' ἑκατϑ δεκα δαιτυμονας ϑωμεν, μυριαδες ἑβδομηκοντα και διακοσιαι, καθαρων ἁπαντων, και ἁγιων.—Αλλ' ϖδε τους αλλοφυλους ὁσοι κατα ϑρησκειαν ϖαρησαν.* De Bell. lib. vi. cap. 9. sect. 3.

[l] De Bell. lib. ii. p. 1078. 19.

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easy to conclude, that if the unclean be added to this sum, the number of all the people might be three millions.

II. As there was a great resort to Jerusalem, from all parts, at the feasts, so they who resided at Jerusalem, seem to have frequented the temple very much at other times also. This appears very plainly in the Acts of the Apostles, ch. ii. 46, "And they [all that believed] continued *daily* with one accord in the *temple*.—Acts iii. 1—9, Now Peter and John went up together into the temple, at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour; and a certain man lame from his mother's womb was carried, whom they laid *daily* at the gate of the *temple*, which is called Beautiful, to ask alms of them that entered into the temple.—And *all the people* saw him walking." See ch. v. 20—25.

Josephus tells this story of Alexandra, mother of Herod's wife Mariamne. Herod lay[m] sick at Samaria, and he was thought to be near his end. 'Alexandra was at that time 'at Jerusalem, and having constant intelligence brought to 'her of his case, she endeavoured to get the two forts, which 'are in the city, into her own hands; (one is properly a 'guard upon the city, as the other is upon the temple;) 'for they who have these in their possession, have the whole 'nation in subjection to them; because that without these 'they cannot come to offer sacrifices. But it is impossible 'for any Jew to omit these. They can sooner cease to 'breathe, than neglect the worship they are wont to pay to 'God.'[n]

III. We had just now mention made of the ninth hour as one of the Jews' hours of prayer. Another hour of prayer is referred to in another place. When the disciples had been filled with the Holy Ghost, after our Saviour's ascension, and spake with divers tongues, there was a reflection cast upon them, Acts ii. 13, "Others, mocking, said, These men are full of new wine." St. Peter confutes them in this manner, ver. 15, "For these are not drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is but the *third hour of the day*." The argument depends on the custom of the Jews, who used to attend their morning prayer fasting.

Josephus says: 'Twice every day, in the morning and at 'the ninth hour, the priests perform their duty at the altar, 'and omit not the sacrifices, though in the greatest distress 'of a siege.'[o] These then were the two hours of perform-

[m] Year before Christ 28. vid. Basnage, Ann. P. E.

[n] Το δε μη ταυτα συντελειν ωδενι Ιυδαιων δυνατον, τω ζην ετοιμοτερον αν παραχωρησαντων η της θρησκειας, ην εις τον Θεον εωθασι συντελειν. Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 7. sect. 8.

[o] Αλλα δις της ημερας, πρωι τε

ing sacrifices at the temple: and it is likely, that a great number of devout Jews, who lived at Jerusalem, usually went up to the temple at those hours.

IV. The Jews are represented to have had a very high veneration for the temple, as not able to hear any thing said of it that was not honourable; and as solicitous to preserve it from every thing which they thought a pollution of it. Acts vi. 13, "And set up false witnesses, which said, This man [Stephen] ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this *holy place* and the law."—Ch. xxi. 27, 28, "The Jews which were of Asia stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him, [Paul,] crying out, Men of Israel, help: This is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people, and the law, and *this place*. And farther, brought Greeks into the temple, and hath polluted this *holy place*."

I have already given in this work, from Philo and Josephus, many evidences of the veneration the Jews of this time had for the temple. I add here one passage more from Philo, in which the Jewish resolution to preserve the purity of the temple, is represented by him in the strongest terms that can be used. 'One thing, says he, we desire instead 'of all others, that no novelty be introduced into the tem-'ple, but that it be preserved such as we have received it 'from our forefathers. If we cannot obtain this, we yield 'up ourselves to be destroyed, that we may not live to see 'a greater evil than death.'[p]

We must pursue the story of the Jews seizing St. Paul at Jerusalem, though it was transcribed above upon another occasion. Acts xxi. 30—32, "And all the city was moved, and the people ran together; and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple.—And as they went to kill him, tidings came to the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar," &c.

A soldier of the Roman guard at the temple had been guilty of a very indecent action there, and vented some rude expressions in the hearing of the Jews. 'At this the whole 'multitude was moved with indignation, and cried out, that 'Cumanus ought to punish the soldier. But some young 'people and others with them of a warm disposition, im-

και περι εννατην ὡραν, ἱερȣργȣντων επι τȣ βωμȣ, και μηδ', ει τι περι τας προσβολας δυσκολον ειη, τας θυσιας παριεντων. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 4. sect. 3.

[p] *Ἑν αντι παντων αιτȣμεθα, μηδεν εν τῳ ἱερῳ γενεσθαι νεωτερον, αλλα φυλαχθηναι τοιουτον, οἱον παρα των παππων και προγονων παρελαβομεν· ει δε μη πειθομεν, παραδιδομεν ἑαυτȣς εις απωλειαν, ἱνα μη ζωντες επιδωμεν θανατȣ χειρον κακον.* De Leg. p. 1025. E.

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'mediately made a tumult, and began to throw stones at 'the soldiers. Cumanus, fearing lest all the people should 'make an assault upon him, sent for more soldiers. When 'they had posted themselves in the porticos, the Jews were thrown into a prodigious fright, and fled from the temple into the city. So great was the crowd in the passages, that ten thousand were pressed or trod to death.'[q]

These two cases have this difference, that in the latter there had been a manifest affront offered to the temple; but in the former they only supposed there had been one. For the rest, there is a great agreement: the temper of the people is much the same, and they were for immediately doing themselves justice: and a strong body of soldiers is brought to keep the peace.

V. The Jews' great respect for the law appears in some texts already transcribed in this chapter, and in many other places of the New Testament, some of which cannot but occur to the reader's thoughts.

Not long after the just mentioned insolence at the temple, 'A soldier having found the sacred law in a certain vil- 'lage, tore the book to pieces and threw it into the fire. 'The Jews were hereupon no less astonished than if the 'whole country had been in flames; and all with one ac- 'cord, out of concern for their religion, as if moved by one 'common spring, flocked to Cumanus[r] at Cæsarea, and 'entreated him that the man who had offered this affront to 'God and the law might not go unpunished. He, per- 'ceiving the multitude was not to be appeased unless some 'satisfaction were given them, ordered the soldier to be 'brought forth, and to be led through the crowd of his ac- 'cusers, and put to death.'

VI. Beside the great resort to Jerusalem at the feasts, and the worship at the temple at their seasons, and the regard expressed for the temple itself and the law, we have in the New Testament frequent mention of the synagogue worship. Luke iv. 17—20, "And he [Jesus] came to Nazareth, and as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath-day, and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias." Acts xv. 21, "For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath-day:"

[q] De B. J. lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 1.

[r] Ιουδαιοι δε, ὡς ὀλης αυτοις της χωρας καταφλεγισης, συνεχυθησαν, και καθαπερ οργανῳ τινι τῃ δεισιδαιμονιᾳ συνελκομενοι, εις ἐν κηρυγμα παντες εις Καισαρειαν επι Κυμανον συνεδραμον, κ. λ. Ibid. sect. 2.

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Nor had they only readings of the law and the prophets, but they had discourses made in their synagogues. "And when he was come into his own country, he *taught* them in their synagogue. And straightway on the sabbath-day he entered into their synagogue and *taught*." Matt. xiii. 54; Mark i. 21. "And it came to pass in Iconium, that they went both together [Paul and Barnabas] into the synagogue of the Jews, and so *spake*, that a great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed," Acts xiv. 1.

A passage or two from Josephus and Philo will confirm both these particulars. Josephus in his second book against Apion, speaking of Moses, says: 'And that men might not 'have the pretence of ignorance for their transgression, (in 'points he before mentioned,) he gave us the law, the most 'excellent of all institutions. Nor did he appoint that it 'should be heard once only, or twice, or often, but that 'laying aside all other works we should meet together 'every week to hear it read, and gain a perfect understand-'ing.'[s]

Josephus relates a difference which happened between the Greeks and Jews at Cæsarea in the 12th year of Nero's[t] reign. The Jews presented a petition to Florus their procurator. He made them fair promises, but immediately went from Cæsarea to Sebaste, without taking care about the matter.—'The next day being the seventh day, 'as the Jews were coming to the *synagogue*, a turbulent 'fellow of Cæsarea brought an earthen vessel, and having 'placed it with the bottom uppermost, sacrificed birds as 'the Jews were coming in. This provoked the Jews ex-'tremely, to see their laws thus insulted and the place de-'filed.'—It was impossible to compose them; they and the Cæsareans had a battle. Jucundus, a Roman officer who was there, came in to the assistance of the Jews, but he had but a few men with him. 'He being overpowered by the 'violence of the Cæsareans, the Jews *taking the laws* with-'drew to Narbata, a place sixty stadia distant from Cæsa-'rea.'[u]

There should be some evidence of their having discourses made in their synagogues. This I shall give in the words of Philo. 'And from that time [the days of Moses] to

[s] Ουδε γαρ την απ' αγνοιας ὑποτιμησιν ηνεσχετο καταλιπειν, αλλα και καλλιστον και αναγκαιοτατον απεδειξε παιδευματων τον νομον· ου εισαπαξ ακροασαμενος, ουδε δις η πολλακις, αλλ' εκαστης εβδομαδος, των αλλων εργων αφεμενος, επι την ακροασιν του νομου εκελευσε συλλεγεσθαι και τουτον ακριβως εκμανθανειν· p. 1378. in. [t] A. D. 66. [u] De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 14. sect. 5.

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'this, the Jews are wont to inculcate the principles of their 'religion on the seventh days, setting apart that time to the 'study and contemplation of the things of nature: for the 'oratories which are in every city, what are they but 'schools of wisdom, of fortitude, sobriety, justice, and piety, 'and of every virtue?'[v]

I believe that very few of our modern Jewish antiquaries are of Philo's and Josephus's opinion, that the synagogue worship is an institution of Moses; but I think none will contest their authority, that the Jews frequented the synagogues on the sabbath-day at the time they wrote.

VII. When Paul had been acquitted by Gallio at Corinth, it is said, Acts xviii. 18, "After this he tarried there yet a good while, and then took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila: having shorn his head in Cenchrea: for he had a vow. And he came to Ephesus,——and from thence he sailed to Cæsarea, and went up to Jerusalem." We have again mention made of this very same custom, or one very near akin to it, when Paul went up to Jerusalem several years after this; and James and all the elders that were there gave him some advice for the taking off the aspersions, that had been cast upon him by the Jews. Acts xxi. 23, 24, "Do therefore this that we say unto thee: We have four men which have a vow on them; them take, and purify thyself with them, that they may shave their heads." Ver. 26, "Then Paul took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them entered into the temple, to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, until that an offering should be offered for every one of them."

The reader may do well to consult here the law of the Nazarite, as delivered by Moses, Num. vi. 13—18.

That this custom was in use among the Jews at the time of the evangelical history, is evident from what Josephus has said of Bernice. 'She was then[w] at Jerusalem per-'forming a vow to God: for it is customary for those who 'have been afflicted with some distemper, or have laboured 'under any other difficulties, to make a vow, thirty days 'before they offer sacrifices, to abstain from wine, and shave 'the hair of their head.'[x]

[v] Αφ' ου και νυν φιλοσοφουσι ταις ἑβδομαις Ιουδαιοι την πατριον φιλοσοφιαν, τον χρονον αναθεντες επιστημῃ και θεωρια των περι φυσιν τα γαρ κατα πολεις προσευκτηρια, τι ἑτερον εστιν, η διδασκαλεια φρονησεως και ανδριας και σωφροσυνης και δικαιοσυνης ευσεβειας τε και οσιοτητος, και συμπασης αρετης. Lib. iii. de Vit. Mos. p. 685. D.

[w] A. D. 66.

[x] Επεδημει δε εν τοις Ἱεροσολυμοις, ευχην εκτελουσα τῳ Θεῳ· τους γαρ η νοσῳ καταπονημενους, η τισιν αλλαις αναγκαις, εθος

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Cappell[y] indeed does make a doubt, whether the vow of the four men in the Acts, or of Bernice in Josephus, be the vow of the Nazarite. But I see no good reason for this doubt. However he allows theirs and Bernice's vow to have been of one and the same nature.

Josephus says, it was a custom to make a vow of thirty days. There is no particular time prescribed for the vow of the Nazarite in the law of Moses. And it is my opinion, that the only reason of Josephus's mentioning that particular number here was, because it happened to be the term of Bernice's vow, of which he had occasion to speak.

There may be a difficulty raised with reference to St. Paul's vow at Cenchrea; because the Jewish writers say, that a Nazarite ought not to be out of the land of Israel;[z] and in the law of Moses it is said, Num. vi. 18, "the Nazarite shall shave the head of his separation, at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation." This is some difficulty: but I am very much inclined to think, that notwithstanding all their zeal, they did at this time dispense with the exactness of many things required in the law of Moses. It seems to be the necessary consequence of their living, as there now did great numbers of them, at a vast distance from Jerusalem. Was there any law more express than this? "Three times a year shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God in the place that he shall choose," Deut. xvi. 16, Exod. xxiii. 17. But this they could not do who lived in Italy or Persia.

Moreover, it seems there is a rule in the Jewish books, 'that they who make the vow of the Nazarite out of the 'land of Israel shall go into it to complete the[a] vow.' This

ευχεσθαι προ τριακοντα ἡμερων, ἡς αποδωσειν μελλοιεν θυσιας, οινου τε αφεξεσθαι, και ξυρησασθαι τας κομας. Hierosolymis quippe agebat ut vota Deo solveret: nam iis qui morbo laboraverant, aut in angustias quascunque conjecti fuerant, moris erat precibus vacare xxx. diebus, antequam victimas oblaturi essent, et vino abstinere, et radere comam. De Bell. lib. ii. c. 15. init. Upon a review, I find my translation of this passage is somewhat different from the common interpretation; and therefore I have subjoined Dr. Hudson's version to the original. But I can see no reason why *ευχεσθαι* should be rendered *orare*, as in Rufinus's version, or *precibus vacare*, as in Dr. Hudson's; since they have translated *ευχην εκτελεσα, ut vota deo solveret.* Besides, prayer is not mentioned in the law of the Nazarite; nor is it ever reckoned up, that I know of, in the catalogue of the ten precepts and prohibitions, which belonged to the Nazarite. Vid Reland. Ant. Heb. de personis sacris. p. 274.

[y] Spicileg. in Act. Apost. xxi. 23.

[z] Nec. licebat Naziræo esse extra terram Israëliticam. Nazir. iii. 6. Reland. ubi supra, p. 277.

[a] Si quis vovisset Nazireatum extra terram, proficisci debuit in terram, et illic votum implere. Eduioth. iv. 11. apud Reland. ubi supra.

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will go a great way toward solving the difficulty, if it will but be allowed, that this was the reason of St. Paul's great concern to "keep the next feast at Jerusalem." Thus St. Luke's account stands, Acts xviii. 9—22, after Paul was come to Corinth,—"Then spake the Lord to Paul in the night by a vision; Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace: For I am with thee; and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee.—And when Gallio was the deputy of Achaia, the Jews made insurrection with one accord against Paul; and brought him to the judgment-seat." Paul was now in great danger, and was delivered. "And Paul after this tarried there yet a good while, and then took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila, having shorn his head in Cenchrea: for he had a vow. And he came to Ephesus, and left them there: but he himself entered into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews. When they desired him to tarry longer time with them, he consented not: but bade them farewell, saying, I must by all means keep this feast that cometh *in Jerusalem*.—And he sailed from Ephesus. And when he had landed at Cæsarea, and gone up and saluted the church, he went down to Antioch."

There is nothing in this relation that contradicts the supposition, that St. Paul's vow was the occasion of his going to Jerusalem at this time: or, in other words, that he went thither to complete his vow, and offer the appointed sacrifices; but there is a great deal to countenance it. The Lord had appeared to Paul, and promised to stand by him. Paul had actually been in a great danger, and received a very signal deliverance. It is likely, that at this season, or soon after, he made a vow: and perhaps had made the engagement to take the vow when the Lord appeared to him.

The account of his setting out from Corinth and going to Syria, begins with the mention of the vow; and Paul makes all possible expedition to get to Jerusalem. When he comes thither he makes no long stay: and the "saluting the church" could not be the principal end of this journey, for that imports no more than a compliment of civility. St. Luke, it is true, does not mention expressly any thing which St. Paul did at Jerusalem beside saluting the church: but there was no necessity he should. The occasion of his going thither appears in the beginning of the account. And it is likely, that this was then so well understood that he could not be more particular without an unnecessary repetition. Throw away his design, that St. Luke has been

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guilty of a very great omission: and though Paul was in great haste to get to Jerusalem, there is no hint at all what was aimed at in the journey. Take in this design, and then we have here a complete story.

It is true St. Paul says: "I must by all means keep *this feast* that cometh in Jerusalem." But the feast time was not the only reason, because Paul did not keep every feast there. There was some particular inducement to this feast, which seems to me to be this: St. Paul was obliged, on account of his vow, to go to Jerusalem about this time; and a feast then approaching, it was certainly most eligible to be there at that season.

I have taken no notice of Grotius's[b] opinion, who thought it was Aquila and not Paul who had this vow at Cenchrea: because, though there may be some ambiguity in the words themselves, yet the whole thread of St. Luke's narration renders it much more probable, if not certain, that St. Paul is the person spoken of. And learned men seem to be generally convinced of it.[c]

The vow at Cenchrea, whether Paul's or Aquila's, and "the four men" at Jerusalem "who had a vow," are an argument that this piece of devotion was not uncommon among the Jews at this time. Josephus has assured us expressly it was not. But there is something very particular in the advice given to Paul, Acts xxi. 24, namely, that he "should take these men and be at charges with them, that they may *shave their heads*."[d] This may incline us to suppose, that it was an usual thing now for zealous men who had it in their power, to bear the whole, or at least a part of the charges, which a Nazarite was to be at when his vow was expired. It seems to have been a pretty heavy offering which was required of them. Perhaps this might give rise to this custom: but whatever was the reason of it, it appears to have been a common practice.

The emperor Claudius, in the beginning of his reign, made Herod Agrippa king of all Judea. 'And he, (Josephus says,) as it was very likely for one to do, who had so 'considerable an advancement, made all the expedition he 'could into his kingdom; and coming to Jerusalem, he 'offered up sacrifices of thanksgiving, and omitted nothing 'that was prescribed by the law. For which reason, he 'also ordered a good number of Nazarites to be shaved.'[e]

[b] In Acts xviii. 18. [c] Whitby, in loc. Cleric. Hist. Ecc. An. 54. n. 1. Basnage, Ann. P. E. Vol. i. p. 657. n. 6.

[d] Και δαπανησον επ' αυτοις, ινα ξυρησωνται την κεφαλην.

[e] Διο και Ναζιραιων ξυρασθαι διεταξε μαλα συχνους. Jos. Ant. lib. xix. c. 6. init.

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And here we have a remarkable agreement between the style of St. Luke and Josephus. St. Luke does not say,—"Be at charges with them," that they may perform sacrifices or make their offerings, but that they may "*shave* their heads." We learn from Josephus, that this was the common phrase among the Jews at this time.

We see likewise, how very proper this advice, given by the brethren, was to answer the purpose for which it was intended. It seems to have been a popular action. It was one of those things by which Agrippa obliged the Jews when he took possession of the kingdom.

VIII. St. Paul says, 2 Cor. xi. 24, "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one." The number of stripes limited by Moses was forty. Deut. xxv. 3, "Forty stripes he may give him and not exceed." But the Jews at this time understood themselves to be confined to thirty-nine. For Josephus gives us this law of Moses: 'He that 'acts contrary hereto, let him receive forty stripes wanting 'one[f] from the public officer.'

IX. We have in the New Testament divers examples of a strange kind of zeal, sometimes called, I think, by learned men, 'private zeal.' The Jews seem not to have made any scruple at all of putting a man to death without any the least form of a legal process, if he had said or done any thing which they judged a diminution of their religion. There were several attempts of this kind made upon the life of our Saviour, Luke iv. 28, 29; John viii. 59. We have many instances of such attempts made upon Paul.—"And when the Jews *laid wait* for him,—he purposed to return through Macedonia," Acts xx. 3. This design was concerted by them in Greece. Afterwards, when he was at Jerusalem, "the Jews which were of Asia stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him.—And as they were about to *kill* him, tidings came unto the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar," ch. xxi. 27—31.

The next day after this popular tumult, that the chief captain "might know the certainty wherefore he was accused, he called the chief priests and the whole council together," and had Paul examined before them. But a dissension arising amongst them, he took Paul from them and brought him again into the castle.

The Jews observing this, and finding they were not like to obtain a sentence with the expedition they wished for, and fearing possibly they should never get such an one as

[f] Ὁ δε παρα ταυτα ποιησας, πληγας μιᾳ λιπουσας τεσσαρακοντα τῳ δημοσιῳ σκυτει λαβων. Antiq. lib. iv. cap. 8. sect. 21.

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they desired; "When it was day certain of them banded together, and bound themselves under a curse, saying, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul. And they were more than forty which had made this conspiracy. And they came to the chief priests and elders, and said, We have bound ourselves under a great curse, that we will eat nothing till we have slain Paul. Now therefore, ye with the council signify to the chief captain, that he bring him down to you to-morrow, as though ye would inquire something more perfectly concerning him: and we, or ever he come near, are ready to kill him," Acts xxiii. 10—15.

Here are forty men who enter into a conspiracy to take away Paul's life in a clandestine manner; and they make no scruple to declare it to the council, relying upon their approbation. And it is plainly implied, that they entered readily into the measures they were to take for the accomplishing this vile design.

They were now disappointed by the vigilance of Lysias, who was chief captain at Jerusalem under Felix. But no sooner was Festus come into the province but they renew the same design. And, it is likely, they hoped to have surprised their new governor. It was very fit he should be gracious at his first arrival; and how could he suspect any harm, who was as yet a stranger among them? "Now when Festus was come into the province, after three days he ascended from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. Then the *high priest and the chief of the Jews* informed him against Paul, and besought him, and desired favour against him that he would send for him to Jerusalem, *laying wait in the way to kill him*," Acts xxv. 1—3.

If we had remaining any considerable number of the Jewish writers who flourished about this time, one might justly expect, (if we have here a true representation of these facts,) to find in them some traces of a principle that might produce such a behaviour, and possibly some examples resembling those here related. And though we have but very few of their writers come down to us, yet we have authentic evidences of a principle which obtained amongst them at this time, and which must necessarily have carried them into the conduct here described.

We have this principle laid down in Philo: he is speaking of what may be done toward a Jew that forsakes the worship of the true God. 'And[g] it is highly proper,' says

[g] Και επιτεταφθαι δε καλον απασι τοις ζηλον εχουσιν αρετης, εκ χειρος αναπραττειν ανυπερθετως τας τιμωριας, μητε εις δικαστηριον, μητ' εις βωλευτηριον,

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he 'that all who have a zeal for virtue, should have a right 'to punish with their own hands without delay those who 'are guilty of this crime: not carrying them before a court 'of judicature, or the council, or any magistrate whatso-'ever; but to indulge the abhorrence of evil, the love of 'God their minds are filled with, in the immediate punish-'ment of those impious wretches; reckoning that they are 'for that time all things, senators, judges, prætors, serjeants, 'accusers, witnesses, the laws, the people; that nothing 'hindering, they may without fear espouse the cause of 'piety.'

Philo here recommends this conduct toward those that forsake the true God; and he after this illustrates his principle from the example of Phinehas, Num. xxv. 7.

Let us next see how Josephus speaks concerning this point. When he has given the abridgment of the laws of Moses he says, that Moses having delivered them, 'called 'together the people with their wives and their children, 'their slaves being present likewise; and adjured them to 'observe his laws,—and that if any one of their kindred, or 'if any city, should attempt to alter or dissolve the form of 'government they were under, they should both jointly 'and singly (or publicly and privately) take vengeance of 'them.[h] And if they were not able to take punishment of 'them, they should however make it appear that such 'things had not been done with their consent. And the 'multitude swore to do so.'

One would think, from what Josephus here says, that they understood this obligation to extend not only to the case of idolatry, but to every branch of their laws. If they did so, it must have occasioned many extravagant attempts at this time; when by means of the Roman power, they were unable in the way of legal processes to gratify their zeal; which, it is certain, ran very high at this time.

What Josephus says is the more to be regarded, in that these books of his Jewish Antiquities were professedly written by him for the information of the Greeks and Romans. And therefore it cannot be supposed, he would give a more offensive view of this transaction than was absolutely

μητε συνολως επ' αρχην αγοντας, αλλα τω παρασαντι μισοπονηρω παθει και φιλοθεω κατυχρησθαι προς τας των ασεβων απαραιτητως κολασεις, νομισαντας αυτως υπο τω καιρω τα παντα γεγενησθαι, βουλευτας, δικασας, στρατηγους, εκκλησιασας, κατηγορους, μαρτυρας, νομους, δημον, ινα μηδενος οντος εμποδων, αφοβοι συνοδω πολλη προαγωνιζωνται οσιοτητος. Philo de Monarch. lib. i. p. 818. D. E.

[h] *Αλλ' αν τε τις των εξ αιματος συγχειν και καταλυειν επιχειρη την κατ' αυτους πολιτειαν, αν τε πολις, αμυνειν αυτοις και κοινη και κατ' ιδιαν·* eos et publice et privatim ulciscerentur. Huds. vers. Antiq. l. iv. c. 8. sect. 45.

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necessary to satisfy the Jews of those times, who might happen to see his performance.

Beside the discovery these two writers have made of the principle itself, there is in Josephus a story of a conspiracy against Herod which may not be omitted.

'Now Herod deviated more and more from our ancient 'customs, and by foreign inventions corrupted our constitu- 'tion, which is inviolable. He instituted quinquennial 'games in honour of Cæsar, and built a theatre at Jerusa- 'lem. The magnificence of these works was admired by 'foreigners, but to the Jews these things appeared to be a 'breach upon those laws which they highly respected. 'But nothing disgusted them so much as the trophies. 'Supposing there were images under the arms, they were 'enraged at the sight of them, it being contrary to our law 'to worship any images.

'Herod knew very well how much they were provoked, 'but did not think it a proper opportunity to use violence; 'wherefore he endeavoured to appease them by fair words; 'but in vain. For with one consent they cried out, that 'they would suffer any extremity, rather than have images 'of men in their city. Whereupon, Herod took some of 'their chief men into the theatre: and having ordered the 'ornaments to be taken off, when nothing appeared under- 'neath but a naked piece of wood, the company smiled at 'the mistake.

'The people seemed upon this to be brought into a better 'temper. But yet some there were, who still retained the 'offence they had taken at these practices: and esteeming 'the alteration of their laws to be the beginning of all man- 'ner of evils, thought it their duty to run any hazard, rather 'than seem to connive at Herod, who was forcibly intro- 'ducing things contrary to their customs; and who, whilst 'he had the name of king, was in fact the enemy of the 'whole nation. Ten men therefore of the city, binding 'themselves by an oath to run all hazards together, armed 'themselves with short daggers, which they hid under their 'clothes. And there was a blind man, who, being exceed- 'ingly moved at the reports he had heard, offered himself, 'and took the same oath with them. Not that he could 'give them any assistance, but he was resolved to suffer 'with them, if any accident befel them. And the zeal of 'this man added not a little to their resolution.'

Josephus goes on to relate, that they entered into the theatre, expecting Herod's arrival; resolved, if possible, to kill Herod himself, or, if they failed of that, a good number

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of his attendants. But one of Herod's spies getting intelligence of the design, prevented his going to the theatre. Being seized, they remitted nothing of their firmness; they did not so much as attempt to 'deny their intention; but 'produced the swords they had under their clothes, and 'professed that the conspiracy they had entered into, was 'laudable and pious, and that they had not entered into it 'for private profit, or any other particular interest, but for 'what was much more valuable, the ancient customs of their 'nation; which it was fit that all should see observed, or 'die in the defence of[1] them.'

This conspiracy against Herod himself, with all the circumstances here mentioned, must needs satisfy all men, there is nothing improbable in the facts of this kind related by St. Luke. According to all accounts, this mad and furious zeal was not altogether so much in vogue, or at so great a height, in Herod's time, as it was afterwards.

X. As Judea was a Roman province, during the time of our Saviour's ministry, so there appear, in the history the evangelists have given us, many tokens of the uneasiness which this circumstance gave the Jewish nation.

The asking Jesus that question, "Is it lawful for us to give tribute to Cæsar or not?" is represented as a very subtle artifice to ensnare him, Matt. xxii. 17; Mark xii. 14; Luke xx. 21, 22. There can be no doubt, but it would have been judged an offence against the government they were subject to, to say it was not lawful; and it must have been unpopular among the Jews to affirm it was: for otherwise there would have been no extraordinary subtilty in this contrivance, which yet it is plainly intimated there was.

Moreover, a publican appears to have been a very odious and ignominious character. They are usually reckoned with harlots and sinners.

When our Lord went into the house of Zaccheus, this being done in the view of a great crowd of spectators, it is said, Luke xix. 7, that "all they who saw it, murmured, saying, that he was gone to be guest with a man that is a sinner." They were surprised, and even offended, that Jesus, whom they seemed then to have considered as a prophet, should make a visit to a man of that character; when they themselves, it is likely, disdained to have any conversation with him.

[1] Διωμολογησαντο δε καλως και συν ευσεβειᾳ την συνωμοσιαν αυτοις γενεσθαι, κερδους μεν ουδενος, ου δ' οικειων ἑνεκα παθων το δε πλεον υπερ των κοινων εθων, ἁ και πασιν η φυλαττειν η θνησκειν προ αυτων αξιον. Ant. l. xv. c. 8. sect. 1—4.

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It is certain, the paying taxes to the Romans was at this time a very heavy affliction to the Jewish nation. When Josephus gives the history of the census or enrolment of their estates by Cyrenius, after Archelaus was deposed by Augustus, and had been banished into Gaul, he says, 'that 'the Jews were at first surprised at the name of a census, 'but that by the persuasion of Joazar the high priest, they 'generally acquiesced in it. However, Judas Gaulanites, 'associating to himself Sadduc a pharisee, excited the peo-'ple to rebellion; told them that an assessment would in-'troduce downright slavery, and persuaded them to assert 'their liberty. The people heard their discourses with incre-'dible pleasure. And it is impossible to represent the evils 'the nation has suffered, which were owing to these men. 'For Judas and Sadduc brought in amongst us this fourth 'sect; and there being many who embraced their notions, 'they not only caused disturbances in the government at 'that time, but laid the foundation of those evils that fol-'lowed; which indeed are owing to this principle, till then 'unknown.'[k]

He then delivers the character and principles of the three chief and more ancient sects of the Jews, (as he calls them,) the pharisees, the sadducees, and the[l] essenes. And afterwards returns again to the men he had been speaking of before. 'Judas the Galilean was the leader of the fourth 'sect. In all other points they hold the same sentiments 'with the pharisees. But they have an invincible affection 'for liberty, and acknowledge God alone their Lord and 'Governor. From this time the nation became infected 'with this distemper: and Gessius Florus, by abusing his 'power when he was president, threw them into despair, 'and provoked them to rebel against the Romans.'[m]

What is here transcribed from Josephus is enough to convince us, that the paying tribute to the Romans must have been very grievous to the Jews, and that they who collected it for them, must have been scorned and abhorred by the people: for he says, that Judas's and Sadduc's speeches were heard by them with incredible pleasure; that their principle had caused many great evils to the nation, and that it was one ground of the war with the Romans. But I must make two or three remarks. Josephus calls this a principle till then unknown to them. But this[n] is not exactly true without some limitation. There was an oath of

[k] Ant. lib. xviii. c. 1. sect. 1.
[l] Ibid. sect. 2, 3, 4, 5.
[m] Ibid. sect. 6.
[n] Τῳ ασυνηθει προτερον φιλοσοφιας τοιασδε· p. 792. 37.

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fidelity to Augustus and Herod tendered to the Jewish nation, at the latter end of Herod's reign. But there were above six thousand pharisees,[o] who refused at that time to take it. Josephus says, that at the persuasion of Joazer the high priest the nation generally acquiesced. Doubtless, the Romans carried their point, but yet a very deep grudge remained in the minds of the Jewish people. And the service which Joazer had done the Romans upon this occasion, rendered him so unpopular, that it cost him the priesthood. These are the very words of Josephus: 'Cyrenius having 'made a seizure of Archelaus's effects, and finished the 'census in the thirty-seventh year after the victory at Ac-'tium, constituted Ananus the son of Seth high priest, 'having taken away that dignity and honour from the high 'priest Joazer; who was overpowered by the seditions and 'tumults of the multitude,'[p] or, in other words, who had been mobbed by the people.

Lastly, Josephus calls Judas of Galilee the head of a fourth sect. But, though he uses these words here, he oftentimes makes but three sects of the Jews. And I think that the sect of the pharisees must generally have held the same notion, which he ascribes to Judas. The six thousand, who refused to take the oath above mentioned, were pharisees. Josephus owns, that Judas's followers differed from the pharisees in nothing else, but this one principle of an excessive fondness for liberty. He expressly calls Sadduc, who joined with Judas, a pharisee. And I would fain know what sect Judas had been of before. If he had been of the sect of the sadducees or essenes, Josephus would have said so. The case seems to me to have been thus: Judas and they that held his principles were generally of the *sect* of the pharisees, but they were not *pharisees;* because this title was more peculiarly appropriated to those, who had some distinction for their learning, riches, posts, employments; or to those who had a great deal of leisure, and little else to do, but to make an uncommon show of devotion and sanctity. Thus, I suppose, the pharisees in general had this principle, but the common people only avowed it. Josephus had a difficult task: he was concerned to save the honour of the supreme parts of the Roman government, and of the chief men of the Jewish nation, and particularly of those properly called pharisees, of whom he was one; and to throw the blame of the war, and

[o] Ant. lib. xvii. p. 753. 41.

[p] *Ιωαζαρον τον αρχιερεα κατασ-τασιασθεντα υπο της πληθυος αφελομενος το αξιωμα της τιμης, Ανανον τον Σεθ' ιτα αρχιερεα.* Ant. l. xviii. cap. 2. in.

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all their sufferings, upon the cruelty and avarice of Albinus and Gessius Florus, the two last Roman procurators, and the common people among the Jews and their leaders. This part he has acted very finely. But I think, that if the pharisees had controlled this principle sincerely, they might have suppressed it. For a proof of this, I refer the reader to the chapter of the Jewish sects, where the power of the pharisees appears very evident. I shall here add only one passage more from Josephus. 'And on the account of 'these, [principles,] they [the pharisees] are in great au-'thority with the people; and all parts of divine worship, 'whether prayers or sacrifices, are performed according to 'their interpretations. This testimony have the cities given 'to their virtue, because of their following in all things that 'which is best, both in their words and actions.'[q]

XI. But though the Roman tribute was a heavy grievance, and they who collected it were much hated, yet it is evident that many Jews were employed in this work. The publicans mentioned in the gospels must have been of the Jewish nation. "Then came also the *publicans* to be baptized, and said unto him, [John,] Master, what shall we do?" Luke iii. 12. See Matt. xxi. 31, 32. It appears likewise, that some of the publicans in Judea were honest persons, and men of substance. Such an one was Levi, or Matthew. "And Levi made him a great feast in his own house: and there was a great company of publicans and of others that sat down with them," Luke v. 29. See Matt. ix. 10, Mark ii. 14. Nor is there any hint of any unjust practices, which Levi had been guilty of in the post he had enjoyed. And from the great openness and impartiality with which the evangelists have written their history, it is reasonable to conclude, there was no exception against Matthew's character, beside his employment; which, undoubtedly, was not reputable. Zaccheus, when he entertained Jesus, was certainly a thorough convert to virtue; and I think, he could not have been a very wicked man before. "And Zaccheus stood and said, Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore him four-fold," Luke xix. 8. According to his computation, he supposed himself capable of making ample restitution to all he had injured, out of the remaining half of his goods, and it is likely

[q] Και δι' αυτα τοις τε δημοις πιθανοτατοι τυγχανουσι, και οποσα θεια ευχων τε και ιερων ποιησεως εξηγησει τη εκεινων τυγχανουσι πρασσομενα· εις τοσονδε αρετης αυτους αι πολεις εμαρτυρησαν επιτηδευσει τω επι πασιν κρεισσονος, εν τε τη διαιτη τω βιω και λογοις. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 1. sect. 3.

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supposed he should have somewhat left for himself. His unjust gains, therefore, were but a small portion of his estate.

That there were Jews who were publicans, and that some of these were honest and wealthy men, will appear from a story in Josephus: 'There lay near the Jewish synagogue 'at Cæsarea a piece of ground in the possession of a Greek 'of the same place. The Jews had often attempted to 'make a purchase of it, and had offered a great deal more 'than the intrinsic value. But the owner refused all their 'offers: and, as if he intended to affront them, began to 'build workhouses on the ground, leaving the Jews but a 'very strait and narrow passage. The warmer part of the 'people attempted to obstruct the builders. But Florus 'not restraining these practices by his authority, the chief 'men of the Jews, among whom was John the publican, not 'knowing well what course to take, wait upon Florus, and 'give him eight talents of silver to stop the building. That 'he might get the money into his hands, he promised all 'they desired; but having received it, went away from 'Cæsarea to Sebaste, leaving the riotous people to them-'selves, as if the Jews had only purchased a licence to 'quarrel.' And so it happened, the Jews and Greeks at Cæsarea had a battle, in which the former were worsted. Upon this John with twelve of the chief of the Jews go to Sebaste, and coming to Florus, 'make complaints to him 'concerning these proceedings, and entreat his assistance, 'modestly putting him in mind likewise of the[r] eight 'talents.'

This John must have been one of the most considerable of the Jews at Cæsarea, since he only is mentioned by name. Nor is there any thing here said of him, but what is very honourable; unless any think fit to except against the giving a bribe to a bad man, to do what is in itself just and reasonable.

There is, in the gospels, so frequent mention of publicans who were Jews, that I have been sometime inclined to think that the Roman tribute was collected for the most part by Jews. The Romans might choose this method. The Jews employed in this work became odious thereby, but the Roman government was relieved.

Josephus[s] has made mention of several Jews who were Roman knights. It is certain, that the Roman knights were the great[t] farmers and collectors of the Roman tribute. It

[r] De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 14. sect. 4, 5.

[s] De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 14. sect. 9.

[t] Certe huic homini spes nulla salutis esset, si publi-

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seems to me, therefore, very probable, that those Jews had merited the honour of knighthood by their good services in some part of the revenue.

I do not pretend to be master of the Roman method of collecting taxes, but it appears to me not unlikely, that in most provinces the natives were employed in the towns as the under collectors, and that the receivers general or other superior officers only were Romans. It is plain, that in the province of Sicily, in the time of the republic, when a new assessment was made there, (as it was every fifth year,) Sicilians were appointed to be the under censors.[u] The publicans were far from being beloved in any province;[v] the Romans might therefore judge it prudent to employ some natives in collecting taxes: and it is probable, that in all places some would be found, who were willing to make an advantage of the subjection of their country, and accept places under the Romans their masters.

CHAP. X.

ROMAN CUSTOMS MENTIONED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *The Romans used the question.* II. *Examined by scourging.* III. *Unlawful to scourge a Roman.* IV. *Especially uncondemned.* V. *Lysias's power at Jerusalem.* VI. *Of St. Paul's citizenship.* VII. *This privilege bought with a great sum.* VIII. *Accusations not to be heard in the absence of the accused person.* IX. *Of St. Paul's imprisonment.* X. *Prisoners sent to Rome from the provinces.* XI. *Delivered there to the captain of the guard.*

IN the history of St. Paul, there are many Roman customs expressly mentioned or alluded to. I shall here endeavour to take some notice of all those we meet with, from the time of his being apprehended at Jerusalem to his confinement at Rome; excepting only those, which have been already

cani, hoc est, si equites Romani, judicarent. Cic. in Verr. lib. iii. cap. 62. n. 168.

[u] Cic. in Verr. lib. ii. cap. 53. n. 131. et seq.

[v] Sic porro nostros homines diligunt, ut his SOLIS neque publicanus neque negotiator odio sit. Ibid. cap. 3. n. 7.

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observed in the chapter of the State of the Jews in Judea.

When Lysias, the chief captain, had rescued Paul out of the hands of the Jewish multitude, "he commanded him to be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging, that he might know wherefore they cried so against him. And as they bound him with thongs, Paul said unto the centurion that stood by, Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?" Acts xxii. 24, 25.

Three or four things are here implied: that it was customary for the Romans to use the question or torture, for the discovery of crimes; that this was sometimes done by beating or whipping; that it was unlawful to scourge a Roman, especially uncondemned.

I. It was customary for the Romans to make use of the question for the discovery of crimes. There are many instances of it about this time, in the history of the Roman[a] emperors. Nor had the Jews any particular reason to complain of the Romans' putting this in practice in their country, provided it was not done when there were no grounds of suspicion, since Herod the Great had openly practised it there[b] before.

II. This was sometimes done by whipping or beating. There were several ways of examining persons, some were used to citizens or freemen, others were reckoned[c] servile. But that scourging was practised in this case, is evident from an example I give of it from Tacitus in the reign of[d] Nero. Epicaris, a woman, among other tortures was so examined. And it is observable that she was not then a slave. There are other instances in[e] Grotius. It is likely that a stick was[f] made use of in examining a citizen, rods for others.

[a] Nihil enim exprimi quæstione potuit, Suet. in Vit. August. 19. Diversi interrogantur.—Tum exorta suspicio, quia non congruentia responderant: inditaque vincla. Et tormentorum aspectum ac minas non tulere. Tacit. Ann. 15, 56, et passim. [b] Antiq. lib. xvi. cap. 10. sect. 2—5.

[c] Et. Q. Gallium prætorem—servilem in modum torsit: ac fatentem nihil, jussit occidi. Sueton. Aug. c. 27. [d] Atque interim Nero recordatus Volusii Proculi indicio Epicharim attineri, ratusque muliebre corpus impar dolori, tormentis dilacerari jubet. At illam non *verbera*, non ignes, non ira eo acrius torquentium ne a feminâ spernerentur, pervicêre quin objecta denegaret—clariore exemplo *libertina* mulier—cum ingenui et viri et equites Romani senatoresque, intacti tormentis, carissima suorum quisque pignorum proderent. Ann. xv. c. 57.

[e] Ad. Matt. c. xxvii. 19. [f] Nullam existimationis infamiam avunculus tuus pertimescat ictibus fustium subjectus ob crimen quæstione habitâ. L. Nullam. c. ap. Grot. ibid.

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III. Thirdly, It is intimated, that it was unlawful to scourge a Roman: which thing is also taken notice of in the account of the treatment of Paul and Silas at Philippi, Acts xvi. 22—37. Cicero says, it was a crime to bind or whip a Roman[g] citizen. It is one of his charges against Verres, that he had openly whipped a Roman at Messina who had claimed the privilege of the city, and when they were going to inflict this punishment upon him, cried out to the officers; (much after the same manner that Paul is said to have done;) I am a Roman citizen.[h] Here again it is to be observed, that a citizen of Rome, if he had committed a fault that deserved it, might be beaten with a stick, but might not be whipped with rods.[i]

IV. But it was more especially unlawful to punish a man uncondemned, or before he had been convicted. This the magistrates at Philippi did, but they soon repented of it. It is said to have been one of the laws of[k] the twelve tables, that no man should be put to death before he had been tried. According to[l] Dionysius, this was a law among the Romans long before the twelve tables were composed. Indeed I think, it must be a law with all people who have any sense of justice or equity. Cicero lays it down as an undoubted maxim, that no sentence of condemnation ought to be pronounced before a cause had been heard.[m]

V. From Lysias's order to examine St. Paul, and from other things done by him at Jerusalem, it may be inferred that he had there some sort of jurisdiction. It appears from a passage alleged by me above[n] from Marcianus, that it was usual for presidents of provinces to delegate part of

[g] Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum, scelus verberari. In Verr. l. v. n. 170. [h] Cædebatur virgis in medio foro Messanæ civis Romanus, judices; cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia istius miseri, inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur, nisi hæc, *civis Romanus sum*. Hac se commemoratione civitatis omnia verbera depulsurum cruciatumque a corpore dejecturum arbitrabatur. Ibid. n. 162. O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium nostræ civitatis! O lex Porcia, legesque Semproniæ! ——Huccine tandem omnia reciderunt, ut civis Romanus, in provinciâ populi Romani, deligatus in foro virgis cæderetur? n. 163. Oblitosne igitur hos putatis esse, quemadmodum sit iste solitus virgis plebem Romanam concidere? In Verr. lib. i. n. 122. [i] Ex quibus causis liber fustibus cæditur, ex his servus flagillis cædi. Lib. x. in pr. ff. de pœnis.

[k] Interfici indemnatum quemcunque hominem, etiam xii. tabularum decreta vetuerant. Hæc Salvianus episcopus Massiliensis de judicio et providentiâ. Fragment. xii. Tab. Tit. 27. sect. 1.

[l] Τȣς νομȣς παρεχομενοι τȣς ȣκ εωντας ακριτον αποκτεινειν ȣδενα. Antiq. Rom. lib. iii. cap. 22. p. 153. v. 7.

[m] Nam, causâ cognitâ, multi possunt absolvi; incognitâ quidem condemnari nemo potest. In Verr. lib. i. n. 25.

[n] P. 77. note [f].

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their power and authority to under officers. For this reason Cicero advises his brother, then president of Asia, not only to observe himself the rules of justice, but to have a strict eye upon all the[o] ministers of his government, and to be very circumspect in the choice of persons to whom he committed any[p] power. And it appears from a passage of Josephus already[q] transcribed, that there were at Cæsarea officers under Felix who had the power of whipping offenders.

I have in answer to Tertullus's accusation given Lysias[r] a great character. But perhaps some may think, that this order for examining St. Paul by scourging is unjustifiable. They may be of opinion, that here were not sufficient grounds of suspicion to put him to the question. To this I say: If I should here abandon Lysias, my apology for him will in some respect be strengthened by it. If Lysias here strained a point in complaisance to the Jewish multitude, and bore too hard upon his prisoner, Tertullus's complaints will appear the more unreasonable. But I am still inclined to think that Lysias acted honestly herein. Paul was a stranger to him, and he could not but pay some regard to the vehement and general clamour of the people of the city in which he resided, and which was the metropolis of the province. Any man in the same case with Lysias would have been apt to conclude, that Paul must have committed some offence or other when "they cried so against him." The method of inquiry he had appointed was not fit to be practised upon a Roman; but Lysias did not then know that Paul was a Roman. In other respects it must have been unexceptionable; for I cannot but think, it was a more gentle way of examining than some others then in use.

VI. After St. Paul had been beaten at Philippi, he complained of the injustice done him because he was a Roman. As they were binding him at Jerusalem, he claimed the privilege as a Roman citizen, and it was granted him; for it follows: "When the centurion heard that, he went and told the chief captain, saying, Take heed what thou dost, for this man is a Roman. Then the chief captain came, and said unto him; Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said,

[o] Nequaquam satis esse, ipsum hasce habere virtutes, sed esse circumspiciendum diligenter, ut in hac custodia provinciæ non te unum, sed omnes ministros imperii tui, sociis, et civibus et reipublicæ præstare videare. Ad. Quint. Fratr. lib. i. cap. 3. [p] Sed si quis est, in quo jam offenderis, de quo aliquid senseris; huic nihil credideris, nullam partem existimationis tuæ commiseris. Ibid. cap. 4 [q] P. 184. [r] P. 73.

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Yea. And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was free born. Then straightway they departed from him which should have examined him: and the chief captain also was afraid after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him," Acts xxii. 26—29.

St. Paul therefore does expressly affirm that he was a Roman. Nor ought it to be thought strange that a Jew should be a citizen of Rome. There were many such instances about this time. Julius Cæsar bestowed the freedom of the city upon Antipater,[s] the father of Herod the Great, in consideration of services he had done him. Philo says that there were a great number of Jews in Augustus's time at Rome, who had been taken captives and carried thither, and who had obtained their freedom from their masters.[t] Josephus complains loudly, as well as very justly, of Florus the last procurator of Judea, 'That he had 'been guilty of an unheard of cruelty, and what had never 'been done before, when he whipped before his tribunal, 'and crucified, men of the equestrian rank. For, says he, 'though their extraction was Jewish, their quality[u] was 'Roman.' And our historian Josephus, who was a Jewish priest, received the freedom of the city from Vespasian after the war was finished, as he has assured us himself.[v]

But though there is no improbability but that St. Paul might be a Roman citizen, yet it has been a question how he came by this privilege. Some learned[w] men are of opinion that Tarsus was a Roman colony, and that St. Paul was therefore a citizen of Rome by virtue of his nativity at Tarsus. But it will be worth our while to take a view of St. Luke's account of this matter. Lysias took Paul out of the hands of the Jews. "And as Paul was to be led into the castle, he said unto the chief captain, May I speak unto thee? Who said, Canst thou speak Greek? Art thou not that Egyptian—? But Paul said, I am a man which am a Jew of Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city: and I beseech thee, suffer me to speak unto the people." Acts xxi. 37—39. In his speech, St. Paul tells the Jews, "I am verily a man which am a Jew, born in Tarsus, a city in Cilicia," chap. xxii. 3.

[s] Πολιτειᾳ τε αυτον τῃ Ῥωμαιων ετιμησεν. Joseph. de Bell. lib. i. p. 978. v. 29. [t] De Legat. p. 1014. C. E.

[u] Ὢν ει και το γενος Ιουδαιων, αλλα το γεν αξιωμα Ῥωμαϊκον ην. Jos. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 14. fin. [v] De Vitâ, p. 945. 28.

[w] Baron. Ann. A. 58. n. 147, 148. Hamm. ad Acts xxii. 27. Tillemont Memoir. Ecclesi. Witsius de Vita Pauli, sect. 1. n. 6.

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When the people had interrupted Paul's speech, "the chief captain commanded him to be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging," ch. xxii. 23, 24. The chief captain therefore did not suspect as yet that Paul was a citizen of Rome, though he had been told by Paul he was of Tarsus. St. Paul had also said the same thing at the beginning of his speech to the Jews: but I do not insist upon that; for though it is likely the chief captain stood by, I suppose he did not understand Paul, his speech being made in the Hebrew tongue.

It cannot be said, that the chief captain bade that he should be examined with scourging, though he knew Paul to be a Roman: because Lysias does not appear to be one of those fierce officers, that have no regard to laws. Quite the contrary: as soon as Paul had claimed his privilege, "then straightway they departed from him which should have examined him: and the chief captain also was afraid after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him."

"Then the chief captain came and said unto him: Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, Yea." If Tarsus had been a town of Roman citizens, St. Paul having before told the chief captain that he was of Tarsus, the question now put would not have been, Art thou a Roman? but, Art thou really of Tarsus?

The sequel of this discourse affords more proof. "The chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom." Lysias having purchased this privilege with a great sum, and observing nothing considerable in Paul's person or mien, and supposing therefore that he had no money to spare, he still makes a doubt of the truth of his claim. This answer of Lysias had been altogether impertinent, if Tarsus had been a town of Roman citizens. "And Paul said, But I was free born:" a plain indication that it was a privilege derived to him from his parents. And on this account the opposition between the chief captain's purchase and Paul's free birth is strong and beautiful. If Paul's freedom had been owing to his nativity in any place, the place would certainly have been mentioned in this conference between him and Lysias.

And it is observable, that St. Luke has often mentioned Tarsus, but never calls it a colony or municipium, as he would have done in all probability if it had been so. Upon the whole I think it very plain, that St. Luke does not suppose Paul to have been a Roman by virtue of his birth at Tarsus.

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Let us now consider the external evidence, and inquire what privileges the Roman or Greek authors ascribe to Tarsus. Strabo says, the people of Tarsus were much given to the study of philosophy, and all other parts of polite literature: 'That Tarsus was very populous, and reckoned 'the metropolis of the country;'[x] but he no where says it was a colony or municipium. It has been thought by some, that Augustus conferred upon them the honour of the citizenship of Rome, beside other privileges, as a reward for their attachment to the interest of Julius Cæsar, and as a recompense for the hardships they suffered from[y] Cassius. But there is no proof of this. None of the authors who have mentioned these matters say any thing of the citizenship. Appian says, 'that Mark Antony gave liberty and 'immunity from taxes to Laodicea and Tarsus, and ordered 'by a special decree, that all citizens of Tarsus, that had 'been taken captive and sold for slaves,[z] should be yet set 'at liberty.' Lucian says, 'that at the request of Atheno-'dorus of Tarsus, the stoic philosopher, and preceptor of 'Augustus, the city of Tarsus obtained freedom from tri-'bute.'[a] Pliny calls[b] Tarsus a free city: which is an incontestable proof it was not a Roman colony, for then he would have called it so. When Ammianus Marcellinus[c] mentions Tarsus, he speaks of it only as a considerable city of Cilicia. Ulpian says there were two colonies in Cilicia; but Tarsus is not one of those which he mentions.[d]

Tillemont[e] refers to Baron Spanheim's Treatise of Medals, as the source of the proofs he brings for the citizenship of Tarsus. But though the Baron did then suppose Tarsus had this privilege, yet, I think, the arguments he uses are no proof of it, as he himself was satisfied[f] afterwards. The

[x] *Τοσαυτη δε τοις ενθαδε ανθρωποις σπουδη προς τε φιλοσοφιαν, και την αλλην εγκυκλιον απασαν παιδειαν, γεγονεν——και τ' αλλα τ' ευανδρει, και πλειστον δυναται, τον της μητροπολεως επεχουσα λογον.* Lib. xiv. p. 991. A. B.

[y] Vid Tillemont. Memoires Ecclesiastiques: St. Paul, Article premier.

[z] *Λαοδικειας δε και Ταρσεας ελευθερους ηφιει και ατελεις φορων, και Ταρσεων τους πεπραμενους απελυε της δουλειας διαταγματι.* Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 1077. ed. Amstel. Oct. 1670.

[a] *Αθηνοδωρος, Ταρσευς, στωϊκος, ος και διδασκαλος εγενετο Καισαρος Σεβαστου Θεου, υφ' ου η Ταρσεων πολις και φορων εκυφισθη, κ. λ.* Vol. ii. edit. Amst. p. 473. Macrob.

[b] Cydnus Tarsum, liberam urbem, procul a mari secans. Plin. l. v. c. 27. in.

[c] Ciliciam vero Tarsus nobilitat, urbs perspicabilis. L. xiv. c. 8.

[d] Est et in Bithyniâ (colonia) Apamena, et in Ponto Sinopensis. Est et in Ciliciâ Selinus et Trajanopolis. L. i. sect. 10, 11. ff. de censibus.

[e] Ubi supra.

[f] See his Orbis Romanus. p. 141, &c. The edition which Mr. Tillemont refers to of Spanheim, de Præstantiâ, &c. is the quarto edit. Amst. 1671. His Orbis Romanus was published at London, 1703.

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only proof he then had of it was a medal of Gordian, in which[g] Tarsus is styled a colony, and a free city. But though it were a colony then, it is no evidence that it was so when St. Paul was born; or that it was made a colony by Augustus. And after all, the medal on which Spanheim relied, does not style Tarsus a colony, but only a free city, as he found afterwards.[h]

Upon the whole, therefore, St. Luke's account is fully confirmed by the best authorities. Tarsus was no "mean city," but it was not a municipium, or town of Roman citizens.

Possibly some may inquire, if St. Paul was not a Roman citizen, or entitled to some other peculiar privileges, by his being born at Tarsus, to what purpose did he make any mention of it? I answer, every one in St. Paul's circumstances is naturally led to mention the place of his nativity or residence, especially when he is asked who he is. But St. Paul's innocence did not depend upon his being a Roman, but a Jew: and therefore this last, together with the place of his birth, is what he here mentions. The outcry, when St. Paul was seized, was, "Men of Israel, help, this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people;—And farther brought Greeks also into the temple, and hath polluted this holy place.——And all the city was moved, and the people ran together; and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple; and forthwith the doors were shut," Acts xxi. 28—30.

The Jews which were of Asia, who began the disturbance, knew well enough that Paul was a Jew; but the cry being, that the "temple had been polluted," and Paul being taken by them, and drawn out of the temple, it is likely, a great part of the multitude thought St. Paul had been a gentile, who had gone beyond the bounds prescribed to such: which when any one but a Jew had done, he was liable to the heaviest punishment. Therefore, when the chief captain asked him who he was, he told him he was a Jew of Tarsus; which was enough to satisfy him, the Jews had no

[g] Iis vero liberæ Ciliciæ locis adscribenda caput ejusdem provinciæ Tarsus, juxta insignem Gordiani nummum (in Cimel. Reg. Gall.) KOA. ΕΛΕΥΘ. ΤΑΡC. qui insuper Romanam coloniam eandem extitisse arguit. Span. de Præst. p. 785. [h] Ipsum vero ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΣ seu liberæ nomen, quod eidem largitur Plinius (Lib. v. c. 27.) huic Ciliciæ metropoli in antiquo Regiæ Gallorum Gazæ (Specim. Morell. Tab. iv.) nummo sub Caracallâ percusso tribuitur; non vero, quod Cl. Patini fide olim credideram, Coloniæ itidem appellatio. Immo, ut dies diem docet, et si Romana colonia sub primis Cæsaribus, quod de eâ nuspiam legitur, evasisset eadem Tarsus; haud ideo oppidum civium Romanorum——extitisset. Spanh. Orb. Rom. p. 141.

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right to use him as they did, for going into the temple. And it is observable, that immediately upon St. Paul's beginning to speak: "Men, brethren, and fathers, hear ye my defence; when they heard that he spake in the Hebrew tongue to them, they kept the more silence." This for the present allayed the heat, because it was a strong presumption, that he was not a Gentile.

St. Paul therefore had no reason, at this time, to tell them he was a Roman citizen; but it was of the last importance, to assure both the chief captain and the multitude that he was a Jew.

St. Luke has not informed us, how St. Paul's citizenship was derived to him. He was "free born:" but what was the original of this privilege does not appear. It seems to me, however, not unlikely, that some of St. Paul's ancestors had obtained it for services they had done the Roman commonwealth in[i] the wars. The Jews had formerly served the kings of Syria in their armies, and afterwards the Romans. But they had been long since discharged from that service, upon the account of some religious scruples which they had. There are in Josephus the copies of these discharges given them at Ephesus, Delus, and other places. One of these discharges runs thus: 'Lucius[k] Lentulus the 'consul declared, "I have dismissed from the service the 'Jewish Roman citizens, who observe the rites of the Jew-'ish religion at Ephesus."' Again the decree of the Delians is thus: 'Bæotus being archon, the order of the præ-'tors. Marcus Piso the ambassador, who was also the offi-'cer appointed to raise soldiers, being in our city, having 'called together us, and a sufficient number of other citizens, 'gave orders, that if there were any Jewish Roman citizens, 'no man should disturb any of them on the account of 'military service; for as much as Cornelius Lentulus, the 'consul, had dismissed the Jews from the military service 'on account of their religion.'[l]

This may give ground to suppose, that a good number of Jews, who served the Romans in auxiliary armies, had obtained the freedom of the city. But whether any of St. Paul's ancestors deserved it in this, or some other way, I do not determine, nor is it necessary we should.

VII. We have sufficiently considered St. Paul's citizenship. We must not, however, pass by what the chief

[i] Vid. Grot. ad Act. xxii. 28.

[k] Λευκιος δε Λεντυλος υπατος ειπεν· Πολιτας Ῥωμαιων Ιουδαιους, ιερα Ιουδαϊκα εχοντας και ποιουντας εν Εφεσῳ, προ του βηματος δεισιδαιμονιας ενεκα στρατειας απελυσα. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 10. sect. 13.

[l] Ibid. sect. 14.

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captain said to him: "With a great sum obtained I this freedom." It was often given to men and cities as a reward[m] of some special merit or services: but that it was also bought, and that at a great price, appears from a passage of Dio, which I leave with the reader. 'He [Claudius] took away the freedom of the city from many who 'were unworthy of it, and he gave it without any reason to 'others; sometimes to single persons, at other times to 'great numbers together. For Romans having the preference above strangers, there were many who begged the 'citizenship of the emperor; and others who bought it of 'Messalina, or the freed-men. By which means this privilege, which had been bought formerly at a great price, 'became so cheap, that merry people would say, a man 'might be made a Roman citizen for a few pieces of broken 'glass.'[n]

VIII. We have already had occasion to observe the justice of the Roman laws, in forbidding to punish any man, till he had been tried and convicted. We have something farther observable in the conduct of Felix and Festus, who refused to give Paul's cause a hearing, unless both parties, namely St. Paul and his accusers, were present. Lysias sent Paul under a strong guard from Jerusalem to Cæsarea. "Who when they came to Cæsarea, and delivered the epistle to the governor, [Felix,] presented Paul also before him. And when the governor had read the letter, he asked of what province he was. And when he understood that he was of Cilicia: I will hear thee, said he, when thine accusers also are come," Acts xxiii. 33—35; xxiv. 7, 8. When the Jews at Jerusalem "desired favour of Festus against Paul, Festus answered, that Paul should be kept at Cæsarea, and that he himself would depart shortly thither. Let them therefore, said he, which among you are able, go down with me, and accuse this man, if there be any wickedness in him," ch. xxv. 4, 5. This is somewhat more particularly related, when "Festus declared Paul's cause unto the king, [Agrippa,] saying, There is a certain man left in bonds by Felix. About whom, when I was at Jerusalem,

[m] Eoque Romana civitas olim data, cum id rarum, nec nisi virtuti pretium esset. Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. c. 40.

[n] *Συγνες δε δη και αλλες αναξιως της πολιτειας απηλασε, και ἑτερους αυτην και παυυ αναιδην, τοις μεν κατ' ανδρα, τοις δε και αθροους, εδιδυ· επειδαν γαρ εν πασιν, ὡς ειπειν, οἱ Ῥωμαιοι των ξενων προετετιμηντο, πολλοι αυτην παρα τε εκεινυ αυτυ ητυντο, και παρα της Μεσσαλινης των τε Καισαρειων ωνυτο· και δια τυτο μεγαλων το πρωτον χρηματων πραθεισα, επειθ' ὑυτως υπο της ευχερειας επευωνηθη, ὡστε και λογοποιηθηναι, ὁτι καν υαλινα τις σκευη συντετριμμενα δῳ τινι, πολιτης εται.* Dio. l. lx. p. 676. C. D.

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the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me, desiring to have judgment against him. To whom I answered, *It is not the custom of the Romans*, to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers *face* to *face*, and *have licence to answer for himself* concerning the crime laid against him," ver. 14—16.

Cicero, in his orations against Verres, the infamous prætor of Sicily, continually represents these as the most illegal and inhuman proceedings, that he received accusations against men when they were absent, and condemned[o] them without a hearing. And Tertullian makes mention of a Roman president, who when a christian was sent to him with a libel, perceiving there had been some unfair dealing tore the libel to pieces, and said, he should not act contrary to law, and hear a man without[p] his accuser.

IX. We will now proceed to St. Paul's imprisonment. I have deferred it till now, that we might take in at once the whole account of this matter, from his being taken into custody at Jerusalem, to his two years' confinement at Rome.

When Lysias heard that all Jerusalem was in an uproar, he "immediately took soldiers, and ran down to them, and when they saw him, they left beating Paul. Then the chief captain came near, and took him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains," Acts xxi. 32, 33. "On the morrow, because he would know the certainty, wherefore he was accused of the Jews, he loosed him from his bands, and commanded the chief priests, and all their council, to appear: and brought Paul down, and set him before them," ch. xxii. 30. St. Paul was removed from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, and "Felix commanded him to be kept in Herod's judgment-hall." The chief priests and others went down thither, and accused him before Felix. After this hearing, "He [Felix] commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister, or come unto him. But after two years, Porcius Festus came into Felix's room: and Felix being willing to show the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound,"

[o] Iste non dubitat jubere nomen deferri: et tum primum opinor istum absentis nomen recepisse. Res clara Siciliâ totâ, propter cælati argenti cupiditatem reos fieri rerum capitalium; neque solum reos fieri, sed etiam absentes. In Verr. lib. iv. c. 40, 41. Deinde crimen sine accusatione, sententia sine consilio, damnatio sine defensione. Lib. v. n. 23. Sed quid ego hospitii jura in hac tam immani belluâ commemoro? qui Sthenium——absentem in reos retulerit, causâ indictâ, capite damnavit. Ibid. n. 109.

[p] Pudens etiam missum ad se christianum, in elogio concussione ejus intellectâ, dimisit, scisso eodem elogio, sine accusatore negans se auditurum hominem, secundum mandatum. Ad Scapulam. c. 4.

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ch. xxiv. 23—27. King Agrippa having said to Paul, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a christian; Paul said, I would to God that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds," ch. xxvi. 29. "And when he had thus spoken, the king rose up,—and they talked between themselves, saying, this man doth nothing worthy of death or of bonds." After this St. Paul was carried to Italy, "and when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard: but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him," ch. xxviii. 16. "After three days Paul called the chief of the Jews together. And he said unto them,—For the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain," ver. 20.—"And when they had appointed him a day, there came many to him into his lodging," ver. 23. "And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him," ver. 30, 31. St. Paul makes mention of his bonds in several of his epistles; but those places I need not transcribe.

We have observed from Cicero, that it was unlawful to bind, as well as to scourge a Roman citizen: and it is said, that "the chief captain was afraid, after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had *bound* him;" and yet St. Paul was several years in bonds. But there is no inconsistence in this. A citizen might not be bound with thongs as a punishment, or in order to be scourged: but a Roman citizen might certainly be kept in custody, upon just suspicions, or when there were any credible accusations brought against him. And there was nothing at all illegal in the way in which St. Paul was confined. There are many instances in the Roman authors, of knights and senators of Rome, who were chained in the same manner that Paul was.[q]

In this history of St. Paul there is mention sometimes of chains in the plural number, and at other times of chain in the singular. When the chief captain "took him" from the Jews, he "commanded[r] him to be bound with two

[q] At Claudius, nihil ultra scrutatus, citis cum militibus,—Crispinum prætorii præfectum misit; a quo repertus [Valerius Asiaticus bis consul] est apud Baias, vinclisque inditis in urbem raptus. Tacit. Ann. lib. xi. c. 1. P. Sabinum prætorii præfectum, ob amicitiam Cæcinæ vinciri jubet [Vitellius.] Id. Hist. lib. iii. c. 36. Et Julius Celsus tribunus, in vinclis laxatam catenam, et circumdatam in diversum tendens, suam ipse cervicem perfregit. Id. Ann. lib. vi. c. 14.

[r] Δεθηναι αλυσεσι δυσι.

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chains," Acts xxi. 33. Whether St. Paul continued to be bound with two chains so long as he was kept in Judea I cannot say; because, though the word bands be used generally afterwards in the plural number, yet the word[s] is of a general meaning, and may imply no more than confinement with one or more chains. However, it is certain he was bound with but one chain whilst he was at Rome: for it is said, that "Paul was suffered to dwell with a soldier that kept him," ch. xxviii. 16. And he tells "the chief of the Jews," whom he had sent for there, "that for the hope of Israel he was[t] bound with this chain." And in another place he says, (though the text is generally thought not to relate to this confinement,) "The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus, for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my *chain*," 2 Tim. i. 16.

The way of chaining prisoners was in this manner. There was an iron chain of a convenient length, which was fastened at one end to the hand of the prisoner, and at the other to the arm of the soldier. When a person was committed to the care of one soldier, which was a very common way, and consequently there was but one chain, the chain was fastened to the right arm of the prisoner, and to the left arm of the soldier. This is evident from a passage of [u] Seneca. It is easy to conclude, that when a second soldier and another chain was appointed, the prisoner must wear the other chain on his left hand, and the soldier on his right.

It is likely, that this method of confinement obtained very much all over the Roman empire. St. Peter was bound thus at Jerusalem by Herod Agrippa then king of Judea. "The same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the door kept the prison," Acts xii. 6.

It is observable, that when Lysias brought Paul before the council, "that he might know wherefore he was accused of the Jews, *he loosed* him from his bands," ch. xxii. 30. But it is somewhat doubtful, whether St. Paul had not this chain on when he appeared before Agrippa; for he says, "I would to God that all that hear me this day were altogether such as I am, except these bonds." Perhaps St.

[s] Ελυσεν αυτον απο των δεσμων. Act. xxii. 30. Παρειτος των δεσμων τουτων. Act. xxvi. 29. [t] Την αλυσιν ταυτην περικειμαι.

[u] Aliorum aurea catena est, et laxa——sed quid refert? eâdem custodiâ universos circumdedit. Alligatique sunt etiam qui alligaverunt. Nisi tu forte leviorem in sinistrâ catenam putas. Seneca de Tranquil. cap. 10. Quemadmodum eadem catena et custodiam et militem copulat, sic ista, quæ tam dissimilia sunt, pariter incedunt. Id. Epist. 5.

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Paul means no more hereby than this state of imprisonment. I think indeed, that it was not a generous treatment of his prisoner, nor very decent upon other accounts, for Festus to set Paul before Agrippa and Bernice with his chains on. However, there was a Roman of considerable quality, who was accused, and made his defence before the senate of Rome in the reign of Tiberius, with his chains[v] upon him.

St. Paul seems to have been under a military custody. I need not remind the reader of any particulars for a proof of this, it runs through the whole account. There were however several changes of the manner of his confinement. At first he was carried into the Castle of Antonia at Jerusalem, chained undoubtedly to a soldier or soldiers, for that must be supposed all along, ch. xxi. 37. xxii. 24. When he was sent to Cæsarea, "Felix commanded that he should be kept in Herod's judgment-hall." ch. xxiii. 35. But there was some alteration made, after that Felix had heard Paul and the high priest and others that came down from Jerusalem. "And he" [Felix] "commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister, or come unto him," Acts xxiv. 23. These are certainly new orders; the former straitness must have been hereupon abated; and perhaps the place of confinement was changed. I am inclined to think, that St. Paul was now removed from "Herod's judgment-hall" to the centurion's own habitation, or to that part of the city where the soldiers had their quarters.

But the most gentle, easy confinement of all was that which St. Paul had at Rome. There "he was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him,—in his lodging,—in his own hired house," ch. xxviii. 16, 23, 30. This must have been owing very much to the honourable testimonial which Porcius Festus transmitted with him; and in part, it is likely, to the account given in by the centurion, who had conducted Paul and the other prisoners from Cæsarea into Italy; as also in part, and perhaps chiefly, to the goodness[w] of Burrhus, then præfect of the prætorium, or captain of the guard to Nero.

There were several methods of[x] keeping prisoners made

[v] Iisdem consulibus miseriarum ac sævitiæ exemplum atrox, reus pater, accusator filius, (nomen utrique Vibius Serenus) in senatum inducti sunt. Ab exilio retractus, et tum *Catena* vinctus, perorante filio.—At contra reus, nihil infracto animo, obversus in filium, quatere *vincula*, vocare ultores Deos, &c Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. c. 28.

[w] Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. c. 15 et 51. Dio. lib. lxii. p. 706. E.

[x] Vid. Lipsii et Mureti notas ad Tacit. Ann. l. iii. c. 22. et Lipsii Excurs. B.

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use of in the city and in the provinces. Ulpian says, 'That 'the proconsul is wont to judge, whether the person ought 'to be put into the prison, or delivered to a soldier to keep, 'or whether he should be committed to sureties, or even to 'himself;' (that is, to the accused person himself;) 'And 'herein, usually, regard is had to the nature of the crime 'charged upon any one, and to the preservation of his 'honour, as also to the wealth or substance, seeming[y] inno-'cence or dignity, of the party accused.'

It is very easy to perceive what was chiefly regarded by those Roman officers who treated St. Paul so mildly; not his wealth, nor his dignity, but his innocence.

There is no one single instance that I know of, that will so much illustrate the whole story of St. Paul's imprisonment, as that of Herod Agrippa; who was imprisoned by Tiberius in the latter end of his reign, and afterwards came to be king of all Judea, as has been shown already.

Agrippa had said some improper things of Tiberius, in the hearing of one of his own servants; who, having some time after taken a disgust at his master,[z] went and informed Tiberius against him. Agrippa went one day, as others did, to wait on Tiberius. Tiberius crediting what the servant had said, and bearing likewise some grudge against Agrippa, ordered Macro the præfect of the prætorium to bind him. Whereupon 'the officers took him and bound 'him in his purple dress which he was then in.—But Anto-'nia[a] was extremely afflicted at this misfortune of Agrippa, 'and yet she judged it very difficult to say any thing to 'Tiberius in his favour; and that, indeed, it would be to 'no purpose. She therefore went to Macro, and desired 'that he would take care that the soldiers which kept guard 'upon him should be civil, good-natured fellows, and that 'the centurion who presided over the guard, and the sol-'dier[b] to whom Agrippa was bound, might be men of the 'same character, and that his freedmen and friends might 'have access to him; and in a word, that he might want 'nothing necessary for his health. These therefore went to 'him, his friend Silas, and his freedmen Marsyas and

[y] Proconsul æstimare solet, utrum in carcerem recipienda sit persona, an militi tradenda, vel fidejussoribus committenda, vel etiam sibi: hac autem vel pro criminis, quod objicitur, qualitate, vel propter honorem, aut propter amplissimas facultates, vel pro innocentiâ personæ, vel pro dignitate ejus, qui accusatur, facere solet. L. i. ff. de custod. et exhib. reor.

[z] Joseph. Ant. Lib. xviii. c. 7. sect. 5. p. 810.

[a] Widow of Drusus, Tiberius's brother, a lady of great virtue, and at good terms with Tiberius. Vid. Joseph. p. 812.

[b] Και συνδετω εσομενω.

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'Stœchus, who brought him the provisions he chose to have. 'They brought in likewise bed-clothes, and such like 'things, as if they were for sale, which they accommodated 'him with at night; the soldiers themselves joining with 'them in these services, in obedience to Macro's orders. 'Thus things went with Agrippa for six months.'[c]

When Tiberius was dead, 'there came two letters to 'Rome from Caius [Caligula]; one to the senate, notifying 'the death of Tiberius, and his own accession to the em- 'pire; and another to Piso, the præfect of the city, contain- 'ing the same things, and also ordering that Agrippa should 'be removed from the[d] prætorium to the house in which 'he had lived before he was bound. Here indeed he was 'in custody, but however he had more liberty, and was at 'ease. In a short time Caius came to Rome,—and in a few 'days after sent for Agrippa to his palace, ordered him to 'be shaved, and changed his garments; and then put a 'diadem on his head,—and made him also a present of a gold 'chain, of the same weight with the iron one with which he 'had been[e] bound. This chain Agrippa afterwards laid 'up in the temple of Jerusalem, as a monument that God 'can bring down those things that are great, and raise up 'those things which are[f] fallen.'

I take it, that Agrippa's first confinement was of the same kind with that which was allotted St. Paul by Felix after the first hearing at Cæsarea; with this difference however, that a good deal of Agrippa's kind usage was given him by stealth, it not being by the orders of Tiberius, by whom he was committed: whereas the centurion who kept St. Paul had express orders from Felix, the chief officer in the province, "to let him have liberty, and to forbid none of his acquaintance to minister or come unto him;" which must have been a considerable advantage. And I reckon that Agrippa's confinement at last, when he was 'removed to 'the house he had lived in before he was bound,' was of the same kind with St. Paul's custody, when he dwelt at "Rome in his own hired house."

X. Our taking in at once the whole story of St. Paul's imprisonment, has obliged us to pass by a particular or two, which the reader will perhaps think it worth while to look back for.

I think it not needful to inquire, what St. Paul's right of appeal was founded in, whether in his citizenship or not, Acts xxv. 10, 11. I shall only observe that he does not

[c] Ibid. p. 814, 815. [d] Απο πραιτωριου. [e] Ibid. p. 818.
[f] Id. lib. xix. c. 6. in.

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insist upon that expressly, but only his innocence. Some learned men have indeed, upon the occasion of this appeal, cited the words of Pliny; in which he tells Trajan, that he had noted down some of those who were infected with christianity to be sent to Rome, 'because they were[g] citi-'zens.' But I cannot perceive to what purpose these words are alleged here. For if Pliny sent those persons to Rome, not for some special reason, but because his power extended only to the lives of provincials, and not of Roman citizens, then his power was not at that time equal to that of the Roman governors in Judea. It is plain from St. Luke, Acts xxv. 11, 24, 25, that Paul was prosecuted by the Jews for his life, after he was known to be a Roman. And it is as plain from Josephus, that the Roman governors of Judea had power over the lives of Romans. Cumanus[h] put to death a Roman soldier in Judea. And when Josephus[i] complains of Florus's crucifying some Jews who were Roman knights, he would have complained of somewhat else beside the manner of their death, if Florus had had no right to pronounce a capital sentence upon any Roman whatever. And thus I have by the by given the evidence of a very material circumstance in this history, namely, that Felix and Festus had power of trying a Roman for life.

Upon Paul's appeal to Cæsar he was in fact sent to Rome; causes were therefore by appeal removed out of the provinces to Rome. Suetonius says, that Augustus appointed a number of consular persons at Rome to receive the appeals of provincial people, namely, one person to preside over the affairs of each province.[k]

St. Luke says also, Acts xxvii. 1. "And when it was determined that we should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain *other prisoners*, unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus' band." It was very common to send persons from Judea to be tried at Rome. Quintilius Varus sent to Rome divers of those that had made disturbances in Judea, in the interval between Herod's death and Archelaus's taking possession[l] of the government. Ummidius Quadratus, president of Syria, sent[m] Annas the high priest and other Jews to Claudius, to answer for themselves

[g] Fuerunt alii similis amentiæ; quos, quia cives Romani erant, annotavi in urbem remittendos. Lib. x. ep. 97.

[h] De Bell. lib. ii. c. 12. sect. 2. [i] See above, p. 236.

[k] Appellationes quotannis urbanorum quidem litigatorum prætori delegavit; ac provincialium consularibus viris quos singulos cujusque provinciæ negotiis præposuisset. Vit. August. c. 33.

[l] Joseph. de B. J. l. ii. c. 5. sect. 3. [m] Ibid. c. 12. sect. 6. et Ant. l. xx. c. 5. sect. 2.

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at Rome, as also several of the most considerable of the Samaritans. Josephus says that 'Felix, for some slight offence, bound and sent to Rome several priests of his acquaintance, and very good and honest men, to answer for themselves to[n] Cæsar.' Felix also sent to Rome Eleazer, captain of a troop of robbers, and several of his men, whom he had taken[o] prisoners.

XI. There remains but one thing more. "And when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to the *captain of the guard:* but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him," Acts xxviii. 16. Doubtless Paul was consigned by Felix to the "captain of the guard," as well as the other "prisoners:" but he was suffered to "dwell by himself," the rest were ordered to a more strait confinement. The only thing we have to observe here is, that the captain of the guard often had the custody of prisoners. This appears from the history I have given above of Agrippa. And it seems, that generally the prisoners which were sent from the provinces were transmitted to this officer, and not to the præfect of the city. For so Trajan directs Pliny, when he had written to him for some advice concerning a particular person whom he had with him in the province; 'That he should send him 'bound to the præfects of his[p] prætorium:' or in other words, to the captains of the guard; there being two at that time, whereas there was but one when Paul was sent to Rome. Heliodorus the sophist, being in a[q] certain island, fell under a charge of murder. 'Whereupon,' says[r] Philostratus, 'he was sent to Rome, to answer for himself before the præfects of the prætorium.'

[n] Καθ' ὁν χρονον Φηλιξ της Ιυδαιας επιτροπευεν, ἱερεις τινας συνηθεις εμοι, καλως καγαθους, δια μικραν και την τυχυσαν αιτιαν δησας, εις την Ῥωμην επεμψεν, λογον ὑφεξοντας τῳ Καισαρι· In Vit. sect. 3.

[o] De Bell. lib. ii. c. 13. sect. 2.

[p] Si—vinctus mitti ad præfectos prætorii mei debet. Plin. lib. x. ep. 65.

[q] About A. D. 223.

[r] Λαβων δη εν τῃ νησῳ φονικην αιτιαν, ανεπεμφθη ες την Ῥωμην, ως απολογησομενος τοις των στρατοπεδων ἡγεμοσι. Vit. Sophist. l. 2. num. 32.

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CHAP. XI.

THREE REMARKABLE FACTS.

I. *The temple forty-six years in building.* II. *The dearth in the reign of Claudius.* III. *The Jews banished from Rome by the same emperor.*

I. WHEN our Saviour was at Jerusalem, at one of the Jews' passovers, he "made a scourge of small cords, and drove them that sold oxen and sheep, and the changers of money, out of the temple," John ii. 14, 15. This action implied a claim of some particular authority. "Then answered the Jews, and said unto him, what sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou dost these things? Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. Then said the Jews, *Forty and six years was this temple in building*, and wilt thou rear it up in three days?" Or in other words: 'Forty and six years has this 'temple been building, so far as the work is carried on, and 'many thousand men have been employed upon it all this 'time. And wilt thou alone rebuild it in three days, if it 'were pulled down and demolished?' Ver. 18—20.

It ought to be observed here, that Josephus has informed us, that[a] Herod the Great, in the eighteenth year of his reign, made a proposal to the Jews of rebuilding the temple. In eight or nine years' time he finished what he intended to do to this sacred place. But the people of the Jews were after this, as it seems, continually adorning and improving the buildings of the temple.

It is highly probable, that the term of forty-six years, mentioned here by the Jews in their reply to our Saviour, commences at the time when Herod made his proposal to the Jews, or else at the time, when in pursuance of that proposal, he actually set about repairing the temple.

There being some chronological difficulties attending the period of Herod's reign, as well as our Saviour's ministry, there is between learned men the difference of two or three years about the exact time when these words were spoken by the Jews. But I have no occasion at present to concern myself with any of those difficulties; because it is easy to

[a] De Bell. lib. i. cap. 21. Ant. lib. xv. cap. 11.

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show, that the buildings of the temple were continued below any of the dates affixed to this discourse between our Saviour and the Jews.

The evidences for this fact are these: Josephus relating affairs which happened in the reign of Nero, after the arrival of Gessius Florus, procurator of Judea in the year of the christian æra 65,[b] says: 'At that time was the temple 'finished. The people, therefore,[c] seeing the workmen to 'the number of eighteen thousand lie idle, and apprehend-'ing that they would stand in need of the wages which 'they were wont to receive for working at the temple; and 'being afraid that the money, if laid up, should fall into 'the hands of the Romans; and moreover, having a regard 'to the workmen, and being willing that the treasures 'should be laid out upon them, (for if any man worked but 'one hour of the day, he presently received his pay,) they 'petitioned the[d] king to rebuild the east portico.—It was 'the work of king Solomon, who first built the whole tem-'ple. But the king (the charge and oversight of the tem-'ple had been committed to him by Claudius Cæsar) 'considering, that this would be a work of much time and 'vast expence, did not grant their request. However, he 'was not against paving the city with white marble.'

It appears from hence, that the Jews had continually employed men upon the temple; for Josephus says, it was now finished.

If it be inquired, how they were supplied with money to maintain so many men constantly at work; I answer, that Josephus, in the passage just now transcribed, intimates what the fund was, namely, their sacred treasury. He has more particularly informed us in another place, where he says, that on the temple were expended 'all the sacred 'treasures, which were supplied by tributes sent to God 'from all parts of the world.'[e] Beside the ordinary tribute sent to the temple, the zeal of the people for this work produced liberal contributions.[f]

[b] Usser. Ann.

[c] Ηδη δε τοτε και το ιερον ετετελεστο· βλεπων ουν ο δημος αργησαντας τους τεχνιτας, υπερ μυριους και οκτακισχιλιους οντας, και μισθοφοριας ενδειις εσομενους δια το την τροφην εκ της κατα το ιερον εργασιας ποριζεσθαι, και χρηματα μεν αποθετα δια των εκ 'Ρωμαιων φοβον εχειν ει θελων, προνοουμενος δε των τεχνιτων, και εις τουτους αναλυειν τους θησαυρους βουλομενος· και γαρ ει μιαν τις ωραν της ημερας εργασαιτο, τον μισθον υπερ ταυτης ευθεως ελαμβανεν· επειθον τον βασιλεα την ανατολικην στοαν ανεγειραι· κ. λ. Ant. l. xx. c. 8. sect. 7.

[d] Agrippa the younger.

[e] Εις ο μακροι μεν εξανηλωθησαν αιωνες αυτοις, και οι ιεροι δε θησαυροι παντες ους ανεπιμπλασαν οι παρα της οικουμενης δασμοι πεμπομενοι τω Θεω. De Bell. lib. v. c. 5. sect. 1.

[f] Η τε γαρ δαψιλεια των χρηματων, και η του λαου φιλοτιμια, λογω μειζονας εποιειτο τας επιβολας. Id. ibid. vid. et Ant. l. xiv. c. 7. sect. 2.

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If it be objected, that Josephus, in the account of the building of the temple by Herod, says, that the ιερον, that is, the cloisters and other buildings of the temple, were raised in eight years, and the ναος, or temple itself, in a year and a half,[5] that is, in nine years and a half; I answer, that Josephus can mean no more than that the temple was then fitted for use, or that all was then finished that Herod proposed to do at his cost, and not the completing the temple and all the buildings belonging to it. This is evident, from the passage just described at length, in which he says, 'At that time the temple was finished.' And even these words are to be understood with a limitation. The temple was not then completed: there was something still wanting, which the people would have had done. But they then put an end to repairing and building, and there was no more work done at the temple.

It is possible, that there might be some interruptions in the works at the temple; but it is likely they were very short, (if there were any,) and such as were not worth taking notice of in a long period.

II. The next event I would here confirm from some foreign testimony, is the famine said to have happened in the reign of Claudius. "And in these days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch. And there stood up one of them named Agabus, and signified by the Spirit, that there should be great dearth throughout all the world, which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar. Then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea. Which also they did, and sent it to the elders, by the hands of Barnabas and Saul," Acts xi. 27—30.

I do not take notice of this famine, as the fulfilment of a prophecy, because I do not enter into that argument, but only as a remarkable event, which St. Luke assures us, happened in the reign of Claudius.

St. Luke says, "In those days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch." It may be questioned, what was the exact time of the arrival of these prophets to Antioch, and of the delivery of the prophecy; but I think, it is easy to perceive from St. Luke, when the famine happened. It is observable, that St. Luke having, in the words just now transcribed from him in the conclusion of the xith of the Acts, given an account of the resolution of the church at Antioch, and of the commission given by them to Barnabas and Saul, to carry their contributions to Jerusalem, proceeds

[5] Ant. lib. xv. cap. 11. sect. 5, 6.

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in the xiith chapter to relate the transactions concerning the church at Jerusalem, during the reign of Herod Agrippa, and also Herod's death. And then says, "But the word of God grew and multiplied. And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministry," Acts xii. 24, 25.

There can be no reason assigned for that interruption in the course of the narration, and for the delay to mention the fulfilment of the commission of the church at Antioch, but this, that the commission was not executed till the death of Herod Agrippa. Moreover, as the christians at Antioch had a previous knowledge of this famine, according to St. Luke's account, before it happened, it is reasonable to suppose, that the famine was but then coming on, when Barnabas and Saul fulfilled their ministry. Herod died in the fourth year of Claudius's reign, A. D. 44. It is very evident therefore to me, that[h] the commencement of this famine ought not to be placed before the latter end of the year 44, or perhaps not till the beginning of the year following.

But before I proceed to the proofs of this fact, I must let the reader know how I understand it. I think the dearth prophesied of by Agabus, and related by St. Luke, was in Judea only. I desire the words themselves may be considered. There "came prophets from Jerusalem, and one of them signified by the Spirit, that there should be great dearth throughout the whole world," that is, throughout the whole land, the country before mentioned, from whence those prophets came, namely, the land of Judea: that there would be a great dearth and scarcity, not at Jerusalem only, which might have been occasioned by some circumstances peculiar to the city, a siege or some other accident; but that there would be scarcity throughout all the land of Judea, by means of a general failure of the usual produce of the earth.

The original word [οικουμενη] does sometimes signify not the whole world, but a particular country only.[i]

[h] Vid. Usser. Ann. P. J. 4755.

[i] Ἡ γη signifies, the earth: yet the coherence of the words in many places determines the meaning to some particular country. Jos. ii. 3, "They be come to search out all the country" [την γην]. Luke iv. 25, "But I tell you of a truth many widows were in Israel, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when great famine was throughout all the land, επι πασαν την γην." Not all the earth but all the land of Israel; that being the country before mentioned.

In like manner, οικουμενη signifies, according to the original notation of the word, the habitable, or rather the inhabited earth: but the connexion of the

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It is evident that the prophecy was understood by the disciples at Antioch, in whose hearing it was delivered, to relate to Judea only. There is not the least hint of any thought of sending relief to any other place, nor yet of any hesitation in taking the resolution here mentioned, for fear their own circumstances might be necessitous.

And when it is added, that, in pursuance of their determination, they did actually send relief by the hands of Barnabas and Saul, there is not one word bestowed to enhance the eminence of their charity, in assisting others when they were in straits themselves, or in immediate danger of them. And yet it is unlikely, this should have been altogether omitted, if it had been the case. It is certain, St. Paul has placed this circumstance in the most beautiful manner, in the testimony he gives to the churches of Macedonia: "How that in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy,

discourse often restrains the meaning to some particular country. Isa. xiii. 5, "They came from a far country—to destroy the whole land." In the Septuagint version it is *πασαν την οικημενην*· what goes before and follows shows, that a particular country is intended. Ver. 1, "The burthen of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amos did see." Ver. 19—22, "And *Babylon* the glory of kingdoms, *the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency*, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desart shall be there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant places." I know very well that some understand the destruction of the whole land, in the 5th verse, of the whole Babylonian empire; but it is without reason. The whole empire, it is true, would be hereupon dissolved. But any one may perceive, that the judgment threatened or foretold, is confined properly to the city and province of Babylon, the seat of the empire, and of the oppressions now to be avenged. Can any one bear the supposition, that the dreadful destruction described in this chapter extended, or was intended to extend, to all the parts of the Babylonish empire? A note of St. Jerom upon Is. xiii. 4, 5, deserves to be inserted here, as not a little to our purpose:—'ut disperdant omnem 'terram:' non quod totum orbem vastaverint sed omnem terram Babylonis et Chaldæorum. Idioma est enim sanctæ scripturæ, ut omnem terram illius significet provinciæ, de qua sermo est: quod quidam non intelligentes ad omnium terrarum subversionem trahunt. Hieron. T. 3. p. 109. in.

St. Luke has himself used this word in this sense in another place. I think it cannot be disputed: Luke xxi. 26, "Men's hearts failing them for fear and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth; or the land, *των επερχομενων τη οικημενη*. The whole discourse relates to the calamities that were coming, not upon the whole world, or the whole Roman empire, but the land of Judea, ver. 21, "Then let them that are in Judea flee to the mountains." Out of Judea therefore there would be safety, ver. 23, "But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days, for there shall be great distress in the land, and wrath upon *this people*." And they who should then be in the circumstances just mentioned, would then be particularly unhappy, because they would be unfit for flight.

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and their deep poverty, had abounded unto the riches of their liberality," 2 Cor. viii. 2.

I am very sensible, that the Jews who lived out of their own country, and all the worshippers of God, in all parts of the world, had a special regard to the people of Jerusalem and Judea; and were very ready to contribute to them, when under difficulties. But a famine is a very sore evil; and if the disciples of Antioch had sent a supply to the brethren in Judea, when they were apprehensive of a great dearth[k] among themselves, such an action would not have been simply related, but also commended; at least, this circumstance would have been taken notice of. It seems to have been a very general contribution: but so far is there from being any hint of any straits they were in, that it is intimated they were in good circumstances: "Every man, according[l] to his ability, determined," &c.—The phrase imports an easy and plentiful condition. If the dearth had reached to Antioch, St. Luke would not have said, "every man, according as he abounded;" but would have been obliged to say, not regarding his own want or necessity, or the general calamity, or somewhat like it.

I hope no one will do me so much wrong, as to suspect, that I have attempted to put this meaning on the words, because I have no proof the famine was universal. For I declare, that if I thought the expressions here used represented an universal dearth; and at the same time, perceived the ancient historians described only a particular one, I would have acknowledged the difficulty. But I think, the sense I have here represented, is the natural, genuine sense of the words; and I persuade myself, the reader is now of the same opinion.[m]

[k] Λιμον μεγαν. [l] Καθως ηυπορειτο τις, ὡρισαν ἑκαστος αυτων.

[m] I am not singular in this interpretation. Mr. L'Enfant understands this text in the same manner: and I have had assistance from his notes in composing this article. Since that, I have perceived that Dr. Hammond was of the same mind. Vid. Annot. in Luc. ii. 1.

Two things seem to me to have carried the generality of learned men off from the true meaning of St. Luke, and to have induced them to suppose, that the famine here spoken of was universal; either all over the world, or at least the Roman empire. One is the word οικουμενη· but this difficulty, I imagine, I have removed already. The other is, that several ancient historians have spoken of famines in the reign of Claudius, at Greece and Rome. These must be the only reasons for this supposition; for the connexion of the words in St. Luke would never lead any man to think the famine was out of Judea.

But though there is mention made of famines in Greece, and at Rome, or in Italy, this will not prove that there was a general famine. It is evident from Josephus, that during the famine in Judea, there was plenty in other

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Supposing therefore St. Luke to have informed us, that there was, in the reign of Claudius, a great dearth through-

parts; in Cyprus, Egypt, and the territories of king Izates. From the two former countries queen Helene procured provisions, and Izates sent money to Jerusalem; which he could not have done, if his own people had been in want.

The proofs of the famine in Judea I transcribe, or refer to in the text part. Of the other famines in this reign there are these accounts. Of the famine in Greece, Eusebius makes mention in his Chronicon. p. 204. λιμὸς κατα τὴν Ἑλλαδα γεγονοτος μεγαλὸς, ὁ τὸ σιτὸ μοδιος ἐξ δυδραχμων επραθη. This famine happened, according to him, in the 9th of Claudius, A. D. 49. At Rome there were several famines in this reign, one or more of which are mentioned by Dio, Suetonius, Tacitus, or Orosius. The first happened in the beginning of the reign of this emperor. But it seems, from the provisions made by him for preventing the like for the future, that it was not owing to a general scarcity at that time, but to the want of a good harbour at the mouth of the Tiber, by which means the city was ill supplied. Dio's words are thus: 'There being 'a great famine, [λιμὸ τε ισχυρὸ γενομενὸ, or scarcity,] he [Claudius] not only 'took care for a present supply, but provided also for the time to come. 'Rome is supplied almost solely with corn imported from abroad; but there 'being no good harbour at the mouth of the Tiber, nor any secure stations for 'ships, the empire of the sea was almost useless to the Romans. For, except 'the corn that was brought in in the summer time, and laid up in granaries, none 'was brought thither in the winter: or if any attempted it, it was with the 'utmost hazard.' Dio. lib. lx. p. 671, 672. He then proceeds to describe the great expense which Claudius was at, in making a good port at the mouth of the Tiber, and a convenient passage from thence up to the city; of which Suetonius likewise speaks. Claud. cap. 20. Dio places this famine in the second year of Claudius, A. D. 42. But it must have begun the year before: for there are extant medals struck in each of these years in honour of the emperor, having on their reverse a corn measure with ears of corn hanging over the side. Vid. Pagi Critic. in Baron. A. D. 42. n. 7. But I very much question, whether there was any famine then arising from the failure of crops. Λιμος is often used for a famine or scarcity in a city during a siege or blockade. And Dio proceeding, immediately after the mention of the famine, to observe the difficulty of coming to Rome in the winter, makes me suspect, this scarcity was only a hardship the people were in, during the winter, for want of sufficient stores and a free passage.

There was another famine at Rome in the latter end of this reign, of which Tacitus speaks. It is placed by him in the 11th of Claudius, A. D. 51. Claudio V. Serv. Cornelio Orsito Coss. frugum quoque egestas, et orta ex eâ fames, in prodigium accipiebatur. Nec occulti tantum questus; sed jura reddentem Claudium circumvasere clamoribus turbidis, pulsumque in extremam fori partem vi urgebant, donec militum globo infestos perrupit. Quindecim dierum alimenta urbi non amplius superfuisse constitit. Magnâque Deûm benignitate & modestiâ hiemis, rebus extremis subventum. At hercule olim ex Italiæ regionibus longinquas in provincias commeatus portabant. Nec nunc infecunditate laboratur: sed Africam potius & Ægyptum exercemus; navibusque & casibus vita populi Romani permissa est. Ann. 12. cap. 43. Suetonius also has taken notice of a famine in this reign. He does not say what year it happened in; but the agreement of circumstances shows it to be the same that Tacitus speaks of. Arctiore autem annonâ ob assiduas sterilitates detentus quondam medio foro a turbâ, conviciisque ac simul fragminibus panis ita instratus, ut ægre nec nisi postico evadere in Palatium valuerit: nihil non excogitavit ad invehendos etiam in tempore hiberno commeatus—et naves

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out all the land of Judea, I proceed now to give some foreign evidence of this event.

Josephus, speaking of Helene, the queen of the Adiabenes, has these words: 'Her arrival at Jerusalem was a great 'blessing to the people; for the city labouring at that time 'under a heavy famine, so that a great many perished for 'want, the queen sent abroad several of her officers; some 'to Alexandria for the purchase of corn, others to Cyprus 'to buy up dried figs. These having used the utmost 'expedition, as soon as they returned, she distributed food 'to those that were necessitous. By this liberality, she 'laid a lasting obligation upon our whole nation. More-'over, her son Izates, having heard of the famine, sent a 'large sum of money to the chief men of Jerusalem.'[n]

Josephus does afterwards inform us when this famine happened. For having mentioned Cuspius Fadus, (who was sent procurator into Judea, after the death of Herod, in the fourth of Claudius, in the latter end of the year 44,) and his successor Tiberius Alexander, he says, 'In their

mercaturæ causâ fabricantibus magna commoda constituit. Claud. cap. 18. Orosius speaks of the same thing; Veruntamen sequenti anno tanta fames Romæ fuit, ut medio foro, imperator correptus a populo convitiis et fragminibus panis infestatus, ægre per pseudothyrum in Palatium refugiens furorem excitatæ plebis evaserit. lib. vii. cap. 6.

I have set down these passages at length. I reckon I have hereby saved myself the trouble of making many remarks. The *frugum egestas* of Tacitus, the *assiduæ sterilitates* of Suetonius, were in Italy only; and these, possibly, not so much owing to bad seasons as wrong management, as is intimated by Tacitus. This was certainly one reason why famines were so common at Rome. There is no notice taken by these authors of scarcities in other places at the same time. The famine, as described by Tacitus, was only in the winter. And when the granaries at Rome were almost empty, by the goodness of the gods, and the mildness of the winter, [*modestiâ hiemis,*] ships arrived safe with sufficient provisions.

I am not at all solicitous to prove, that there was no general famine throughout the Roman empire in the reign of Claudius. However, I thought it not amiss to let the reader see how the case seems to me to stand at present. And though some person should hereafter show, that there was an universal famine some time in this reign; yet that alone would not alter my opinion concerning the meaning of the words of St. Luke, who, I think, speaks of nothing beside a dearth in Judea.

[n] *Γινεται δε αυτης ἡ αφιξις πανυ συμφερουσα τοις Ἱεροσολυμιταις· λιμω γαρ αυτων την πολιν μετα τον καιρον εκεινον πιεζοντος, και πολλων ὑπ' ενδειας αναλωματων φθειρομενων, ἡ Βασιλισσα Ἑλενη πεμπει τινας των ἑαυτης, τους μεν εις την Αλεξανδρειαν, πολυν σιτον ωνησομενους χρηματων, τους δε εις Κυπρον ισχαδων φορτον οισοντας· ὡς δε παλιν ηλθον ταχεως κομιζοντες, τοις απορωμεναις διενειμε τροφην, και μεγιστην αυτης μνημην της ευποιϊας ταυτης εις το παν ἡμων εθνος καταλελοιπε· πυθομενος δε και ὁ παις αυτης Ιζατης τα περι τον λιμον, επεμψε πολλα χρηματα τοις πρωτοις των Ἱεροσολυμιτων.* Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 2. sect. 6.

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'time[o] a great dearth happened in Judea: when queen 'Helene, having purchased corn in Egypt with large sums 'of money, gave it away amongst the poor, as I have re-'lated above.'

So that this famine oppressed the land of Judea several years. It might begin in the fourth of Claudius; but I think it must have been chiefly in the fifth and sixth years of his reign.

I apprehend, I have shown from Josephus, that what St. Luke has here related is punctually true. Josephus may be justly supposed to be well acquainted with what happened at Jerusalem and in Judea, in the reign of Claudius: and the whole story of Izates and his mother Helene, is an affair he is much pleased with.

Eusebius likewise mentions this famine in his Chronicles,[p] and in his Ecclesiastical History.[q] He places it in the fourth of Claudius, and seems to have supposed it universal[r] all over the world.

Orosius also speaks of this famine, and says it happened in the fourth of Claudius, and that it oppressed Syria. I place his words in the margin,[s] though he has committed one great mistake in supposing that Helene, the queen of the Adiabenes, was a christian.

Though I should take no particular notice of it here, yet I hope the reader would not omit to observe the agreement of customs in the sacred writers and Josephus. The disciples at Antioch no sooner heard that there was like to be a dearth in the land of Judea, but they, "every man according to his ability," some Jews by birth, others proselytes of righteousness, others, possibly, proselytes of the gate, "determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt there." Helene, the queen of the Adiabenes, and Izates her son, both proselytes to judaism, did the same thing.

We may proceed somewhat farther to observe upon this occasion, that the Jews of Judea seem to have expected it as due to them, that some particular regard should be

[o] Επι τουτοις δη και τον μεγαν λιμον κατα την Ιουδαιαν συνεβη γενεσθαι· καθ' ὁν και ἡ βασιλισσα Ἑλενη, πολλων χρηματων ωνησαμενη σιτον απο της Αιγυπτου, διενειμε τοις απορουμενοις, ως προειπον. Ibid. cap. 5. sect. 2.

[p] Page 79, 204.

[q] Lib. ii. cap. 12.

[r] Ἡ εν ταις πραξεσιν Αγαβου προφητεια πεπερασται, λιμου μεγαλου κατασχοντος την οικουμενην επι Κλαυδιου. Chronic. Can. p. 204.

[s] Eodem anno (quarto) fames gravissima per Syriam facta est, quam etiam prophetæ prænuntiaverant. Sed christianorum necessitatibus apud Hierosolymam, convectis ab Ægypto frumentis, Helena Adiabenorum regina, conversa ad fidem Christi, largissime ministravit. lib. vii. c. 6.

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showed them by the rest of their countrymen, and by all who came over to the worship of the true God, and were admitted to share in any of the privileges of the Jewish people. Thus St. Paul assures us, Gal. ii. 10, "Only they would that we should remember the poor, the same which I also was forward to do." The very[t] last time that St. Paul was at Jerusalem: "After many years," says he, "I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings," Acts xxiv. 17. Nor was St. Paul's argument a new thought, though expressed by him with a divine temper: "But now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints: for it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia, to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem. It has pleased them verily, and *their debtors* they are. For if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister to them in carnal things," Rom. xv. 25—27.

No wonder therefore, that the bigots among the Jews were startled at the thought of any relaxation of the ancient rigour, with which they had treated proselytes; and that they laboured, as they did, to maintain their jurisdiction over them. This contention was not at all for the sake of God and the law, but partly for themselves. Doubtless, the outcry of the Jews against St. Paul, though very unjust and groundless, was, every word of it, expressive and popular, especially at Jerusalem: "This is the man, that teacheth *all men every where*, against the people, and the law, and this place," Acts xxi. 28.

III. I conclude with the banishment of the Jews from Rome. "After these things, Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth. And found a certain Jew, named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla, *because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome*," Acts xviii. 1, 2.

Dio says, that Claudius did not banish the Jews from Rome, but only prohibited their[u] assemblies. But Suetonius, who lived nearer the time, says, 'He expelled the Jews 'from Rome, who were continually raising disturbances, 'Chrestus being their leader.'[v]

[t] Unless we suppose (which is the opinion of some very learned and judicious men) that he went thither again, after he had been sent to Rome. See in Miscellanea Sacra, the Abstract, p. 48.

[u] Τους τε Ιουδαιους, πλειονασαντας αυθις, ωστε χαλεπως αν ανευ ταραχης υπο τω οχλω σφων της πολεως ειρχθηναι, ουκ εξηλασε μεν, των δε δη πατριω νομω βιω χρωμενους εκελευσε μη συναθροιζεσθαι. Dio, Lib. lx. p. 669. B.

[v] Judæos, impulsore *Chresto*, assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit. Sueton. Claud. cap. 25.

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It is disputed by learned men,[v] whether by Chrestus, Suetonius means Jesus Christ. I need not concern myself with that point here. This passage proves what I bring it for.

Josephus has no where particularly mentioned this event. This edict of Claudius seems not to have been long in force. That may be one reason of this omission in Josephus: another reason might be, that it was no agreeable task to him, to mention any disgraces cast upon his people. If some disputes between the Jews and followers of Jesus Christ were really the cause of this order, that might be another reason; Josephus having been very reserved, if not altogether silent, about the affairs of the christians.

BOOK II. CHAP. I.

THREE OBJECTIONS AGAINST LUKE, CHAP. II. VER. 1, 2.

I. *The first objection, That there is no mention made by any ancient author of a decree in the reign of Augustus for taxing all the world, stated and answered.* II. *The second objection, That there could be no taxing made in Judea, during the reign of Herod, by a decree of Augustus, stated and answered.* III. *The third objection, That Cyrenius was not governor of Syria, till several years after the birth of Jesus, stated, together with a general answer.* IV. *Divers particular solutions of this objection.* V. *The last solution confirmed and improved.* VI. *Divers particular difficulties attending the supposition, that this taxing was made by Cyrenius, considered.*

THE history of the New Testament is attended with many difficulties. Jewish and heathen authors concur with the sacred historians in many things. But it is pretended, that there are other particulars in which they are contradicted by authors of very good note.

Among these, the difficulties which may be very properly considered in the first place, are those which relate to the

[v] Vid. Usser. Ann. P. J. 4767. Witsii Meletemata Leyd. de Vit. Paul sect. vii. n. 2, 3.

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account St. Luke has given of the taxing in Judea, which brought Joseph and the Virgin to Bethlehem, a little before the birth of Jesus, Luke ii. 1—5, "And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. (And this taxing was first made, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.) And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, (because he was of the house and lineage of David,) to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child."

Against this account several objections have been raised.[a] They may be all reduced to these three.

I. It is objected, That there is no mention made in any ancient Roman or Greek historian, of any general taxing of people all over the world, or the whole Roman empire, in the time of Augustus, nor of any decree of the emperor for that purpose: whereas, if there had been then any such thing, it is highly improbable, that it should have been omitted by them.

II. St. Matthew says, ch. ii. 1, "That Jesus was born in the days of Herod the king." Judea, therefore, was not at that time a Roman province, and there could not be any taxing made there by a decree of Augustus.

III. Cyrenius was not governor of Syria till nine or ten, perhaps twelve, years after the birth of Jesus. St. Luke therefore was mistaken, in saying, that this taxing was made in his time. This objection will be stated more fully hereafter.

I. By way of answer to the first objection.

1. I allow, that there is not any mention made by ancient writers of any general taxing all over the world, or of all the subjects of the Roman empire, in the reign of Augustus.

Many learned men having been of a different opinion, I am obliged to consider their proofs.

Tillemont[b] puts the question, (for he does not assert it,) whether Pliny has not referred to such a thing? But it is plain from Pliny's words, that he speaks of a partition of Italy only into several districts.[c]

[a] Vid. Spanhem. Dubia Evangelica. Part. ii. Dub. iv. v. &c. Huet. Demonst. Evangel. Prop. ix. cap. x. et Commentatores.

[b] Tillemont, Memoires Eccles. Tom. i. Not. ii. Sur Jesus Christ.

[c] Nunc ambitum ejus, urbesque enumerabimus. Quâ in re præfari necessarium est, auctorem nos Divum Augustum secuturos, descriptionemque ab eo factam Italiæ totius in regiones xi. Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5.

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There is a passage also of Dio, which has been referred to upon this occasion: but it has evidently no relation to the matter before us. The Romans had a tax called the twentieth: this tax was grievous to many people; Augustus therefore[c] desired the senate to consider of some other. 'But the senate not finding any proper expedient, he in-'timated, that he would raise money upon lands and houses, 'without telling them what, or in what manner it should 'be; and hereupon sent officers abroad, some one way, and 'some another, to make a survey of the estates, both of 'particular persons and cities. But upon this, the senate 'complied immediately, and the old tax of the twentieth 'was confirmed, lest a worse thing should come in its room. 'This was all Augustus aimed at, and the survey was laid 'aside.'[d] Besides, this affair happened, A. U. 766, A. D. 13, long after the taxing which St. Luke speaks of.

The passage which Baronius[e] has quoted from Æthicus, he does himself allow to relate only to a geometrical description of the empire, begun by order of Julius Cæsar, and finished in thirty-two years, and therefore over long before the taxing mentioned by St. Luke.

I am afraid to mention his argument from Pliny, lest it should be thought, that I intend to divert the reader, when we ought to be serious. Pliny says, 'And as for Augustus 'himself, whom all mankind rank in this class, [of fortunate,] 'if the whole course of his life be carefully considered, 'there will be observed in it many instances of the fickle-'ness and inconstancy of human affairs.'[f] But Baronius supposes, that Pliny says, that 'in every census mention is 'made of Augustus, and that there was so particularly in 'that made by Vespasian and Titus, because he first made[g] 'a survey of the whole Roman empire:' thus making Pliny to refer; in the passage he quotes from him, not to what went before, but to a passage which follows four chapters lower.

[d] Και παραχρημα μηδεν ειπων, μηθ' οσον, μηθ' οπως αυτο δωσουσιν, επεμψεν αλλους αλλη, τα τε των ιδιωτων και τα των πολεων κτηματα απογραψομενους· ινα ως και μειζονως ζημιωθησομενοι δεισωσι, και την εικοστην τελειν αν θελωνται· ο και εγενετο. Dio, l. 56. p. 588. E.

[e] Apparat. N. 79.

[f] In Divo quoque Augusto quem universa mortalitas in *hac censurâ* nuncupat, si diligenter æstimentur cuncta, magna sortis humanæ reperiantur volumina. Lib. vii. cap. 45.

[g] Idemque dum hæc alibi ait; [lib. vii. cap. 45.] In Divo quoque Augusto, quem universa mortalitas in hac censurâ nuncupat, nempe eam, quam Vespasianus et Titus recens egerunt, de quâ idem inferius [ibid. cap. 49.] meminit, significare videtur, in quolibet repetito in orbe Romano lustris singulis censu, mentionem Augusti fieri; quod primus omnium universum orbem Romanum subjectum imperio censuisset. At de censibus satis. Baron. ubi supra.

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Some have alleged, as a proof of this general taxing, some words of Suidas, who in his Lexicon[h] says, 'That 'Augustus sent out twenty men of great probity into all 'parts of his empire, by whom he made an assessment of 'persons and estates, ordering a certain quota to be paid 'into the treasury. This was the first census; they who 'were before him having at pleasure exacted tribute of those 'who had any thing; so that it was a public crime to be rich.'

But it is difficult to take this upon Suidas's authority alone, since he says not in what part of Augustus's reign it was done, quotes no author for it, and it is not to be found in any ancient writer now extant; though possibly, he refers to the story just now told from Dio; who assures us, that project he mentions was never executed. Besides, Suidas says, this was the first census; which is a very great mistake. There had been before Augustus many assessments of Roman citizens, and likewise of divers provinces of the Roman empire.

In another place Suidas says, 'Augustus had a desire to 'know the number of all the inhabitants of the Roman em-'pire.'[i] And he mentions the number, which he says was found upon the inquiry. But Suidas must have been mistaken. Archbishop Usher's remark upon this passage is worth placing here. 'In their consulship [Caius Marcius 'Censorinus, and C. Asinius Gallus] there was a second 'muster made at Rome, in which were numbered 4,233,000 'Roman citizens, as is gathered out of the fragments of the 'Ancyran marble. In Suidas, in Αυγουστος the number is far 'less of those that were mustered, 4,101,017, which yet he 'very ridiculously obtrudeth upon us, not for the muster 'of the city only, but of the world.'[k]

The late learned editor[l] of Suidas does also highly ap-

[h] In voc. Απογραφη· Απογραφη ἡ απαριθμησις. Ὁ δε Καισαρ Αυγουστος, ὁ μοναρχησας, εικοσιν ανδρας της αρετης τον βιον και τον τροπον επιλεξαμενος, επι πασαν την γην των υπηκοων εξεπεμψε· δι' ὠν απογραφας εποιησατο των τε ανθρωπων, και των ὑσων, αυταρχη τινα προσταξας τῳ δημοσιῳ μοιραν εκ τουτων εισφερεσθαι. Αυτη ἡ απογραφη πρωτη εγενετο, των προ αυτου της κεκτημενος τι μη αφαιρημενων, ὡς ειναι τοις ευποροις δημοσιον εγκλημα τον πλουτον.

[i] V. Αυγουστος· Αυγουστος Καισαρ δοξαν αυτῳ παντας οικητορας Ῥωμαιων κατα προσωπον αριθμει, βουλομενος γνωναι ποσον εστι πληθος· και ευρισκονται οἱ την Ρωμαιων οικουντες νι μυριαδες και χιλιοι οζ ανδρες.

[k] Annals: Year of the world, 3996. p. 786. Engl. Edit. Lond. 1658. In the Latin the last words are: Qui tamen non pro urbis tantum, sed pro orbis etiam Romani, censu ridicule nobis ibi obtruditur.

[l] De hoc loco vide omnino Casaubonum contra Baron. Exerc. 1. Num. 93. et Usser.—qui recte observârunt, Suidam hic censum urbis pro censu orbis Romani lectori obtrudere; cum ridiculum sit credere, non plures fuisse totius imperii Romani incolas, quam quot Suidas hic exprimit. Kuster, in loc.

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prove of this censure passed upon his author, by our most learned and excellent archbishop. It is observable, that they both use here the word city [urbis censu]. I hope, however, they mean not the city of Rome only, and the country round about it, but the Roman citizens all over the Roman empire, or at least all Italy: for otherwise, with submission, I should think them, in this particular, almost as unreasonable as Suidas. It is incredible, that there should have been at Rome and in the country round about it, besides strangers and slaves, which were very numerous, so many Roman citizens, as are mentioned on the Ancyran marble; even though all who were entered in a census, be set down there; which, however, is denied by some. I suppose then, that by the muster of the city, these learned men mean the muster or census of Roman citizens in any part of the Roman empire, as opposed to all the people in general, living in the same empire. And in this sense only[m] I adopt their censure of Suidas; and cannot but think it very just. The number of the inhabitants of the Roman empire must needs have exceeded the numbers mentioned by Suidas, or on the marble; though it should be supposed, that none are included in these numbers, but those who were arrived at military age. This might be sufficient to show that the number of the Ancyran marble is not the number of all the people of the Roman empire: but other reasons will appear presently.

I must in the next place, take the liberty of considering what Prideaux has said upon this subject, who, with Huet[n] and others, thinks that this description or survey in Judea belonged to one of the surveys made by Augustus; and that, in particular, it was a part of his second census, 'The 'first was in the year when he himself was the sixth time, 'and M. Agrippa, the second time consuls, that is, in the 'year before the christian æra 28. The second time in the 'consulship of C. Marcius Censorinus, and C. Asinius 'Gallus, that is, in the year before the christian æra 8. And 'the last time in the consulship of Sextus Pompeius Nepos, 'that is, in the year of the christian æra 14. In the first 'and last time he executed this with the assistance of a 'colleague; but the second time he did it by himself alone, 'and this is the description which St. Luke refers to. The 'decree concerning it was issued out the year I have men-'tioned, that is, in the 8th year of the christian æra, which

[m] I think this evidently Kuster's sense. His *Orbis Romani* is afterwards explained by *tetius imperii Romani* incolas. Therefore his *urbis census* imports Roman citizens living any where. [n] Demon. Evang. ubi supra, sect. iii.

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'was three years before that in which Christ was born.—'That we allow three years for the execution of this decree, 'can give no just reason for exception.——The account 'taken by the decree of Augustus at the time of our Sa-'viour's birth, extended to all manner of persons, and also 'to their possessions, estates, qualities, and other circum-'stances. And when a description and survey like this was 'ordered by William the Conqueror, to be taken for Eng-'land only, I mean that of the Doomsday book, it was six 'years in making: and the Roman province of Syria was 'much more than twice as big as all England.'[o]

To all this I shall only say, 1. That the surveys made by Augustus were of *Roman citizens* only. So he says himself, in the inscription of the Ancyran marble.[p] And the Roman historians say the same thing.[q] But the census or description made in Judea, according to St. Luke's account, was of all the inhabitants of that country, which certainly were not, all of them, Roman citizens.

2. The years which Prideaux mentions, were not the years in which the decrees were issued out, but in which the surveys were finished. This appears to me the most natural meaning of the words of the inscription.

Perhaps it will be objected, that the consulships here set down, do not denote the years in which a census was finished, but in which it was resolved upon and entered in the Fasti, or public acts; and that the sense of the inscription may be thus: In such and such consulship I made a census, by which census, when finished, the number of citizens was found to be so and so. It may be likewise said, that the phrase Lustrum feci, does not necessarily import the making the Lustrum, which was done when the census was over, but that Lustrum is here synonymous with census. And it may be urged, that when Lustrum denotes the solemn sacrifice at the conclusion of the census, the verb condo is used, and not facio, which we have here.

To this I answer, that by the account here given of the

[o] Prideaux Conn. Part. ii. p. 650, 652. 8vo. Edit. 1718.

[p] Et in Consulatu. Sexto. Censum. *populi.* Collega. M. Agrippa. Egi.—Quo. Lustro *civium Romanorum.* Censita. sunt Capita. Quadragiens. Centum. Millia. Et. Sexaginta. Tria.—Cum—Nuper. Lustrum. Solus. Feci. Legi. Censorum. 1. *Sinio.* Cos. Quo. Lustro. Censa. sunt. *civium Romanorum.* Quadragens. Centum. Millia. et Ducenta. Triginta. Tria—In consulatu. Fi.—Cum. nuperrime—Lustrum. Cum. Lega. Tiberio. Sext. Pompeio. Et. Sext. Apuleio. Cos. Quo. Lustro. *Rom. Capitum.* Quadragens. Centum. Mil.—*Iginta.* Et. Septem. Mil. Legi.

[q] Recepit et morum legumque regimen æque perpetuum: quo jure, quanquam sine censuræ honore, censum tamen *populi* ter egit. Suet. in Aug. c. 27.

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third census, we are obliged to suppose, that the consulships here named, denote the times when each census was finished. Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, in whose consulship the last census is placed, were consuls A. U. 767, A. D. 14. And Augustus died the 19th of August that very same year. If the census had been only begun, and not finished, he could not have set down on the table, as he has done, the number of citizens which was found in that census. Moreover, it is plain from[r] Suetonius, that Tiberius was nominated for colleague of Augustus in this census, the year before, if not sooner. It is likely, the census might be then entered in the public acts: but however that be, it is plain, that the date on the Ancyran marble signifies the completing of the census. And I think, that the passage I have just quoted from Suetonius may remove the scruple relating to the phrase; since he has used the verb condo; by which we are fully assured, that the census was finished, and the solemn sacrifice performed at the conclusion of it, in the year set down on the Ancyran marble.

Farther, Augustus, in the Ancyran marble, places his first census in his own sixth consulship, Agrippa being his colleague. And Dio says expressly, that Augustus made, or finished[s] the census in that year. This being the case as to the first and third census of Augustus, we may conclude the same thing also with reference to the second, and that it was finished the eighth year before the christian æra: consequently, it is impossible that St. Luke's description should have been a part of it.

After Augustus's death, there were three books found among his papers: and one of these is alleged as a proof, that there had been made some general survey of the Roman empire, and that about this time. Prideaux's words are these, 'Of the book, which Augustus made out of the 'surveys and descriptions, which were at this time returned 'to him out of every province and depending kingdom 'of the Roman empire, Tacitus,[t] Suetonius,[u] and Dio

[r] A Germaniâ in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum, quem distulerat, egit.—Dedicavit et Concordiæ ædem. Ac non multo post lege per cos. latâ, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret, condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est. Vit. Tiber. c. 20, 21.

[s] Και τας ὑπογραφας εξετελεσε. Lib. liii. p. 496. c.

[t] Cum proferri libellum recitarique jussit. Opes publicæ continebantur. Quantum civium, sociorumque in armis: quas classes, regna, provinciæ, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates et largitiones, quæ cuncta suâ manu perscripserat Augustus. Tacit. Ann. lib. i. c. 11.

[u] De tribus voluminibus, uno mandata de funere suo complexus est: altero,

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'Cassius,' make mention, and represent it to be very near 'of the same kind with our Doomsday book above mentioned.'

But I do not see how Augustus's having had by him a little book, (libellum, Breviarium imperii), written with his own hand, containing a small abridgment of the public taxes, imposts, and revenues, can be any proof, that this state of the empire was formed upon a survey made at this time, or indeed, upon any general survey made at any other time, by virtue of any one single decree, (that is St. Luke's phrase,) for the whole empire. This statement, which Augustus had by him, of the public strength and riches, might have been formed upon surveys made at different times. Nay, he might have in this book the state of dependent kingdoms, in some of which a census had never been made. And it is likely, it may appear in the progress of this argument, that there were several countries, branches of the Roman empire, which had never been obliged to a census.

Beside that there is not found in any ancient Roman historian any account of a general census of all the countries and people of the Roman empire; there are considerations taken from the nature of the thing, which render it very improbable, that a general census should ever have been appointed at one time. The Roman assessments were always disagreeable things in the provinces, and often caused disturbances. An universal census at the same time seems to have been impracticable. And there does not appear in any Roman historian so much as a hint, that such a thing was ever thought of by any of their emperors.

What is just now said of the difficulty of making a general survey at one and the same time, affects chiefly Prideaux's sentiment, who seems to think that the taxing St. Luke speaks of was a proper Roman census. They who suppose that it was only a numbering of the people, are not particularly concerned with it.

2. I am of opinion, that St. Luke speaks only of a taxing in Judea; and that the first verse of his second chapter ought to be rendered after this manner; "And it came to pass in those days, that there went forth a decree from Cœ-

indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in æneis tabulis, quæ ante Mausoleum statuerentur: tertio, breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum ubique sub signis esset, quantum pecuniæ in ærario et fiscis, et vectigalium residuis. Suet. in Aug. c. 101.

[r] Το τριτον τα τε των στρατιωτων και τα των προσοδων, των τε αναλωματων των δημοσιων, το τε πληθος των εν τοις θησαυροις χρηματων Dio. l. lvi. p. 591. B

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sar Augustus, that all the *land* should be taxed." So L'Enfant has translated it.[w] Bynæus likewise is of the same sentiment, and has supported it, in my judgment, very well.[x]

I have shown in another[y] place, that the word we have here does sometimes denote a particular country only, and that St. Luke has used it for the land of Judea. And he must be so understood in this place. The decree relates to the land of Judea only, because[z] the account that follows is of that country only. And must every one perceive some deficiency, if οικυμενη be here rendered the whole world, or the Roman empire? Let us see what St. Luke says, omitting at present the parenthesis. "And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed. And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee out of the city of Nazareth." If the account of the decree had been worded by St. Luke so generally, as to comprehend the whole world, would he not have taken some notice of the land of Judea, before he came to relate particularly what was done in it?

If it be enquired: If the land of Judea only be meant, what does the term "all" signify? I answer, it was very necessary to be added. At the time when St. Luke wrote, and indeed from the death of Herod, which happened soon after the nativity of Jesus, the land of Judea, or of Israel, had suffered a dismembering. Archelaus had to his share Judea properly so called, together with Samaria and Idumea; and the province of Judea, which was afterwards governed by Roman procurators, was pretty much of the same extent. But Galilee, Iturea, and other parts of the land of

[w] En ce temps lá, il fut publié un édit de la part de César Auguste, pour faire un denombrement de tout le païs. Nouveau Test. voyez les notes.

[x] Antonius Bynæus de Natali J. Christi. lib. i. c. 3. sect. v. vi.

[y] See p. 253. n. [d]. Some time after this whole chapter was in a manner quite finished, I met with Keuchenii Annotata in N. T. He has upon this text alleged some other examples of this use of οικυμενη. I rely upon those I have produced in the place referred to, and shall not trouble the reader with more.

[z] What is above was written several months before I had seen Keuchenius. But my sentiments are so much confirmed by what he has said upon the same subject, that I am persuaded the reader will allow me to take the advantage of subjoining here from him what follows: Præterea, an veri speciem habet, Augustum uno eodemque tempore descriptionem per totum orbem Romanum instituere voluisse? accedit quod omnes, v. 3. ad civitatem patriam profecti leguntur, ut describerentur: nimirum illud παντες respicit ad πασαν την οικυμενην, cujus descriptio injuncta fuisse vers. 1. legitur, et istius mandata auctoritate omnes impulsi, et ad propriam civitatem profecti esse memorantur.

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Israel, had been given to other descendants of Herod the Great.

St. Luke's words, therefore, are extremely proper and expressive, that "*all the land* should be taxed;" to show, that this decree of Augustus comprehended Galilee, the country in which Joseph lived. That this was the intention in adding this term of universality, is evident from St. Luke's specifying immediately afterwards the name of the city, from which Joseph came to Bethlehem; which city was not in the country that originally belonged to the tribe of Judah, nor situated in the bounds of the province of Judea at the time in which St. Luke is supposed to write, but was of the kingdom of Judea, in the reign of Herod.

It seems needless to observe, that it was very common to add the term, all or whole, to Judea, or land, when persons intended the land of the Israelites. There are divers instances in the Old and New Testament. And Josephus, speaking of Agrippa the elder, who had been possessed of all the territories subject to his grandfather Herod the Great, says: 'He had now reigned three years over the *whole* 'land of Judea.'[a]

Though I am very well satisfied from the context, that St. Luke comprehends nothing in Augustus's decree beside the land of Judea; yet it is no small confirmation of this interpretation, that the most early christian writers seem to have understood St. Luke in the same manner. For when they speak of this circumstance of our Saviour's nativity, they never say any thing of a general census all over the world, or the Roman empire.

Justin Martyr in his first Apology informs the emperor and the senate of the time and place of Christ's nativity. 'Bethlehem,' says he, 'in which Jesus Christ was born, is 'a village in the country of the Jews, at the distance of five 'and thirty stadia from Jerusalem. You may assure your- 'selves of this from the census made in the time of Cyre- 'nius, your first procurator in Judea.'[b] He mentions this census also in several other places, and always in the same manner.[c] I do not recollect above one passage of Irenæus,

[a] *Τριτον δε ετος αυτῳ βασιλευοντι της ὁλης Ιουδαιας πεπληρωτο.* Joseph. p. 871. v. 34.

[b] *Κωμη δε τις εστιν εν τῃ χωρᾳ Ιουδαιων, απεχουσα σταδιους τριακοντα πεντε Ἱεροσολυμων, εν ᾗ εγεννηθη Ιησους Χριστος, ὡς και μαθειν δυνασθε εκ των απογραφων των γενομενων επι Κυρηνιου του ὑμετερου εν Ιουδαιᾳ πρωτου γενομενου επιτροπου.* Just. Mart. Ap. 1. p. 75. E.

[c] *Προ ετων ἑκατον πεντηκοντα γεγεννησθαι τον Χριστον λεγειν ἡμας επι Κυρηνιου.* Ibid. p. 83. B. *Απογραφης ουσης εν τῃ Ιουδαιᾳ τοτε πρωτης επι Κυρηνιου· κ. τ. λ.* Dial. ii. p. 303. D.

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in which there is any notice taken of this census,[d] and that is not very material.

St. Clement of Alexandria says: 'Our Lord was born in 'the eight and twentieth year, when they first ordered a 'census to be made in the time of Augustus.'[e]

Origen confounds this census with that afterwards made in Judea by[f] Cyrenius, but says nothing of its being universal. And indeed the passage amounts almost to a positive proof, that he thought the census related to Judea only.

Tertullian has often made mention of the time of the rise of christianity, in his Apology addressed to the Roman magistrates,[g] in his books inscribed to the Gentiles:[h] of this and the census in his treatises written against the Jews[i] and against heretics:[k] but yet there is no notice taken of any census beside that in Judea.

If any think that we are to expect no mention of a general census from the christian writers, because the census in Judea was all that was to their purpose: I say, that a general census of all the people and countries of the Roman empire was very much to their purpose, the more to illustrate the epoch of our Saviour's nativity. A general census must have been better known than one that was particular. Would Justin Martyr, Origen, and Tertullian, have omitted this circumstance, if St. Luke had mentioned it? or if they themselves were aware of it? And yet in their time certainly an universal census, made in the reign of Augustus, could not have been forgotten.

Nay, though the universality of the census had been a circumstance of no importance at all in their argument, yet it is almost impossible, but it must have dropped from them

[d] Sed proximæ ætatis dicebant, [Judæi, Joh. viii. 56, 57.] sive vere scientes ex conscriptione census, sive conjicientes secundum ætatem, quam videbant habere eum super quadraginta. Iren. lib. ii. cap. xxii. sect. 6.

[e] Εγεννηθη δε ὁ Κυριος ἡμων τῳ ογδοῳ και εικοστῳ ετει, ὁτε πρωτον εκελευσαν απογραφας γενεσθαι. Clem. Strom. lib. i. p. 339. D.

[f] Και μετ' εκεινον [Θευδαν] εν ταις της απογραφης ἡμεραις, ὁτ' εοικε γεγενησθαι ὁ Ιησους, Ιουδας τις Γαλιλαιος πολλους ἑαυτῳ συναπεστησεν απο τυ λαυ των Ιουδαιων. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 44.

[g] Apol. cap. 5, 7, 21. [h] Ad Nat. lib. i. cap. 7.

[i] Fuit enim de patriâ Bethlehem, et de domo David, sicut apud Romanos in censu descripta est Maria, ex quâ nascitur Christus. Adv. Judæos. cap. 9.

[k] Aufer hinc, inquit, molestos semper Cæsaris census. De carne Christi. cap. 2. Sed et census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judæâ per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent. Adv. Marc. lib. iv. cap. 19. Tam distincta fuit a primordio Judæa gens per tribus et populos, et familias et domos, ut nemo facile ignorari de genere potuisset, vel de recentibus Augustinianis censibus, adhuc tunc fortasse pendentibus. Ibid. cap. 36.

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in some one of those many occasions in which they have mentioned our Saviour's nativity, and the census which accompanied it.

I shall proceed but one step farther to observe, that Eusebius has made no mention of any more than the census performed in Judea, neither in his history,[1] nor in his Chronicle.[m]

I cannot say that this interpretation is supported by any ancient version. But Bynæus[n] observes, that in an ancient gloss, there is this explanation of it; "[That all the world should be taxed]" or surveyed; not the orb of all the earth, but the orb of Judea, and Syria.

If then the census or description, ordered by the decree of Augustus at the time of our Saviour's nativity, was of the land of Judea only, the silence of ancient historians is no objection at all against St. Luke's account. There must have been many surveys of provinces of the Roman empire in the reign of Augustus, of which there is no notice taken by any of the Roman or Greek authors now in our hands.

The only writer in whom we could expect any mention of it is Josephus. Whether he has spoke of it or not will be considered hereafter. But supposing at present, that there is no notice at all taken of it by him, this is no objection against St. Luke. It is not to be expected we should find in one single historian, all the affairs that were transacted in his country. We have undoubted evidence of this enrolment in the early testimonies of the christian writers. I have already exhibited more than enough of them. Justin Martyr speaks of it in his Apology to the emperor and the senate before the middle of the second century. Tertullian mentions it in several of his pieces. There is scarce any one occasional fact or circumstance relating to the history of Jesus, which was more frequently and more publicly mentioned by the christian writers: and yet it was never contested, that I know of, in all antiquity, not even by the adversaries of the christian religion. Julian speaks of it as a thing universally known. I subjoin his words. 'The 'Jesus, says he, whom you extol, was one of Cæsar's sub'jects. If you make a doubt of it, I will prove it by and

[1] Vid. Hist. Ecc. lib. i. c. [m] Εν τῳ λγ Ἡρωδȣ Κυρηνιος, υπο της συγλητȣ βȣλης απεϛαλμενος εις την Ιȣδαιαν, απογραφας εποιησατο των ȣσιων και των οικητορων. p. 76. vid. et p. 200. [n] Hoc a nemine interpretum, quod quidem ego sciam, animadversum esse, nisi in specimine Glossæ Ordinariæ, quod Robertus Stephanus edidit, legimus. Octavius xlii. imperii suo anno, publico decreto edixit, ut universus orbis Judæorum et Syriæ describeretur; et paulo post, [ut censeretur totus orbis] sive describeretur: non quidem orbis terrarum, sed orbis Judæorum et Syriæ. Bynæus, De Natali Jesu Christi. p. 306.

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'by: though it may be as well done now. For you say 'yourselves, that he was enrolled with his father and 'mother in the time of Cyrenius.'°

I presume I have answered this objection: but it is upon the supposition, that St. Luke speaks of a census or enrolment in Judea only. I have not taken up this interpretation to avoid a difficulty, but because I really think it to be St. Luke's meaning. However, if St. Luke be supposed to speak of a general census of the Roman empire, I own, that the silence of antiquity would be a very great objection. Nor is the difficulty much lessened by supposing this enrolment was of persons only, and not of lands or goods. The numbering the people was far from being the principal design of a census of Roman citizens. But yet, oftentimes, when an historian mentions a census, he gives very little account of any thing relating to it, beside the number of citizens that was found. If ever the number of all the people of the Roman empire had been taken in the reign of Augustus, it would have been a very great curiosity; and historians would have been very fond of gratifying their readers with it. Though we have but few writers of those times, yet it is with me unquestionable, that in some of those we have, there would have been a particular account of so remarkable an event, or at least many references to it; whereas there are none at all.

II. St. Matthew says, that Jesus was born in the days of Herod. Judea therefore was not at that time a Roman province: and there could be no taxing made there by virtue of a decree of Augustus.

This objection has been answered already. For it is evident from what has been alleged from the christian writers, in the reply to the former objection, that there was some census, description, or survey, made in Judea at the time of our Saviour's nativity, by a decree of Augustus. However, that no scruples may remain in the minds of any from a false notion of the state of Judea under Herod, I shall particularly consider the matter of this second objection.

But I would first observe in general, that though we have the word "taxing" in our version, "that all the world should be taxed; this taxing was first made;" yet the words used by St. Luke do not import a tax, or laying a tax or duty upon a people. In the margin of our Bibles

° Ὁ παρ' ὑμιν κηρυττομενος Ιησους εἰς την των Καισαρος υπηκοων· ει δε απιστειτε, μικρον ὑστερον αποδειξω· μαλλον δη ηδη λεγεσθω· φατε μεν τ αυτον απογραψασθαι μετα τυ πατρος και της μητρος επι Κυρηνιυ. Apud. Cyril. l. vi. p. 213. ed. Spanh.

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we have the word "enrolled;" and in most other translations[p] a word of like signification is used.

I must also premise, that some have thought that this enrolment was to be only of names and persons; and that all Augustus aimed at by this decree, was to know the number of people inhabiting the Roman empire, with their employments and conditions of life. Whitby paraphrases these words thus: 'That all the world should be taxed:' that is, 'should have their names and conditions of life set 'down in court rolls, according to their families.'

Others have thought, that this decree obliged to a registry not only of the names of persons and their conditions of life, but also of their goods and possessions; and that in short, it was a Roman census, which was now made, in order to the people's paying taxes for the future, according to the value of their estates. I own I am inclined to this latter opinion; and that St. Luke speaks only of a census in Judea, as I have already declared.

Having premised these things, that we may find out what kind of enrolment or registering was now ordered by Augustus; whether a decree of Augustus could be obligatory at this time upon the people of Judea; and whether it is likely there was a Roman census made there at this time: I shall consider these following particulars.

1. I shall explain the nature of a Roman census.
2. I shall consider the force of St. Luke's words.
3. I shall describe in general the state of Judea under Herod.
4. I shall inquire what grounds there are to believe, that a Roman census was made in Judea at this time.

1. I shall explain the nature of a Roman census. A census (as I take it) consisted of these two parts: first, the account which the people gave in of themselves and their estates; and secondly, the value set upon their estates by their censors, who took the account from them. The people did undoubtedly represent in some measure the value of the things they entered; but the censors seem to have had the power of determining and settling the value.

There was indeed another thing which belonged to the office of the censors at Rome, the censure or correction of manners: but, as I suppose, that belonged only to a census of Roman citizens, and that it was no part of a census of all

[p] Ut describeretur universus orbis. Hæc descriptio prima facta est: Vers. vulg. pour faire un dénombrement—ce dénombrement se fit. Mons. vers. M. Le Clerc, L'Enfant, &c.

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the inhabitants of a province, or of a country subject to a dependent prince, I take no notice of it here.

The Roman census was an institution of Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome. Dionysius of Hallicarnassus gives us this account of it; that 'he ordered all the citizens of 'Rome to register their estates according to their value in 'money, taking an oath, in a form he prescribed, to deliver 'a faithful account according to the best of their knowledge, 'specifying withal the name of their parents, their own age, 'and the names of their wives and children, adding also 'what quarter of the city, or what town in the country they 'lived in.'[q]

And after much the same manner do we find a Roman census described in the[r] Fragments of the twelve tables, and in the Roman [s] orators, [t] historians, and [u] lawyers. From all whom it appears, the people were required to give in an account of their names, their quality, employments, wives, children, servants, and estates.

Beside what the people did, there seems to have been something done by the censors more than the bare taking the account the people gave in: that is, they were to determine the value of each particular of their estates, and the amount[v] of the whole; and from this seems to have been taken the name or title of this office, both in the [w] Latin and in the [x] Greek language. For not only was the compass of ground which any one possessed to be considered, but the nature of it, and the profits it might yield: nor the number only of slaves or servants which any one had, but also the

[q] Εκελευσεν ἁπαντας Ρωμαιως αποκραφεσθαι τε και τιμασθαι τας ωσιας προς αργυριον ὁμοσαντας τον νομιμον ὁρκον, η μην τ' αληθη και απο παντος τε βελτιστε τετιμησθαι, πατερων τε ὡν εισι γραφοντας, και ἡλικιαν ἡν εχουσι δηλωντας, γυναικας τε και παιδας ονομαζοντας, και εν τινι κατοικωσιν ἑκαστοι της πολεως τοπῳ, η παγῳ της χωρας, προστιθεντας. Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. l. iv. c. 15. p. 212. init. Huds. Edit.

[r] Censores populi civitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censento. Cic. de Leg. lib. iii. cap. 3.

[s] Jam (ut censoriæ tabulæ loquuntur) fabrûm et procûm audeo dicere, non fabrorum et procorum. Cic. Orator. n. 156.

[t] Ab hoc (Servio Tullio) populus Romanus relatus in censum.—Summâque regis solertiâ ita est ordinata respublica, ut omnia patrimonii, dignitatis, ætatis, artium, officiorumque discrimina in tabulas referrentur, ac si maxima civitas minimæ domûs diligentiâ contineretur. Florus, lib. i. cap. 6. vid. Liv. lib. i. cap. 42. et seq.

[u] Vid. Digesta Tit. de censibus.

[v] In censu habendo potestas omnis æstimationis habendæ, summæque faciundæ, censori permittitur. Cic. in Ver. lib. ii. n. 131.

[w] Censio æstimatio, unde Censores. Festus de verb. Sign. Censores ab re appellati sunt. Liv. lib. iv. cap. 8. fin.

[x] Τιμητης.

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work[y] they were employed in, according to which their service was to be valued. And therefore every one reckoned himself worth so[z] much as the censors valued his estate at.

This power, which the censors had of rating or valuing the estates of all persons, gave them an opportunity of committing injustice, in favouring some and oppressing others. For though there were[a] rules, by which they ought to regulate their estimation of every particular; and the supreme censors[b] were wont to issue out precepts to their under-officers, enjoining justice and equity in their posts; yet if the supreme censors were men of ill principles, very great enormities often went unpunished.[c]

That the reader may have a complete idea of the design of these enrolments among the Romans, at least so far as is necessary to our purpose, I shall add here the account which Dionysius has given of the census made by Laertius the dictator, A. U. 258, before Christ, 496. Being chosen dictator, 'He immediately ordered that all, according to the 'excellent institution of Servius Tullius, should in their several 'tribes give in an account of their estates, setting down the 'names of their wives and children, and their own age, and 'that of their children. All having in a short time offered 'themselves to be assessed, (for the penalty of neglect was 'no less than forfeiture of estate and citizenship;) there 'were found to be one hundred and fifty thousand and 'seven hundred Romans at man's estate. After this, he 'separated those who were of military age from the elder; 'and disposing those into centuries, he formed four bodies 'of horse and[d] foot.' From this passage it appears, that

[y] In servis deferendis observandum est, ut et nationes eorum, et officia, et artificia specialiter deferantur. l. iv. sect. 5. ff. de censibus.

[z] Censores dicti, quod rem suam quisque tanti æstimare solitus sit quantum illi censuerint. Festus. V. Censores.

[a] Formâ censuali cavetur, ut agri sic in censum referantur,—arvum quod in decem annos proximos satum erit, quod jugerum sit,—illam æquitatem debet admittere censitor, ut officio ejus congruat, relevari eum, qui in publicis tabulis delato modo frui certis ex causis non possit. Lib. iv. pr. eod.

[b] Edicis enim, te in decumanum, si plura sustulerit, quam debitum sit, in octuplum judicium daturum esse. Cic. in Verr. l. iii. n. 26.

[c] Sic census habitus est, te prætore, ut eo censu nullius civitatis respublica posset administrari. Nam locupletissimi cujusque census extenuârant, tenuissimi auxerant. Ibid. lib. ii. n. 138.

[d] Το κρατιστον των ὑπο Σερουιου Τυλλιου του δημοτικωτατου βασιλεως κατασταθεντων νομιμων, πρωτος επεταξε Ῥωμαιοις ἁπασι ποιησαι, τιμησεις κατα φυλας των βιων ενεγκειν, προσγραφοντας γυναικων και παιδων ονοματα, και ἡλικιας ἑαυτων τι και τεκνων· εν ολιγῳ δε χρονῳ παντων τιμησαμενων, δια το μεγεθος της τιμωριας· την τε γαρ ουσιαν απολεσαι τους απειθησαντας εδει, και την πολι-

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the knowledge of the military strength of the state was intended in this institution, as well as the regulating the public revenue. It was necessary to observe this here, that the reader may the better judge of some arguments that follow.

2. We shall now consider the force and import of the words St. Luke makes use of in his account of the matter before us.

Now it must be allowed, that the verb made use of by St. Luke in the first verse, "that all should be taxed," or enrolled,[e] is used by Greek authors for the making any kind of entry or enrolment. Thus Servius Tullius observing many Roman citizens to be in debt, ordered all of them, who had not wherewithal to satisfy their creditors, to enter[f] their names, and the sum they owed in public rolls; that it might be known what the whole amounted to, and provision might be made for payment.

This word is likewise used concerning the enrolments which were made when the Roman citizens gave in their names, and enlisted themselves in the service of a general.[g]

So that perhaps there may be some reason to question, whether St. Luke intended not a bare entry or enrolment made by the people of Judea of their names and conditions of life, as many learned men have supposed.

But yet on the other hand it is certain, that the whole of a census is oftentimes expressed, by the Greek authors, by the words which St. Luke has used. Thus Dio Cassius, speaking of Augustus's first census, says, 'in the same year 'he finished[h] the enrolments:' hereby meaning the whole of a census, including also the censure of manners, which belonged to a census of Roman citizens. And in another place, when he particularly describes the office of a censor, he says: 'As censors, they [the emperors] inquire[i] into our lives and manners, and make enrolments.' He intends therefore in this place the whole of a census, except the correction of manners, by the noun, which St. Luke

τειαν· ἑπτακοσιοις πλειως εὑρεθησαν οἱ ἐν ἡβῃ Ῥωμαιων πεντεκαιδεκα μυριαδων· μετα τουτο διακρινας τους ἐχοντας την στρατευσιμον ἡλικιαν απο των πρεσβυτερων· κ. τ. λ. Lib. v. c. 75. p. 324.

[e] Ἀπογραφεσθαι πασαν την οικουμενην (Αυτη ἡ ἀπογραφη· κ. τ. λ.)

[f] Ἀπογραφεσθαι κελευσας τους ὑποχρεως, ὁσοι την πιστιν ἀδυνατοι ησαν φυλαττειν τοις ὀφειλουσι και ποσον ἑκαστος. Dionys. Hal. Lib. iv. c. 10. p. 207.

[g] Συννεφρέον ἀπογραφομενοι τε προς τους ἡγεμονας τα ονοματα, και τον στρατιωτικον ὁμνυντες ὁρκον. Dion. Hal. Lib. x. cap. 16. init.

[h] Ἐν δ' ουν τῳ τοτε παροντι τοτε αλλα ὡσπερ εἰθιστο ἐπραξε, και τας ἀπογραφας ἐξιτελεσε. Dio. Lib. liii. p. 496. C. ad A. U. C. 726.——vid. etiam p. 512. B. και αυτων (sc. Gallorum) και ἀπογραφας ἐποιησατο, &c.

[i] Ἐκ δε τουτου τιμητευειν, τους τε βιους και τους τροπους ἡμων ἐξεταζουσι, και ἀπογραφας ποιουνται. Id. L. liii. p. 508. B. C.

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makes use of in the second verse; only it is in the plural number.

Farther, St. Luke's narration contains in it so many circumstances of a Roman census, that I cannot but think there was at this time a proper census. The substance of the decree was, that all the land should be enrolled. Again, "All went to be taxed," or enrolled. And he intimates very plainly, that Mary also was enrolled with Joseph. All these are particulars extremely agreeable to the nature of a Roman census.

Though therefore the words in St. Luke, and especially the verb in the first verse, are used for the making of any kind of entry, yet the whole relation obliges us to understand it concerning this particular kind of enrolment.

And St. Luke's words appear to be extremely proper. The edicts for a census seem to have generally run in this form, expressing the duty of the people. There is in Cicero the title of such an edict, published by Verres prætor of Sicily, when a census was to be made in that province. It is called an *edict* concerning the *enrolment*.[k]

In a census of the citizens of Rome, the number of the people was always taken and observed, but there was a census made of goods and lands as well as of persons. This appears from passages already quoted from Dionysius of Halicarnassus and others. And Livy says expressly, that the very design of the institution was, that people might contribute to the expenses of the state, not by the head, but in proportion to their estates.[l]

And for aught that appears, the same views were pursued in the assessments made in the provinces. Tacitus indeed says, that the Batavi paid no tribute to the Romans, and furnished the state with arms and[m] men only upon occasion. And some may be disposed to infer from hence, that there might be enrolments made in such a province, of the names of the people and their conditions of life, in order to know what number of troops it might furnish the state with.

[k] *Edictum de Professione.* Cic. in Verr. lib. iii. n. 26.

[l] Ut, quemadmodum Numa divini auctor juris fuisset, ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis, ordinumque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis *Fortunæque* aliquid interlucet, posteri famâ ferrent. Censum enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio; ex quo belli pacisque munia *non viritim, sed pro habitu pecuniarum, fierent.* Liv. lib. i. cap. 42.

[m] Nec opibus Romanis, societate validiorum attriti, viros tantum armaque imperio ministrant. Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 12. Nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus atterit, exempti oneribus et collationibus; et tantum in usum prœliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. Id. de Morib. Germ. cap. 29.

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This is very possible, and I think not unlikely: though I have not yet seen any particular instance of it referred to by learned men upon this occasion. Some however do suppose, that the survey of Judea at this time was made by Augustus with this very view.[n] But I believe Judea was the last place in which the Romans would look for soldiers. The Jews had formerly served the kings of Syria and Egypt in their wars; they had likewise been in the Roman armies. But now they had scruples about serving heathens in this way: and all of them who were in the service of the Romans had been discharged in form.[o] Their own kings kept foreign troops in Judea. After the conquest of Egypt, Augustus made Herod a present of four hundred Gauls, that had been the life-guard of Cleopatra queen of Egypt.[p] And in the description of Herod's funeral solemnity, Josephus reckons up three distinct corps of foreign soldiers, Thracians, Germans, and Gauls.[q] Indeed the Jews were at this time so self-willed and tumultuous, that, as it seems, no prince was very forward to put weapons into their hands.

I recollect but one instance, that looks like a design of any of the Roman emperors to take Jews into their service. This was in the reign of Tiberius, who, as Suetonius says, sent the Jewish youth (who were at Rome) under a sort of military oath into the more unhealthful provinces.[r] But this seems to me to have been more like sending them to the mines, than taking them into military service. We are certain the Jews did afterward pay tribute to the Romans: and perhaps I may hereafter make it appear they were now, and had been before this, tributary to the Romans. It is therefore much more likely, that surveys should be made in Judea with a view to tribute than to military service.

Nor do I perceive what learned men gain by this. They think it dishonourable to Herod to have the goods of his subjects enrolled and rated by a Roman officer for the paying of tribute. But where lies the difference between this, and the numbering and entering his people, in order to demand for soldiers as many men as his country could afford? If indeed this enrolment of his people had been made by Herod, by his own authority, and at his own discretion,

[n] Breviario igitur quod meditabatur Augustus, quantum militum Judæa suppeditare posset, includi debuit. Basnage. Ann. Polit. Ecc. ante D. 5. n. 11.

[o] Joseph. Ant. l. xiv. c. 10. sect. 12. [p] Id. de B. J. lib. i. p. 1006. 15. [q] Ibid. cap. ult. sub fin.

[r] Judæorum juventutem, per speciem sacramenti, in provincias gravioris cœli distribuit. Vit. Tiber. c. 36. vid. et Tacit. Ann. ii. c. 85.

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in order to furnish the emperor with a certain quota of men upon occasion, Herod's honour had been saved. But this is not St. Luke's account. "There went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the land should be taxed." And by virtue of this decree of Augustus, all Herod's subjects, men and women, in every part of his dominions, were enrolled with great exactness, and as it seems with great expedition. And the order of enrolment must have been very pressing. I do not suppose indeed, that the Virgin was obliged at all by the decree to go to Bethlehem; but I think that Joseph would not have gone thither, when she was so near the time of her delivery, if the enrolment would have admitted of a delay, or could have been done at another time.

And that this enrolment was performed by some Roman officer, as well as ordered by an imperial decree, may be very fairly concluded from the parenthesis, ver. 2, since the main intention of it is to distinguish it from another, which was certainly made by a Roman officer.

Mr. Whiston indeed says, 'It is very probable that the 'enrolment of the Jews was made by Herod, at the request 'of' Augustus.' It would have been to Mr. Whiston's purpose to give a few specimens of the style of Augustus, or of the republic toward some of their dependent nominal kings. But it would not have signified much in this case, because St. Luke does not say, "there went out" a request "from Cæsar Augustus," but a "decree;" and therefore we should have been still obliged to call it a "decree;" and I believe we may do so very safely. We shall find by and by, from the history of Herod, that it is very unlikely that Augustus should have sent Herod any requests about this time.

Again: Mr. Whiston supposes 'that Herod the king of 'the Jews was requested or required to get him [Augustus] 'a like exact account of the Jewish nation, as he had al-'ready attained of the rest of the Roman empire.' But if this had been all that Augustus did, namely, requiring or requesting this of Herod, then Herod must have issued a command or order to all his people to enrol themselves. But how came St. Luke to mention Augustus's requirement or request to Herod, and call it a decree too, and yet say nothing of Herod's order? I think, St. Luke does plainly represent the people of Judea in motion for enrolling themselves in their several cities in obedience to Augustus's decree; and he says nothing of Herod.

[a] Short View of the Harm. of the Four Evan. p. 149.

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Some have thought that this enrolment was the effect of Augustus's curiosity. And some expressions of Claudius,[t] in his speech to the senate about giving the freedom of the city to the Gauls, have been alleged by learned men as a proof, that assessments were sometimes made in the provinces purely out of curiosity. For he says, that he had found a census to be a very difficult work, even when nothing more was intended by it, than to know what his estate (or riches) was. But even from these words it appears, that an account was taken of the estates of the people, as well as their names and conditions of life. And the censors must have made an estimation: otherwise, the value could never have been known with any certainty. Besides I think, that all the emperor intends here is, that he could easily conceive with what difficulty a census was at first introduced into a province, when even now a fresh census was seldom made without some disturbance. And as a proof of this, he instances in the rebellion which the first census of Gaul produced in that country.[u] And though he calls this renewing a census, only an enquiry, that his estate or revenue might be publicly known, yet certainly the tribute to be paid according to the census is not to be excluded. Princes do not, nor is it reasonable they should, reckon their people only all their riches. The revenue arising from the tribute or taxes which they pay, is certainly a part of the prince's riches. The emperor's meaning therefore is, that the making of a census now is not the imposing any new hardship: the great use of them is to preserve exactness and order in the state of the revenues; and yet they give people uneasiness: how much more must they have done so formerly?

Moreover, the taxing afterwards made in Judea was certainly a census of goods as well as persons. And yet when St. Luke makes mention of it in Gamaliel's[v] speech, he uses the same word he does here.

All the first christians thought this was a census of goods. It is apparent that Justin Martyr thought so, in that he tells

[t] Et quidem cum ad census novo tum opere et inadsueto Galliis ad bellum avocatus esset. Quod opus quam arduum sit nobis, nunc cum maxime, quamvis nihil ultra quam ut publice notæ sint facultates nostræ, exquiratur, nimis magno experimento cognoscimus. Vid. Lips. Excurs. ad Tacit. Ann. xi. A.

[u] Livy speaks likewise of this disturbance. Tumultus, qui ob censum exortus erat, compositus. Epitome libri 137. Liviani.

[v] *Μετα τουτον ανεστη Ιουδας ὁ Γαλιλαιος εν ταις ἡμεραις της απογραφης.* Act. v. 37.

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the emperor and the senate, it was made by their first procurator in Judea. Tertullian makes no scruple to call it very plainly a census. And Eusebius in his Chronicle says expressly, that enrolments were then made of goods as well as of persons. All these considerations, if I mistake not, render it highly probable that, according to St. Luke, there was now a proper census made in Judea throughout the territories of Herod.

But though it be supposed that here was now a census made, yet a census is not a tax. Assessments were certainly made, that tribute might be paid according to them; and where a census was made, a tribute might be required; but yet it might be forborne or remitted. And whether any tribute was raised upon this census or not, I leave at present undetermined.

Supposing the affair St. Luke gives us an account of to have been a Roman census, it is possible two or three inquiries may be here made. (1.) What occasion was there for Joseph to enrol himself, since he was a poor man; as may be concluded from the lesser offering which the virgin made at the temple for her purification.

I answer, that it was the custom in a Roman census, for persons of all employments and characters to enter themselves, as appears from the descriptions given of it in the authors which I have before quoted. And though Joseph was not a rich man, it does not follow he had nothing. However, whatever his condition was, the edict obliged him to give in an account of himself to the officers; unless there was a particular exception made, and only such persons were required to appear who were possessed of estates to such a value. Augustus seems once to have made such a census of the Roman citizens.[w] But that this was not the usual method is evident, because this particular circumstance of that census is mentioned as somewhat extraordinary.

(2.) Since Joseph lived in Galilee, how came he to go up from thence to be registered at Bethlehem?

To this I answer, that possibly he might be obliged to it by virtue of some clause in the edict. Ulpian says,[x] that

[w] *Αυτος δε απογραφας των εν τῃ Ιταλιᾳ κατοικεντων, και μη ελαττω πεντε μυριαδων ϑσιαν κεκτημενων, εποιησατο. Τϑς γαρ ασθενεστερϑς, τϑς τε εξω της Ιταλιας οικεντας, ϑκ ηναγκασεν απογραψασθαι, δεισας μη νεωτερισωσι τι ταραχθεντες.* Dio. l. lv. p. 557. B.

[x] Is vero, qui agrum in aliâ civitate habet, in eâ civitate profiteri debet, in quâ ager est. Agri enim tributum in eam civitatem debet levare, in cujus territorio possidetur, l. iv. sect. 2. ff. de Censibus.

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persons ought to enrol themselves in the place where their estate lies. Though Joseph was not rich, yet he might have some small inheritance in or near Bethlehem, and might be obliged to go thither upon that account. But this I do not insist upon here.

St. Luke gives us this reason of his going to Bethlehem: "because he was of the house and lineage of David," v. 4. It is probable, that this journey was owing to the custom of the Jews, who, whenever they were numbered, entered themselves according to their tribes and families. If against this it be objected, That the Jews had lost the registers of their families before this time; I answer, that this does not appear. They were reckoned by them to be of great importance; and it is not unlikely that many, if not most of them, had the registers of their families till the final ruin of their state and constitution, and perhaps for some time after it. Anna is said to be the "daughter of Phanuel, of the *Tribe of Asher*," Luke ii. 36. "Barnabas was a *Levite*," Acts iv. 36. Paul affirms, that he was of the *Tribe of Benjamin*, Rom. xi. 1. Phil. iii. 5. And these two were born in foreign countries, the one in Cyprus, the other at Tarsus.

Josephus, the Jewish historian, having mentioned the time of his birth, and the names of several of his ancestors, says; 'Thus have I given an account of my family, as I found it 'in the public records.'[y] It is true, Josephus was of the race of the priests, and their registers might be kept with greater care and exactness than others: but it is evident, from what he says of the marriages of the priests, that the registers of other families were in being likewise. 'Every 'priest,' says he, 'among us is obliged to marry a woman 'of his own nation, and not so much to regard money or 'any other advantages, but to make an exact inquiry into 'her descent, and to accept of no account but what is well 'attested. This is done not in Judea only, but in all places; 'wherever there is any part of our nation, this law relating 'to the marriages of the priests is most carefully observed; 'I mean in Egypt and Babylon, and every other part of the 'world in which any of our priests live.'[z]

[y] *Την μεν ων τε γενους ημων διαδοχην, ως εν ταις δημοσιαις δελτοις ανεγεγραμμενην ευρον, ουτως παρατιθεμαι.* Joseph. in Vit. init.

[z] *Δει γαρ τον μετεχοντα της ιερουνης εξ ομοιθνες γυναικος παιδοποιεσθαι, και μη προς χρηματα μηδε τας αλλας αποβλεπειν τιμας, αλλα το γενος εξεταζειν, εκ των αρχαιων λαμβανοντα την διαδοχην, και πολλες παρασχομενον μαρτυρας· και ταυτα πραττομεν ε μονον επ' αυτης Ιυδαιας, αλλ' οπε ποτε συστημα τε γενες εστιν ημων, εκει το ακριβες αποσωζεται τοις ιερευσι περι τες γαμες· κ. τ. λ.* Cont. Apion. l. i. sect. 7.

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(3.) What necessity was there for the Virgin Mary to go to Bethlehem? Surely every master of a family was not obliged, by a Roman census, to appear before the officer, with his wife, children and servants, if he had any.

I answer, that I know not of any obligation she was under, by virtue of Augustus's edict, to go to Bethlehem at this time: but yet Joseph and Mary might choose it; and they might have very good reasons for it that we are unacquainted with. St. Luke says, ch. ii. 41, 42, "Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year, at the feast of the passover. And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem, after the custom of the feast." And yet by the law of Moses, the males only were obliged to appear before God at the great feasts. And many learned men are of opinion, that our Saviour did not go up to Jerusalem till this passover, (which St. Luke here speaks of,) when he was twelve years of age: though his parents, Mary, as it seems, as well as Joseph, had gone up to Jerusalem every year; that is, from their last settlement in Galilee, after their return from Egypt.

3. I shall now give a general description of the state and condition of Judea under Herod, that we may be able to judge, whether a Roman census could be made in it by virtue of a decree of Augustus.

The Roman empire extended at this time to all the most considerable countries in the known world, whether situated in Europe, Asia, or Africa. Beside those countries which were properly called provinces, and were governed by officers sent from Rome, with the title of presidents, prætors, or proconsuls, there were other countries governed by kings, tetrarchs, or dynasts, dependent upon the Roman state.

In the state and condition of these dependent princes, there was a considerable difference. Some few received their crown from the emperor, and acknowledged a dependence, but paid no tribute;[a] among the rest, who were in a more proper subjection, some were called friends of the emperor, or the Roman state. This was undoubtedly a very great honour, especially when conferred in form.[b] These friends of the Romans furnished them with part of their troops,

[a] Ἡς [Αρμενιας] Ῥωμαιοι ουκ αρχουσι μεν εις φορου κομιδην, αυτοι δε αυτους αποδεικνυουσι τους βασιλειας. Appian. in Præf. init.

[b] Cognitis dehinc Ptolemæi per id bellum studiis, repetitus ex vetusto mos, missusque e senatoribus qui scipionem eburnum, togam pictam, antiqua munera patrum, daret, regemque, et socium, atque amicum appellaret. Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 26. vid. et aliud exemplum apud Dionys. Hal. lib. v. cap. 35. p. 291.

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or with sums of money upon particular occasions; or made presents to the emperor and his ministers when needful; that is, they paid tribute in the genteelest way. Others were more properly tributary, and were obliged to the payment of certain sums of money; but it is generally supposed, that they raised it themselves among their people by their own officers. But I suspect, that many of those princes, called friends, were properly tributary, and that the emperor had an officer in the territories of most of them, who took care of his revenue. Beside these, there were (if I mistake not) some countries under the government of dependent kings, in which a tribute was raised in the way of a Roman census.

That Herod was a dependent prince, I think was never denied. He obtained the kingdom of Judea at first by virtue of a decree of the Roman[c] senate; and was assisted in taking possession of it by Roman troops, commanded by their own[d] officers. Augustus gave him leave to nominate for his successor, which of his sons he pleased. But yet in his last will there was a clause, by which the final determination of all was submitted to the will and pleasure of the emperor. And after his death, his sons were obliged to go to Rome,[e] to obtain the grant and confirmation of Augustus, before they dared to take possession of the territories assigned them by their father.

That Herod was tributary to Augustus, immediately before his death, seems evident from the sentence pronounced by the emperor, after he had considered Herod's will. 'To 'Archelaus were given,' says Josephus, 'Idumea, and Ju-'dea, and the country of the Samaritans. These were eased 'of a fourth part of their tribute, Cæsar decreeing them this 'relief, because they had not joined with the other people 'in their late disturbances.'[f] I think it most reasonable to understand this of a tribute paid, or to be paid, not to Herod or Archelaus, but to the emperor. If the Samaritans were tributary to Cæsar, the Jews were so likewise. It is plain, these were not more favoured than the former; and they were both equally subject to Herod and Archelaus.

That Herod had been always tributary to the Roman empire, may be inferred from what Agrippa the younger says to the Jews, in his speech to dissuade them from the

[c] Joseph. de Bell. lib. i. cap. 14. fin.
[d] Ibid. cap. 18.
[e] De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 2.
[f] *Τα δε Αρχελαῳ συντελουντα Ιδουμαια, τε και Ιουδαια, το τε Σαμαρειτικον τεταρτα μερος ουτοι των φορων παρελυντο, Καισαρος αυτοις κυφισιν ψηφισαμενος, δια το μη συναποστησαι τῃ λοιπῃ πληθυϊ.* Joseph. Ant. l. xvii. cap. 13. sect. 4. vid. et de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 6.

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war. 'At this time,' says he, 'the desire of liberty is unreasonable. It had been much better to have maintained it with vigour formerly.——Then all ought to have been done that was possible, to have kept out the Romans, when Pompey first entered into this land. But our ancestors, and their kings, superior to you in wealth, in strength, and conduct, yielded to a small part of the Roman power. And you now, the hereditary subjects of the Romans, attempt to resist their whole empire.'[g] And Josephus, in his speech to the Jews besieged in Jerusalem, to persuade them to surrender to Titus, plainly dates the beginning of the Jewish servitude to the Romans, from Pompey's conquest of Judea.[h] It may be concluded from hence, that from that time the Jews were tributary to the Romans. Subjection and servitude must needs imply the paying of tribute.

Appian mentions Herod king of the Idumeans and Samaritans among the other kings, who, according to Mark Antony's direction, were to bring in a certain prescribed tribute.[i] Antony and Herod were always very good friends, and it cannot be supposed that Herod was better used by Augustus, than he had been by Antony.

In the story of the difference between Herod and Syllæus the Arabian, which difference seems to have arose about three years before Herod's death, and to have continued a year or two at least, if not as long as Herod lived, there is a passage that deserves to be observed in this place. 'Syllæus, moreover, bribed Fabatus, Cæsar's procurator, and employed him against Herod. But Herod, by a larger sum of money, drew off Fabatus from Syllæus, and by him required the performance of those things which Cæsar had ordered [to be done by Syllæus.] However, Syllæus went on in his old way, performed none of those things; and moreover accused Fabatus to Cæsar, saying, that he was a procurator more in Herod's interests than the em-

[g] Αλλα μην τογε νυν ελευθεριας επιθυμειν αωρον, δεον ὑπερ τϐ μηδε αποβαλειν αυτην αγωνιζεσθαι προτερον'—τοτε γαρ ϐν εχρην παντα ὑπερ τϐ μη δεξασθαι Ῥωμαιϐς ποιειν, ὁτε την αρχην επεβαινε της χωρας ο Πομπηϊος· αλλ' οἱ μεν ἡμετεροι προγονοι, και οι βασιλεις αυτων, και χρημασι και ϐωμασι και ψυχαις αμεινον ὑμων πολλῳ διακειμενοι, προς μοιραν ολιγην της Ῥωμαιων δυναμεως ϗκ αντεσχον· ὑμεις δε, οἱ το μεν ὑπακϐειν εκ διαδοχης παρειληφοτες—προς ὁλην ανθιστασθε την Ῥωμαιων ἡγεμονιαν. Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 16. p. 1085, 1086.

[h] Ποθεν δ' ηρξαμεθα δϐλειας, αρ' ϐχι εκ τασεως των προγονων, ὁτε ἡ Αριστοβϐλϐ και Ὑρκανϐ μανια, και ἡ προς αλληλϐς ἑρις, Πομπηϊον επηγαγε τῃ πολει και Ῥωμαιϐς ὑπεταξεν ὁ Θεος τϐς ϐχ αξιϐς ελευθεριας. Id. ib. l. v. c. ix. p. 1242. fin.

[i] Ισῃ δε ποι και βασιλεας ϐς δοκιμασιεν, επι φοροις αρα τεταγμενοις· Ιδυμαιων δε και Σαμαρεων, Ἡρωδην. Appian, de Bell. Civ. l v. p. 1135.

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'peror's.'[k] By procurator can be meant no other than an officer that took care of the emperor's revenue; and the nature of the charge seems to imply, that Fabatus had a trust under the emperor in Herod's dominions. This indeed may be questioned, because that afterwards, Syllæus having killed Fabatus, Aretas, the king of Arabia, prosecuted Syllæus at Rome for the murder of Fabatus, as well as for other crimes committed by him.[l] And from hence it may be inferred by some that Fabatus was rather an officer in Arabia. Let it be so. However, here is a proof, that the emperor had a procurator to take care of his tribute or revenue in the country of a dependent prince: for such was the king of Arabia. And it is not impossible, that Fabatus might be concerned in both those kingdoms, of Judea and Arabia.

Upon the whole then, Herod was always a dependent, tributary prince. Whether he was at last obliged to submit to a census, will be the subject of enquiry under the next head.

All that I would show farther here is, that a census was not inconsistent with the rights allowed to these dependent princes, according to the Roman constitution. This is generally denied, therefore some proof must be given of it: but it cannot be expected, that I should produce many examples of a census in dependent kingdoms: partly, because the Roman historians never take any notice of these things, unless they are attended with some accidents that render them remarkable: and partly, because the Romans had several ways of raising tribute; and a census, which was the most disagreeable way of all, was not used in all those countries that were properly provinces.

After the battle of Philippi, in which Brutus and Cassius were defeated, Mark Antony went over into Asia, and coming to Ephesus, summoned the states of the nations thereabout to give him a meeting. In a speech he made to these states, among other things, he tells them: 'Your king 'Attalus bequeathed his kingdom to us by testament. Our 'government has been milder than his was; for we remit-'ted the taxes you had been wont to pay to him, till men 'of turbulent spirits arose amongst us, and laid us under

[k] Πεισας δε [Συλλαιος] πολλοις χρημασι Φαβατον τον Καισαρος διοικητην, εχρητο βοηθῳ και καθ' Ἡρωδου· πλειονα δε δους Ἡρωδης, αφιστησι τε απο Συλλαιου Φαβατον, και δι' αυτου τα κελευσθεντα ὑπο Καισαρος εισεπραττεν· ὁ δε, μηδεν αποδους, ετι και κατηγορει Φαβατου προς Καισαρα, διοικητην ειναι λεγων, ᾧ των εκεινου, των δε Ἡρωδου συμφεροντων. Joseph. de Bell. lib. i. cap. 29. p. 1030. v. 21.

[l] Vid. Joseph. Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 3.

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'a necessity of demanding tribute of you. And even then 'we did not impose it upon you in the way of a census, 'that we might collect it with less hazard and trouble to 'ourselves; and we required only the annual payment of a 'sum of money out of the produce of your country.'[m] In the conclusion they agreed to pay a whole nine years' tribute in two years' time. The battle of Philippi was fought,[n] A. U. 712, Attalus died,[o] A. U. 621: so that Asia (Propria) had been a province 90 years, and yet they had not any census among them. It is not likely, therefore, that we should meet with many instances of a census made in dependent kingdoms.

Tacitus, however, has given us one instance: 'About 'this time,' says he, 'the Cilicians, subject to Archelaus the 'Cappadocian,[p] being required to enrol themselves in our 'way, and to pay tribute accordingly, withdrew themselves 'into the fastnesses of mount Taurus; and by the advantage 'of the situation, maintained themselves against the weak 'forces of the king; till Marcus Trebellius came in to his 'assistance, from Vitellius president of Syria, with four 'thousand Roman soldiers, and a body of auxiliaries.'[q]

By Cilicia I here understand, not Cilicia the plain, [Cilicia Campestris,] which had been a Roman province long before this; but Cilicia the Rugged, [Aspera,] which had been annexed by Augustus to the kingdom of Cappadocia.[r] It is true, that upon the death of old Archelaus, A. U. 770, A. D. 17,[s] the kingdom of Cappadocia was reduced to the state of a[t] province; and this disturbance, which Tacitus here speaks of, is placed by him in A. U. 789, A. D. 36.[u] But Tacitus has no where said, that this Cilicia was made a province. If it had, he must have known it, and could not have spoke of it as he does here. He says,

[m] Επει δε εδεησεν, α προς τα τιμηματα υμιν επεθηκαμεν, ως αν ημεις ακινδυνον φορον εκλεγοιμεν, αλλα μερη φερειν των εκαστοτε καρπων επεταξαμεν· Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. p. 1074.

[n] Vid. Petavii Rationarium Temporum, Part. i. lib. iv. cap. 20.

[o] Vid. ibid. cap. 14. [p] Or, that had been subject to Archelaus the Cappadocian.

[q] Per idem tempus Clitarum natio Cappadocia Archelao subjecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebatur, in juga Tauri montis abscessit; locorumque ingenio sese contra regis imbelles copias tutabatur; donec M. Trebellius legatus, a Vitellio præside Syriæ cum quatuor millibus legionariorum, et dilectis auxiliis missus, duos colles, quos barbari insederant, operibus circumdedit: et erumpere ausos, ferro cæteros, siti ad deditionem coegit. Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 41.

[r] Vid. Strabonem, lib. xiv. p. 987. D. [s] C. Cœlio L. Pomponio Coss.

[t] Regnum in provinciam redactum est. Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 42.

[u] Q. Plautio et Sext. Papinio Coss.

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that the people maintained themselves in their fastnesses against the king's weak forces, till a general arrived from Vitellius with a reinforcement of Roman soldiers. If it had been a province, he would have said, that the people had been too hard for the troops which the præfect had with him. And this account is in the main confirmed by several other historians, who say, that this Cilicia was governed by kings till the time of Vespasian.[v]

Nor is it very hard to trace the fortune of this people, from the beginning of the reign of Caligula to Vespasian. For Dio says, that Caligula gave the maritime Cilicia, (which was another name of this country,) to Antiochus, as an accession to his kingdom of Comagene.[w] Before Caligula died, he took it away from him; by Claudius it was again restored to the same Antiochus.[x] And from an account which Tacitus has given of another tumult of this people, A. U. 805, A. D. 52, [Fausto Sullâ et Salvio Othone Coss.] they appear to have been then subject to Antiochus.[y] And it is likely they continued under him, till it was made a province by Vespasian; because Comagene was at that time reduced to a province, as appears from Suetonius and Eutropius, already quoted; and from Josephus, who says that this Antiochus was dispossessed of all his dominions in the fourth year of Vespasian.[z]

The only difficulty is, who they were subject to, when this census was ordered to be made among them in the latter end of Tiberius's reign; for by the manner in which the first words of this passage of Tacitus are quoted by Cardinal Noris,[a] and by Pagi[b] from him, they must have understood, by Archelao subjecta, the people that had been subject to Archelaus, that is, to Archelaus the king of Cappadocia. However, Lipsius and Muretus[c] understand

[v] Item Thraciam, Ciliciam, et Comagenen, ditionis regiæ usque ad id tempus in provinciæ formam redegit. Sueton. in Vespas. cap. 8. Item Thraciam, Ciliciam, Tracheam, et Comagenem, quæ sub regibus amicis fuerant, in provinciarum formam redegit [Vespasianus]. Eutrop. l. vii. c. 19.

[w] Ὁ γαρ Αντιοχῳ τῳ Αντιοχῳ την Κομμαγηνην, ἡν ὁ πατηρ αυτῳ εσχε, και προσετι και τα παραθαλασσια της Κιλικιας δυς· Dio. l. lix. p. 645. D.

[x] Και μετα τυτο τῳ τε Αντιοχῳ την Κομμαγηνην απεδωκεν ὁ γαρ Γαϊος, και περ αυτος οἱ δυς αυτην, αφῃρητο· Id. lib. lx. p. 670. A.

[y] Nec multo post agrestium Cilicum nationes, quibus Clitarum cognomentum, sæpe et alias commotæ, tunc Trosobore duce, montes asperos castris cepere.—Dein rex ejus oræ Antiochus, blandimentis adversus plebem, fraude in ducem, cum barbarorum copias dissociâsset, Trosobore paucisque primoribus interfectis, cæteros clementiâ composuit. Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. cap. 55.

[z] Vid. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 7.

[a] Noris Cenotaph. Pis. Dis. ii. p. 308. [b] Appar. ad Annal. num. 127. [c] In loc.

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Tacitus to say, that they were then subject to Archelaus, a son of the former Archelaus, who died at Rome, A. U. 770.

I am under no obligation to determine this matter, because it is the same thing to my purpose, whether they were now subject to the king of Comagene, or some other dependent prince, or whether they were subject to a son of the old Archelaus, king of Cappadocia; the imbelles regis copiæ [the king's weak forces] proving they were under a king. But it seems to me most natural to interpret Tacitus as Lipsius does: the imbelles regis copiæ imply that a king had been mentioned before, and therefore Archelao subjecta cannot be very fairly understood to mean no more than a description of these Cilicians, to distinguish them from others of that name.

Tiberius had been indeed very angry with old Archelaus; but nevertheless he might be willing, when he had made his kingdom of Cappadocia a province, to give one of his sons this small appendage of it. This Cilicia was far from being any strong temptation; the country was mountainous, and the people were apt to turn to robbery or piracy, and for these reasons they had been given before by Augustus to the above-mentioned Archelaus.[d] Cappadocia had been a very rich booty to Tiberius: upon its being made a province, by the ready money and effects of Archelaus and the revenues of the country, such sums came into the public treasury of the Romans, that their tax, called the hundredth, fell immediately to a two hundredth.[e] We may therefore suppose, that by Archelaus here is meant a son of the former king of Cappadocia, though he be an obscure person; and the weakness of the king's forces is an argument, that he was no considerable prince, and that these people were his only subjects.

Though here be but one example, it is sufficient for my design. I believe it was disgraceful to a prince, to have a census made in his dominions: however, Tacitus does not insinuate, that there was any injustice in it, or that it was absolutely inconsistent with the rights indulged to dependent princes: and the king, to whom this people were subject, supported this census as far as he was able.

4. I am now to enquire, whether we have any reasons to believe, that there was a census made in Judea at this time.

We can hope for no light in this matter from any author but Josephus, except the notice which the christian writers

[d] Vid. Strab. l. xiv. p. 987. D.

[e] Regnum ejus in provinciam redactum est: fructibusque ejus levari posse centesimæ vectigal, professus Cæsar, ducentesimam in posterum statuit. Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 42.

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have taken of it. If we will rely upon them, I think the point is decided already: but at present we will lay aside their testimonies, and confine our enquiries to Josephus.

That Herod was always tributary, has been proved. I apprehend, that toward the latter end of his reign there was some alteration made in his circumstances, for the worse. In order to judge of the evidence there is for it, we must trace the history of Herod's affairs about this time.

Obodas was now king of Arabia, and Syllæus his chief officer under him, who indeed administered all affairs of that country with almost kingly authority. Herod had lent Obodas a considerable sum of money: when the time of payment came, Herod demanded the money, but in vain. Moreover a band of robbers had infested Herod's dominions, and carried off several of his subjects, and were afterwards sheltered by Obodas and Syllæus in Arabia. These differences between the two courts of Judea and Arabia were brought before Saturninus and Volumnius, the emperor's chief officers in Syria, the neighbouring province. Here it was stipulated, that Herod should surrender to Obodas all the Arabians he had in his custody, and that Obodas should release all Jewish prisoners, and pay the money he owed in thirty days' time.[f] But when that time was expired, none of these conditions were performed on the part of the Arabians; and Syllæus, full of resentment against Herod, sails for Rome. The terms agreed upon not having been performed by Obodas, Herod, with the consent of Saturninus and Volumnius, marches into Arabia, and routs the forces that opposed him. Advice of this is immediately sent to Syllæus, then in Italy: he procures an audience of Augustus; tells him, that Herod had made an incursion into Arabia, laid waste the country, and killed five and twenty hundred Arabians with their general. Augustus, having heard this, inquires of Herod's friends at Rome, and of persons who arrived from Syria, whether this was matter of fact. Being assured it was, without ever asking the occasion, 'he writes a letter to Herod in very angry terms.[g] 'The substance of this letter was, that whereas he had 'hitherto treated him as a *friend*, he should for the future 'treat him as a *subject*.'

Herod then sent ambassadors to Rome; but they were forced to return, without so much as obtaining an audience.

[f] Joseph. Ant. lib. xvi. cap. 9. p. 734.

[g] Οργη τε μειζων εγινετο τω Καισαρι, και γραφει προς τον Ηρωδην, τατε αλλα χαλεπως, και τετο της επιτολης το κεφαλαιον, οτι παλαι χρωμενος αυτω φιλω νυν υπηκοω χρησεται. Id. ibid. p. 735.

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A second embassy likewise went to Rome without any effect.[h]

In the mean time Obodas dies, and Aretas takes upon him the crown of Arabia, and then sends away ambassadors to Rome, with large presents; withal accusing Syllæus, his predecessor's chief minister, of many great crimes. But Syllæus was still in great favour at Rome, and Augustus was offended, that Aretas had taken upon him the government of Arabia without first obtaining his leave; and sent back the ambassadors without receiving the presents, or admitting them to an audience. 'The affairs of these two 'kingdoms of Judea and Arabia were then in a very bad 'posture. In one there was a king not confirmed in his 'government; and Herod having lost the emperor's favour, 'was forced to submit to many disgraces and affronts. 'Seeing no end of these evils, he resolved to send once 'more an embassy to Rome, and to try whether he could 'gain friends there, and by them recover the emperor's 'good-will. The person sent upon this occasion was Nico-'las of Damascus.'[i]

This Nicolas, who was ever firm to Herod's interest, was a man of great abilities, and of admirable address. When he came to Rome, Syllæus's power was declining: new informations against him had been brought from Arabia, and Nicolas artfully joining in with the Arabians, procures an audience of Augustus; and having first supported the charges brought by them against Syllæus, he proceeded to the defence of Herod. 'Here the emperor stopped him 'short, and bid him answer, whether Herod had not march-'ed his forces into Arabia, and slain five and twenty hundred 'men?' To which Nicolas replied, that the things the emperor had heard concerning Herod, were in part true and in part false, and that the occasion of all had been concealed from him. He informed the emperor of the differences between Obodas and Herod; that certain stipulations had been entered into, in the presence of Saturninus and Volumnius: that Syllæus had sworn by the emperor's fortune, that the terms agreed upon should be punctually executed, but that nothing had been done: that Herod had not moved his forces, till he had first obtained the consent of the emperor's chief officers

[h] P. 736. init.

[i] Τα δε περι την Ιουδαιαν και Αραβιαν, αει και μαλλον επεδιδυ,—των γαρ βασιλειων, ὁ μεν υπω την αρχην βεβαιαν ειχων'—Ἡρωδης δε, εφ' ὁις ημυνετο ταχιον, οργισθεντος αυτῳ Καισαρος, ὁπασας τας εις αυτον παρανομιας φερειν ηναγκαζετο· περας δ' ιδειν ὁρων των περιεστωτων κακων, εγνω παλιν εις Ῥωμην αποστελλειν, ει τι δυναιτο μετριωτερον ευρειν δια τε των φιλων, και προς αυτον Καισαρα την ευτυχιαν ποιησομενος, κ. τ. λ. p. 736.

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in Syria, and that the numbers of the slain had been very much magnified. Augustus, perceiving that his displeasure against Herod had been built upon misrepresentations, was appeased; and at length pronounced a sentence, that Syllæus should return home, give Herod satisfaction, and then be punished for his crimes.[k]

Some time after this we have an account of some disturbances in Herod's family. A very strict friendship had commenced between Antipater, Herod's eldest son, Pheroras, Herod's brother, and Pheroras's wife, who was particularly disagreeable to Herod. Salome, Herod's sister, who knew almost every thing, suspected that these three were carrying on designs against her brother. She came and told him what she knew; and Herod had had some intelligence before, and was full of suspicions, but what he had heard was not fully confirmed. There follows immediately upon this, a passage of so extraordinary a nature, that it must be transcribed without any abridgment. 'There was moreover,' says [l]Josephus, 'a certain sect of Jews, who valued themselves highly for their exact knowledge of the law; and talking much of their interest with God, were greatly in favour with the women. They are called pharisees, men who had it in their power to control kings; extremely subtle, and ready to attempt any thing against those whom they did not like. When therefore the whole Jewish nation took an oath to be faithful to Cæsar, and the interests of the king, these men, to the number of above six thousand, refused to swear. The king having laid a fine upon them, Pheroras's wife paid the money for them. They, in requital for this her kindness, (for they were sup-

[k] Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 740, 741.

[l] Και ην γαρ μοριον τι Ιουδαϊκων ανθρωπων επ' ακριβωσει μεγα φρονουν τα πατρια νομιμα, οις χαιρειν το θειον προσποιουμενων υπηκτο ἡ γυναικωνιτις· Φαρισαιοι καλουνται βασιλευσι δυναμενοι μαλιστα αντιπρασσειν, προμηθεις, κἀκ τα πρεπτα εις το πολεμειν τε και βλαπτειν επηρμενοι· παντος γαν τα Ιουδαϊκα βεβαιωσαντος δι' ορκων ἡ μην ευνοησαι Καισαρι, και τοις βασιλεως πραγμασι, οἱ δε οἱ ανδρες ωμοσαν, ουτες υπερ εξακισχιλιοι· και αυτους βασιλευς ζημιωσαντος χρημασιν, ἡ Φερωρα γυνη την ζημιαν ὑπερ αυτων εισφερει· οἱ δε αμειβομενοι την ευνοιαν αυτης, προγνωσιν δε επεπιστευοντο επιφοιτησει του Θεου, πρυλεγον ως Ἡρωδη μεν καταπαυσεως αρχης υπο Θεου εψηφισμενης αυτω τε και γενει τω απ' αυτου, της τε βασιλειας εις τε εκεινην περιηξουσης και Φερωραν, παιδας τε οἱ ειεν αυτοις. Και ταδε, ὡ γαρ ελανθανε την Σαλωμην, εξαγγελτα βασιλει ην, και ὁτι των περι την αυλην διαφθειροιεν τινας· και ὁ βασιλευς των τε Φαρισαιων τους αιτιωτατους αναιρει, και Βαγωαν τον ευνουχον, Καρον τε τινα των τοτε πρωτευοντα αρετη τε ευπρεπες, και παιδικα οντα αυτου· κτεινει δε και παν ὁ, τι τω οικειω συνειστηκει οις ὁ Φαρισαιος ελεγεν· Ηρτο δε ὁ Βαγωας υπ' αυτων, ως πατηρ τε και ευεργετης ονομασθησομενος, τω επικατασθησομενω πρωρρησει βασιλεως, κατα χειρα γαρ εκεινῳ παντα ειναι, παρεξοντος αυτῳ γαμου τε ισχυν, και παιδωσεως τεκνων γνησιων. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 2. sect. 6.

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'posed, by their great intimacy with God, to have attained 'to the gift of foreknowledge;) foretold that God having 'decreed to put an end to the government of Herod and 'his race, the kingdom would be transferred to her and 'Pheroras and their children. Salome, who was ignorant of 'none of these things, came and told the king of them, and 'assured him likewise, that many of the court were cor-'rupted by them. Then the king put to death the most 'guilty of the pharisees, and Bagoas the eunuch, and one 'Carus, the most beautiful young man about the court, and 'the great instrument in the king's unlawful pleasures. He 'likewise slew every one in his own family, who adhered 'to those things which were said by the pharisees. But 'Bagoas had been elevated by them, in that he should be 'called father and benefactor, the king, who was to be 'appointed according to their prediction, (for all things 'would be in his power,) being to give him a capacity of 'marriage, and of having children of his own.'

In the margin[m] I justify my version of this passage, as to one particular, in which it is singular. But beside that, possibly some may have a scruple about this sentence, 'He 'likewise slew every one of his own family, who adhered to 'those things which were said by the pharisees.' The original word is in the singular number, 'which were said by 'the pharisee,' or 'which the pharisee said.' If any should be apt to think from hence, that this has reference to some-

[m] This passage of Josephus has been already quoted very often by learned men, who have treated of this census, or of the true time of our Saviour's nativity. But all, whom I have seen, have followed Gelenius's version of these last words, which is thus. Nam Bagoas in eam spem sublatus erat, quasi parens et benefactor appellandus regis, quem destinarent vaticinia; prospere enim cessura novo regi omnia, constabiliendo successionem prolis legitimæ. I suppose they did not look upon the original; if they had, they would have easily perceived his mistake. Nor does the argument, that this affair has a relation to our census, stand thus in its full force, as will appear by and by. Hudson has very much corrected Gelenius's version, and translates the concluding words thus: Fuit autem per eos elatus Bagoas, quod dicerent eum patrem beneficumque appellatum iri ejus, qui ex eorum prædictione creandus rex esset; habiturum enim eum regem omnium rerum potestatem, et Bagoæ vires conciliaturum cum muliere congrediendi, propriosque liberos gignendi. But, methinks, the sense of this is not very extraordinary. Bagoas is to receive a great benefit from the king, and bestows none upon him, that I see; and yet he is to be called his father and benefactor. I think that Josephus says, that the pharisees gave out, that Bagoas was to become, or to be called, a father: and thereby, that is, by his having children, would also be a benefactor to his country. I have made no alteration in the original words of Josephus. I have only inserted a comma after ονομασθησομενος, and changed the colon after βασιλεως to a comma. This interpretation is not my own; I had it from my learned and ingenious friend, Mr. Ward, to whom I am very much indebted for this, and divers other critical observations, which I highly value.

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thing said by some particular pharisee, I must desire them to consider the context. It is evident, from what goes before and follows that period, that the pharisees in general were concerned in this affair, though some only were punished; the most guilty, as Josephus calls them. The same phrase is in another place used by Josephus, where the pharisees in general are intended. Thus he says, 'The sadducees, when in office, usually go into the measures[n] of the pharisees:' in the original it is, 'of the pharisee.'

I take this oath, which Josephus here speaks of, to be the same thing with St. Luke's taxing, for these reasons:

(1.) As far as I can perceive, this oath must have been taken much about the same time with the taxing or census mentioned by St. Luke, according to all those who place the nativity of Jesus some time between twelve or fifteen months, and two years, before the death of Herod.

(2.) There is a great variety of circumstances attending this oath of Josephus, that accord with the history the evangelists have given us of the birth of Jesus. I imagine I am very much prevented by the reader, but I shall specify some of them.

St. Luke says, "There went out a decree from *Cæsar Augustus*, that all the land should be taxed." The substance of the oath in Josephus was, to 'be faithful to *Cæsar*,' as well as to Herod. An oath is a formal acknowledgment of subjection, as well as an engagement to fidelity: no greater acknowledgment of subjection could be made than an enrolment in a Roman census. St. Luke says the decree was, that all the land should be taxed, and that all went to be taxed. Josephus agrees with him surprisingly, when he says, that 'All the Jewish nation' took the oath, except six thousand pharisees.

St. Luke's taxing, and Josephus's oath, are followed with parallel events. When the wise men came saying, "Where is he that is born king of the Jews? Herod was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him." Josephus's account is a perfect comment upon St. Matthew. St. Matthew says, ch. ii. 4, 5, "When he [Herod] had gathered the *chief priests and scribes* of the people together, he demanded of them, where *Christ* should be born. And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judea: for thus it is written by the *prophet;* And thou Bethlehem—art not the least among the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall

[n] Ὁποτε γαρ επ' αρχας παρελθοιεν,—προσχωρουσι δ' αυτοις ὁ Φαρισαιος λεγει. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 1. sect. 4.

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come a *governor that shall rule my people Israel.* So that all the disturbance at Jerusalem, which St. Matthew speaks of, was on account of the birth of a king of the Jews. It is the same thing in Josephus. And the chief priests and scribes in St. Matthew were undoubtedly of the pharisees, which are the persons so much spoken of by Josephus. The king in Josephus has a character of the Christ or Messias: for all things would be in his power. Whether the jest upon Bagoas, and through him upon the pharisees, be of Josephus's own invention; or whether it was an old piece of wit in use among profane people, to banter those who expected great things from the Messias; or whether it be matter of fact, that some of the pharisees did at that time give any such assurances to some person of influence in Judea, the better to carry on selfish designs, I do not determine. But it is an evidence that the king who was then the subject of discourse, was supposed to be an extraordinary person.

In Josephus the pharisees give out a prediction, that 'God 'had decreed to put an end to Herod's government,' &c. This I take to be the same thing with "the chief priests and scribes:° Thus it is written by the prophet," in St. Matthew: that is, what Josephus calls a prediction or prophecy of the pharisees, is no more than an interpretation or application of an ancient prophecy. Thus Josephus took upon himself the air and character of a prophet, when he applied the ancient Jewish prophecies of the Messias to Vespasian. He was taken prisoner by Vespasian, then general in Judea under Nero. Josephus, hearing that Vespasian had a design to send him to the emperor, desired that he might speak with the general in private. Being brought before Vespasian, and all the company being dismissed, except Titus and two friends, Josephus begins: 'You think, 'Vespasian, that you have in Josephus a mere prisoner: 'but I am come to you as a messenger of great things. 'Had I not been sent to you by God, I knew what the law 'of the Jews is, and how it becomes a general to die. Do 'you send me to Nero? What! are they who are to succeed Nero before you to continue? You, Vespasian, will

° Unde putas factum, ut eo ipso tempore, proximè post descriptionem Judaicam Pharisæi vaticinia ista tractarent, et pro lubitu suo interpretarentur? Numquid res ipsa testimonium perhibet Matthæi narrationi? Nonne audis magos ab oriente quærentes, ubi natus sit Rex Judæorum? Nonne Herodem sciscitantem a Pharisæis, ubi Christus nasceretur? His enim occasionibus, his Herodis mandatis, Pharisæi ad prophetarum libros remissi, vaticinia de quibus quærebatur prolata, ad placitum uxoris Pheroræ, secretis colloquiis detorserunt Kepler. de Anno Natal. Christ. cap. 12.

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'be Cæsar: you, and this your son will be emperor. Bind 'me therefore still faster, and reserve me for yourself; for 'you shall be lord not of me only, but of the earth, and the 'sea, and of all mankind: and for punishment I deserve a 'closer confinement, if I now speak falsehood to you in the 'name of God.'[p]

However, beside the answer given by the scribes to Herod's inquiry, we are to remember the speech made by old Simeon, an eminent pharisee, at the presentation of Jesus at the temple; and that Anna a *prophetess* gave thanks unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Israel. And there might be many other such like things said there by others; to all which Josephus, a priest, and well informed of what was said and done at the temple, may be justly supposed to have a reference.

St. Matthew says, that "when Herod saw that he was *mocked* of the wise men, he was *exceeding wroth*, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof." Josephus has given us the tokens of an uncommon rage in Herod: and though St. Matthew has related, upon this occasion, no other instance of Herod's cruelty, beside the orders for destroying the children in and near Bethlehem; yet nothing is more likely, than that Herod, the most jealous of mortals, should, upon the retreat of the wise men, be filled with suspicions that the scribes and pharisees, whom he had lately consulted about the birth-place of the king of the Jews, had been accessary to the disappointment he had met with from the said wise men: and that being heated by the insinuations of his sister Salome, (provided Josephus has not brought her in here for the sake of a jest;) and by the barbarous counsels of his son Antipater, now in Judea, and in high favour, he should then make also that cruel ravage in his court and at Jerusalem, of which our Jewish historian has given us a summary account.

3. As I think that Josephus was a very firm Jew, so his indecent way of speaking of this affair is a strong proof, it relates to the transactions at Jerusalem after the birth of Jesus. Is it not strange, that Josephus should banter the pharisees for pretending to the gift of foreknowledge, when he himself, a pharisee, has been most notoriously guilty of it? I intend not only his speech to Vespasian just now transcribed: there are other, rather more flagrant instances,

[p] Εγω δε επι τιμωριαν δεομαι φυγας μειζονος, ει τι κατεσχεδιαζω και Θεω. Joseph. de Bell. lib. iii. cap. 7. sect. 9.

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and that in the history of the[q] Jewish war, written long before his Antiquities, in which is the passage we are upon. His ridicule of the pharisees appears to me very unseasonable in an account of such a scene of cruelty, and when they were under very heavy sufferings: and for what? For refusing the oath of fidelity? No. They had escaped with a fine for not swearing to Cæsar, if there had not followed some offences more particularly against Herod, as is pretended. And what are these? Why predictions and expectations, that the kingdom was by the decree and appointment of God to be transferred to some person not of Herod's race: another instance of agreement with the time that succeeded the birth of Jesus, which, according to the evangelists, was a time of great expectation of a king predicted and prophesied of. But here is not one riotous or seditious action mentioned or hinted; the utmost is seditious words: and yet Josephus justifies, triumphs in these terrible executions. In a word, he, who uses to condemn Herod as a man of an inhuman disposition, here treats the pharisees of this time with Herodian cruelty.

All this is absolutely unaccountable to me, but upon the supposition that this affair relates to the birth of Jesus: nor do I think that I wrong Josephus in the least. It is to me more than probable, that every Jew who did not believe Jesus to be the Christ, (as Josephus did not,) had a great deal of ill-will against him and all his followers. That any Jew of those times should have been long in a state of indifference upon this point, was impossible.

If it be said, that the predictions mentioned by Josephus relate not to Jesus, but to Pheroras's wife, and her children; I do not deny, but that she might pay a regard to what the pharisees said at this time, as well as others did: but that she, or Pheroras, or any one issuing from them, was the person then discoursed of, and the chief subject of the pharisees' predictions, I do not believe, because it is inconsistent with the rest of Josephus's story. If Pheroras's wife had been the person chiefly concerned in this affair, as Josephus pretends here; would she have escaped with her life in so wide a scene of cruelty, in which even the former favourites of Herod were involved? If the dispositions of people ran now all toward Pheroras and his wife, would Antipater have been still great with them? Would Antipater, so desirous of the crown, have gone away to Rome, as he did soon after this execution, and leave things in this posture?

[q] Vid. de Bell. lib. iii. cap. 7. sect. 3. vid. etiam quæ sequuntur Josephi ad Vespasianum alloquium. Ibid. sect. 9.

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Would he, when he went away, leave securely in the hands of Pheroras and his wife the work of poisoning his father, and securing the succession for himself? Would not Antipater, who had lately with exquisite artifice and cruelty accomplished the death of his two brothers, sons of Herod by Mariamne, have been able to effect the ruin of Pheroras's wife?

It is true, after this execution was over, she was called to account by Herod.

That it may not be insinuated that I conceal any difficulty, I will here give the reader Josephus's words, which follow next after the long passage we are concerned with. 'Herod 'having punished the pharisees, who had been convicted 'of concerning themselves in this affair, calls a council of 'his friends, and there accuses Pheroras's wife: ascribing 'to her the affront that had been offered to the virgins,[r] and 'therein to him: adding, that she did all she could to cre-'ate a difference between him and his brother; that the 'fine imposed upon the pharisees had been evaded by her 'means, and that in the present affair nothing had been 'done without her:—and that if Pheroras had any regard 'for him, he would of his own accord put away his wife. 'You will then, says he to Pheroras, be my brother indeed, 'and we shall live[s] together in friendship.'

If the meaning of the last words of the charge against this woman be not, that in the 'present affair nothing had 'been done without her,' as I have rendered them, but that 'now-a-days nothing was done without her,' as Dr. Hudson translates them;[t] then her conduct in the late affair is not so much as made any particular crime, but is only comprehended in a general charge of an over busy, intriguing temper.

[r] The virgins.] The meaning is, Pheroras's wife had been his servant. Herod had offered Pheroras one of his daughters, and after that another. But Pheroras refused them both out of his affection for this woman.

[s] Ἡρῳδης δε, κολασας των Φαρισαιων τους επι τοισδε εληλεγμενους, συνεδριον τε ποιειται των φιλων, και κατηγοραν της Φερωρα γυναικος, την τε ὑβριν των παρθενων τῃ τολμῃ της γυναικος αναπιθας, και εγκλημα ταυτην αυτῳ ποιωμενος, ὡστε αγωνοθετειν τασιν αυτῳ προς τον αδελφον και πολεμον εκ φυσεως αυτοις και λογῳ και δι' εργων ὁσα δυναιτο, την τε διαλυσιν της ζημιας της ὑπ' αυτου επιβληθεισης τελεσι διαφευχθηναι τους εκεινης, των τε νυν πεπραγμενων ωδεν ὁ, τι μ' μετ' αυτης· ανθ' ὡν Φερωρα καλως εχειν, ει δεησει ωδε γνωμων εισηγησεως των ἡμων, αυτοκελευστον αποπεμπεσθαι γυναικα ταυτην, ὡς πολεμια τε προς με σοι αιτιαν εσομενην· και νυν, ειπερ αντιποιῃ συγγενειας της εμης, απειπασθαι τηνδε την γαμετην· μενεις γαρ ουτως εμος αδελφος τε και τεργειν εκ απηλλαγμενος. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 3. sect. 1.

[t] Suisque impendiis evitata esset solutio mulctæ ab ipso impositæ, nihilque jam sine illâ ageretur.

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But let it be granted that Josephus says, her conduct in this affair was an express charge in Herod's accusation; yet the punishment proposed confutes the supposition, that she was the main agent in this concern. Herod assures Pheroras, they two should be very good friends if this woman were but 'put away.' Would this disgrace have satisfied Herod, if, beside many other provocations, she had now been the principal in a crime for which many accessaries, and those in all other respects very acceptable persons, had been punished with death? I hope we may be allowed not to credit Josephus in a circumstance so inconsistent with the rest of his account; and I think, it is not hard to guess why Josephus gave some false turns in this story.

I have one thing more to desire of the reader, that is, that he will be pleased to consider, whether Josephus does not contradict himself in the main passage in which he is so merry. He tells us at first, that the pharisees in requital for the kindness showed to them, foretold that God had decreed to transfer the kingdom to 'Pheroras's wife, and 'Pheroras, and their children;' but at the end, it is 'the 'king who was to be appointed according to their predic-'tion.' How comes 'Pheroras's wife, and Pheroras, and 'their children,' to be all a king? Or how came the king to be all them? If the reader can reconcile these things together, it will be very well; but if he cannot, perhaps he will allow, that here are some things said of Pheroras's wife and the pharisees without foundation. I ever take it, that inconsistences are a certain sign, that an historian has not confined himself barely to matter of fact, but has indulged his fancy or his passions, and gone into fiction.

For these reasons then I think, that the oath in Josephus, taken by all the Jewish nation, is the same thing with the taxing or enrolment mentioned by St. Luke: and I think, that this oath refers to a census made in Judea, for the following reasons. In a census the people gave in account of themselves and their estates upon oath. It seems to me very probable that a census was made, or at least ordered by Augustus, during the time that Herod lay under his displeasure. Under the former particular I show, that Herod had been before this a tributary prince. His great subjection appears likewise in the difference between him and Obodas; he was obliged to refer the matter in dispute to the emperor's officers in Syria: after Obodas had broke the stipulations, Herod did not dare to move his forces without the consent of the fore-mentioned officers; and Augustus,

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supposing that he had done so, was very angry, and threatens, that whereas he had 'hitherto used him as a 'friend, he should for the future treat him as a subject.' These words are undoubtedly proper and expressive words; if Herod, when a friend of Augustus, was in such subjection, what can a subject mean, but the reducing him to the lowest state of dependent princes? Which seems to be that of obliging them to submit to a census, and then raising tribute in their dominions according to it.

Josephus says, that after the receipt of this letter from Augustus, Herod sent in vain two embassies to Rome, that the state of Judea grew worse and worse, that Herod was obliged to submit to many disgraces. The emperor's displeasure against Herod was manifest therefore, not at Rome only, but in all the countries about Judea.

(1.) But it may be objected, that Josephus has no where said, that there was any enrolment of the Jews, much less that there was a proper census made in Judea.

To this I answer, that it is apparent there was an enrolment and numbering of the people. How else should all the people have taken an oath, except six thousand pharisees? Did they not enter the people that took the oath? If they did not, how should it have been known who swore and who did not?

Nor can it be inferred there was no enrolment or census, because Josephus has not expressly said there was. Josephus's account of this matter is very slight and defective: if it had not been for some things which followed after the oath, and had some connection with it, it seems that he would have taken no notice of it at all. An oath had been taken by all the Jewish nation to Cæsar and Herod, and great exactness had been observed in relation to it; the numbers and characters of those which had refused were known. This was an affair of importance, and deserved a much more particular account than he has given us: and we are allowed to suppose some things not expressed, which must necessarily have been concomitants of it.

I do not pretend to assign positively the reasons of his slight mention of this affair, but I apprehend I can give some probable account of it. Herod's subjects were all enrolled in a census, but there was no tribute demanded upon it: Herod had great dexterity, or very good fortune, in surmounting the difficulties he met with in the several parts of his life; he was himself a man of a great genius, and some of his servants were men of great abilities.

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Nicolas of Damascus in particular was eminent for learning and address; and Herod knew very well how to bestow a present or a bribe.

I am moreover inclined to think, that no tax was raised upon this census, because it appears that after those troubles, of which Josephus has given us an account, Augustus was in a great measure reconciled to Herod. Perceiving that his resentment against Herod had been very much founded upon aspersions, he might be disposed to forbear exacting the tribute upon the census, and to let things go on in the old way. Then Herod had taken care that the decree should be obeyed and executed in his dominions without disturbance: all had sworn or enrolled themselves except six thousand pharisees, and they were fined.

Moreover, Herod was now an old man, and had many sons; it was therefore very likely, there would be some partition made of his dominions at his death, and Augustus might be very willing there should be so. Three or four little princes are better governed than one that is powerful. Tribute could not be paid according to this census, any longer than the several parts of the kingdom continued united in one person; when it came to be divided or parcelled out, a new census would be necessary.

If then no tribute was paid upon this census, an historian could the more easily pass it by without a particular description, especially since it had been finished without any popular tumults.

It may be inferred from the manner in which St. Luke mentions this survey, that it was not very much taken notice of: if it had been universally known, there had been hardly any occasion, upon the mention of a decree of Augustus in the reign of Herod to enrol all the land, to subjoin a parenthesis, the chief intent of which seems to be, to distinguish this from another that happened not till after the removal of Herod's successor.

If this census was not universally known when Josephus wrote, he might be well pleased to touch upon it slightly. The Jewish writers were very forward to enumerate the honours done to their people by the Roman senate, or the chief men of the commonwealth, or the emperors afterwards; the better to gain some regard among other nations, by whom they were generally despised and hated: but as for any disgraces they received from the Romans, the case was very different.

Thus Josephus has mentioned many favours conferred on the Jews by Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Livia, Marcus Agrippa,

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Claudius, and other Romans; but yet he says nothing of the journey which Caius, Augustus's eldest adopted son, made through Judea, in the beginning of the reign of Archelaus. This we have from[u] Suetonius only, an author very little concerned in Jewish affairs. The reason seems to be, that Caius offered no sacrifice at Jerusalem, nor made any present to the temple, which was deemed a piece of contempt shown to their religion.

Possibly, Josephus found but a slender account of this transaction in the history of Nicolas of Damascus, from which he took his materials for this reign. Though Nicolas was no Jew, yet he was a great friend and flatterer of Herod; and it could not but be an ungrateful task to him, after he had in the former part of his work drawn his master as a great genius, a founder of cities, and friend of Augustus, to describe at last so disagreeable a scene, as that of one of the emperor's officers enrolling all the subjects of his dominions.

Nicolas[v] had great intimacies with Herod: Josephus has affirmed more than once, that he was a great flatterer of him. And in one place says particularly, 'that living in 'his kingdom, and together with him, he composed his 'history, with a view to please the king and advance his in-'terest, touching upon those things only which made for '[x] his honour.' This enrolment, even though it was not a proper assessment, but only an entry of the names of all the people, their age and condition, accompanied with an oath of strict fidelity to the emperor, must have been the greatest mortification of Herod's whole life: and from the character of Nicolas, just set down, it may be concluded almost with certainty, that he did not give a particular account of this affair: nor had Josephus any inducements to supply his defects in this place.

(2.) But it will be said, that the silence of Josephus is not the only difficulty: there is in him well nigh positive proof, that there had been no census or enrolment made in Judea before the removal of Archelaus; for upon the occasion of this he says, 'Moreover Cyrenius came into Judea, 'it being annexed to the province of Syria, to make an

[u] Sed et Caium Nepotem, quod Judæam prætervehens apud Hierosolymam non supplicâsset, collaudavit [Augustus.] Suet. in Aug. c. 93.

[v] *Και Νικολαος ὁ Δαμασκηνος, φιλος τε ων τω βασιλεως, και τα παντα συνδιαιτωμενος εκεινῳ, κ. λ.* Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 5. sect. 3.

[v] Ibid. lib. xiv. cap. 1. sect. 3.

[x] *Ζωντι γαρ εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ και συν αυτῳ κεχαρισμενως εκεινῳ και καθ' ὑπηρεσιαν ανεγραφεν, μονον ἁπτομενος των προς ευκλειαν αυτῳ φεροντων.* Ant. lib. xvi. cap. 7. sect. 1.

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'assessment of their goods, and seize Archelaus's estate. 'The Jews were at first very much moved at the[y] mention 'of the enrolments, but by degrees they were brought to 'acquiesce at the persuasion of Joazar the high priest.' He observes also, 'that at this time Judas the Gaulonite 'excited them to a rebellion, telling them that a census 'would introduce downright[z] slavery.' It will be said: It may be hence inferred, that there had been no enrolments made before; if there had, they could not have been so frightful now.

I answer, that there must have been an enrolment made, when the oath mentioned by Josephus was taken: and that oath was likewise an express and solemn acknowledgment of subjection to the Romans.

Besides, though this oath had been quite omitted by Josephus, it would not have followed, that there had been no enrolment made before this time in Judea. People are not always of the same temper. Judas of Galilee now broached or revived the principle that they ought to obey none but God; and for some reasons it was received with great applause, spread, and gained ground. But the Jews must have been more submissive when they all took the oath to Cæsar, except six thousand. And after Herod was dead, there was a numerous embassy sent to Rome in the name of the whole Jewish nation, entreating, that instead of being governed by any of Herod's descendants, 'they[a] might be 'annexed to the province of Syria, and be subject to prætors 'sent from thence, promising likewise a most quiet and 'peaceable behaviour under such a government.'

In another place, Josephus represents Judas's arguments in these terms: 'And at this time a certain man, called Judas 'the Galilean, excited the people to rebellion, telling them, 'they had a mean spirit, if they could endure to pay tribute 'to the Romans, and acknowledge mortal men for their 'lords;——after God had been their king.'[b] It might be as well inferred from what Judas says here, that the Jews had never before paid tribute to the Romans, or been subject to mortal lords; as from what he says in the other place, that they had never before been enrolled. I presume

[y] Οἱ δε, καιπερ το κατ' αρχας εν δεινῳ φεροντες την επι ταις απογραφαις ακροασιν· Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1. sect. 1.

[z] Ibid. [a] Ην δε κεφαλαιον αυτοις της αξιωσεως, βασιλειας μεν και τοιωνδε αρχων απηλλαχθαι, προσθηκην δε Συριας γεγονοτας ὑποτασσεσθαι τοις εκειθι πεμπομενοις στρατηγοις· ε. τ. λ. Jos. Ant. l. xvii. p. 784. v. 35. [b] Καισζων, ει φορον τε Ῥωμαιοις τελειν ὑπομενουσι, και μετα τον Θειον σισυσι θνητους δεσποτας. De Bell. l. ii. cap. 8. sect. 1.

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it need not be proved, that they had been subject, before this, to mortal lords. I think too, that I have shown, they had been tributary to the Romans in the reign of Herod. They had likewise paid tribute to the Romans before Herod's reign: for Josephus says, that 'Cassius imposed a heavy 'tribute upon the people [in Syria]; and in particular bore 'very hard upon Judea, exacting of them seven hundred 'talents of silver.'[c] This sum was laid in several portions upon the several parts of Judea; and Herod, then governor of Galilee under Hyrcanus, brought in his quota the first, and thereby very much obliged Cassius. Judas's speech therefore is no proof, that there had been no enrolment or census made in Judea before the removal of Archelaus.

(3.) I can think of but one difficulty more. Perhaps some will say, my argument is defective, and that in order to make it out, that this oath taken by the Jews, in Josephus, was a census, I ought to produce some passages of an ancient writer, in which a census is called an oath, or the act of the people enrolling themselves in a census, is expressed by taking an oath. I own then, that I have not any such example by me. However, I would offer here two or three considerations.

[1.] In a Roman census the people gave in their account of themselves and their estates upon oath: and that oath, as represented by Dionysius, has a very near resemblance with the words of Josephus. Dionysius says, the people were commanded to 'take an oath to give in a true account, 'according to the best of their knowledge:' and Josephus says, 'that the whole Jewish nation engaged by an[d] oath to 'be faithful to Cæsar and the interests of the king.'

[2.] We have in the ancient writers very few accounts of assessments made in provinces. The Roman historians scarce ever take any notice of them, but when they were attended with some disturbances which make them remarkable. As we have but very few writers of those times, especially such as lived in the provinces, it is not to be wondered that we meet with some singular phrases in those we have, and which we cannot parallel in any other authors now in our hands. If we had before us the works of a good

[c] *Και φορας αυταις μεγαλας επετιθει· μαλιστα δε την Ιουδαιαν εκακωσεν, επτακοσια ταλαντα αργυριω εισπραττομενος.* Ant. lib. xiv. cap. xi. sect. 2.

[d] There is another thing which may deserve notice. Dionysius says, That the penalty at Rome for not enrolling in a census was loss of estate and citizenship. Perhaps the fine imposed on the pharisees, who refused to swear, was now ordered in conformity to the Roman customs upon like occasions. For Herod had been wont before to inflict punishments of another kind for refusing to swear fidelity to him. Vid. Antiq. l. xv. c. 10. sect. 4.

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number of provincial writers, it is not unlikely, but we might see some of them represent their nation enrolling themselves in a census, especially in the first census made in their country, by the taking an oath of allegiance and fidelity to the emperor. I shall give an instance from Josephus, which has likewise some affinity with our subject. In the Jewish War he calls Fabatus Cæsar's procurator:[e] in his Antiquities[f] he calls him Cæsar's servant. He also calls one Stephen, who was in Judea in the time of Cumanus, Cæsar's servant. 'And[g] at this time,' says he, 'some 'who aimed at innovations, set upon Stephen, a servant of 'Cæsar, in the high-way, about a hundred stadia from the 'city, and robbed him of all he had.' I have shown above, that Fabatus was Augustus's procurator in the kingdom of Arabia, if not also in Judea. And that Stephen also was procurator in Judea may be concluded from the treasure he had with him, and from his being particularly the object of the spite of the seditious Jews, who were uneasy under the Roman government. So that with Josephus, the emperor's servant, and the procurator of the emperor's revenue, were synonymous terms. If Josephus appears at present singular in this style, yet I doubt not, but it was at that time very common.

[3.] I apprehend that though the Jews entered themselves and their estates in the way of a Roman census, yet there was no tribute raised upon it: which might be the reason of Josephus's representing this affair simply by taking an oath, rather than by the name of a census.

I have now laid before the reader the evidence I have for this supposition, that there was a census made in Judea a little before the death of Herod. The particulars mentioned by St. Luke, and the expressions he uses, are very suitable to a census. And the posture of Herod's affairs about this time, inclines me to think there was an enrolment, after the manner of a Roman census, made in his dominions by order of Augustus.

But whether I am in the right or not, St. Luke certainly says, that there was an enrolment; and Josephus says, that the whole Jewish nation had taken an oath to be faithful to

[e] Πεισας δε πολλους χρημασι Φαβατον, τον Καισαρος διοικητην. De Bell. l. i. cap. 29. p. 1030. v. 22. vid. et v. 29.

[f] ——Ανηρηκεναι δε και Φαβατον, Καισαρος δουλον· Ant. l. xvii. cap. 3. p. 755. v. 6.

[g] Των γαρ εφεστωτων επι νεωτερισμῳ τινες, κατα την δημοσιαν οδον ως εκατον σταδιων απωθεν της πολεως, Στεφανον Καισαρος δουλον οδοιπορουντα λῃστευσαντες, απασαν αυτου την κτησιν διαρπαζουσιν. Ant. lib. xx. cap. 4. sect. 4. vid. et Bell. p. 1072. v. 32.

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Cæsar and Herod. Some entry therefore must have been made: and if St. Luke be understood to speak only of an enrolment of names and persons, his account is confirmed by Josephus as fully as one could wish.

And though it should be thought, that I have not fully proved, that there was at this time a proper assessment made in Judea; yet I have, I think, shown undeniably, that about this time that country was brought into a very strict subjection to Augustus: and herein also St. Luke and Josephus agree entirely.

I am sensible, that they who have hitherto supposed, that Jesus was not born till a few weeks before the death of Herod, will very unwillingly allow, that the oath in Josephus has any relation to St. Luke's enrolment. But then, beside the task of evading all the many concurring circumstances in St. Luke and Josephus, they will labour under one very great difficulty. For this oath appears to have been taken by the Jews so very near the end of Herod's reign, that it will be utterly inconceivable, that the Romans should have ordered another general enrolment, and harass the people again before Herod's death. Nor will they be able to remove this difficulty by saying, that the swearing began about the time it is placed in by Josephus, but it was not finished till a few weeks before Herod died; for it was all over at the time Josephus speaks of it. All had taken the oath, but six thousand pharisees; they had refused, and were fined.

III. The third objection is this: Cyrenius was not governor of Syria till nine or ten, perhaps twelve years after our Saviour was born: therefore St. Luke has made a mistake in saying, that this taxing happened in the time of Cyrenius.

This objection must now be stated more at length. In our translation the words are, "And this taxing was first made, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria." What is the sense of our translation, I do not know: and it must be owned likewise, that the words of the original[h] seem to have in them an uncommon ambiguity. Many think, the most genuine natural sense of the original words is, "This first taxing [or enrolment] was made, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria." Upon this sense of them the objection is founded. And it is urged, this cannot be agreeable to the truth: for the evangelists have assured us, that Jesus was born in the latter end of Herod's reign. But Josephus

[h] Αυτη ἡ απογραφη πρωτη εγενετο ἡγεμονευοντος της Συριας Κυρηνιυ.

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says, that[l] Quintilius Varus was then president of Syria, and he must have been so at least a year before Herod died; and Saturninus was his predecessor. Moreover, Josephus says, that Cyrenius was sent governor into Syria, when Archelaus was removed from his government of Judea, who yet reigned there between nine and ten years after Herod. Josephus relates this matter in his Antiquities thus:

'But in the tenth year[k] of Archelaus's government, the 'chief of the Jews and Samaritans, not being able to bear 'his cruelty and tyranny, accused him to Cæsar. The em- 'peror sent an officer into Judea to bring him to Rome. 'When he came thither, Cæsar, having heard what he had 'to say in answer to his accusers, banished him, appointing 'Vienna, a city in Gaul, for the place of his abode.[l] And 'the country of Archelaus being annexed to the province 'of Syria, Cyrenius, a consular person, was sent by Cæsar 'to make an assessment in Syria, and to seize Archelaus's 'estate.'[m]

Afterwards he says, 'In the mean time Cyrenius a Roman 'senator, who had served all other offices, and through 'them arrived at the consulship, and was distinguished 'likewise by divers other honours and dignities, came into 'Syria with a few troops, being sent thither by Cæsar to 'administer justice to that people, and to make an assess- 'ment of their goods. And Coponius a person of the 'equestrian rank, was sent with him to govern in Judea 'with supreme authority. Cyrenius also came into Judea, 'now annexed to Syria, both to assess their estates, and to 'seize Archelaus's effects and treasure.'[n]

It is objected, therefore, that St. Luke has committed a very gross mistake, in saying, that "this taxing was made, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria;" since it appears from Josephus, that Cyrenius was not president of that province

[l] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 5. sect. 2.

[k] Δεκατῳ δε ετει αρχης Αρχελαου. [l] Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 15. sect. 2.

[m] Της δε Αρχελαου χωρας ὑποτελους προσνεμηθεισης τῃ Συριᾳ, πεμπεται Κυρηνιος ὑπο Καισαρος, ανηρ ὑπατικος, αποτιμησομενος τα εν Συριᾳ, και τα Αρχελαου αποδωσομενος οικον. Ib. sect. 5.

[n] Κυρηνιος δε, των εις την βουλην συναγομενων ανηρ, τας τε αλλας αρχας επιτετελικως, και δια πασων ὁδευσας ὑπατος γενεσθαι, τατε αλλα αξιωματα μεγας, συν ολιγοις επι Συριας παρην, ὑπο Καισαρος δικαιοδοτης τε εθνους απεσταλμενος, και τιμητης των ουσιων γενησομενος. Κωπωνιος τε αυτῳ συγκατεπεμπετο, ταγματος των ἱππεων, ἡγησομενος Ιουδαιων τῃ επι πασιν εξουσιᾳ· παρην και Κυρηνιος εις την Ιουδαιων προσθηκην της Συριας γενομενην αποτιμησομενος τε αυτων τας ουσιας, και αποδωσομενος τα Αρχελαου χρηματα. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 1. sect. 1.

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till after the banishment of Archelaus, Herod's son and successor.

To this I answer, that though the sense of the words, as they now stand in St. Luke's gospel, should be supposed inconsistent with this account taken from Josephus, yet it would be unreasonable to conclude, that St. Luke had really made any mistake. St. Luke appears in the rest of his history, and from many particulars of this account before us, to be so fully master of the state of Judea, and of the nature of this affair he is here speaking of, that it is impossible he should commit any such mistake.

In the beginning of his third chapter, he has most exactly specified the state of all Judea, or the land of Israel, as it was in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, by setting down the several tetrarchs and governors of it, and the true extent of their territories.

St. Luke understood the nature of enrolments, as made by the Romans. The enrolment now made, was by virtue of a decree of Augustus. And he says, that "Joseph went to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife." This was the custom of the Romans, as has been showed from undoubted testimonies, to enrol women as well as men; whereas the Jews used to number or enrol males only.

Moreover, St. Luke appears to be well acquainted with the census which Josephus gives us an account of. Gamaliel says, Acts v. 37, "After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: he also perished, and as many as obeyed him, were dispersed." I think it may be fairly supposed, that St. Luke understood what he has related from Gamaliel. And then, here are particulars enough to satisfy us, he wanted no information concerning the census which Josephus speaks of.

That Gamaliel here speaks of the census made in Judea after the banishment of Archelaus, is evident, because it was at that time, that Judas of Galilee raised a disturbance. Gamaliel calls them "the days of the taxing," which implies, that this was a very noted and remarkable period; as it is certain it was.

Gamaliel here calls this Judas by his proper name: Josephus does in one place call him Judas Gaulanites,[o] but he often styles him Judas the Galilean, or of Galilee.[p] Gamaliel says, that he "drew away much people after him."

[o] Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 1. p. 792. v. 3.

[p] Ὁ Γαλιλαιος Ιουδας, p. 974. 3. τις ανηρ Γαλιλαιος, Ιουδας ονομα· p. 1060. 8.

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Josephus says the same thing of him in almost the same words.[q]

Gamaliel does exactly specify the time in which this man rose up, namely, in "the time of the taxing," or of the enrolment: for Josephus says, 'he persuaded not a few not to 'enrol themselves, when Cyrenius the censor was sent into 'Judea.'[r]

Gamaliel says, "he also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were scattered." Josephus has no where related particularly the end of this Judas. But that his enterprise was defeated at that time, we may be certain; otherwise the Roman government could not have subsisted in that country with any quiet, which yet it did for near sixty years after the banishment of Archelaus. Nor is there after this any mention made in Josephus's history, of any action or attempt of Judas.

Perhaps it will be here objected, that Gamaliel's words imply, that this design of Judas was quite confounded, and his principles sunk at once: and yet it seems likely, from the uneasiness which the Jews express under the Roman tribute in some places of the evangelists, that his principles were in being long afterwards: and from Josephus it appears, that his notions are very prevalent, and were one cause of their war at last with the Romans.

But if any so understand Gamaliel, they appear to me very much to mistake the design of his argument. Doubtless, it was not without special reason that Gamaliel alleged these two instances; and he speaks of each in a very different manner. Of Theudas he says, "He was slain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered and brought to nought: *διελυθησαν και εγενοντο εις ουδεν*[s] they were ruined and came to nothing. Of Judas he says, "He also perished, and all, as many as obeyed him, were dispersed:" *διεσκορπισθησαν*. Having mentioned these two instances, which the council were well acquainted with, and thereby laid a foundation for the advice he proposed to give, he goes on: "And now I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men," [as Theudas's was,] "it will come to[s] nought" [as his did]. "But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."

It is not to be supposed, that Gamaliel should expressly

[q] Ελεαζαρος απογονος Ιουδα του πεισαντος Ιουδαιων ου ολιγους μη ποιεισθαι τας απογραφας, ὁτι Κυρηνιος τιμητης εις την Ιουδαιαν επεμφθη. De B. J. lib. vii. p. 1313. v. 41.

[r] Ibid. et p. 792. init.

[s] Καταλυθησεται.

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say, Judas's design was of God. However the chief men of the Jewish nation might approve his principles, they were wiser than openly to espouse them: they left that to the common people.

The force of Gamaliel's argument is this: Theudas and his measures came to nothing. After him Judas rose up; he himself perished, and his people were dispersed; but yet his principles prevail. You likewise may now punish these men, and put an end to their lives; but if their principles be of God, they will prevail notwithstanding; and all the issue will be, that you will contract guilt, fight against God, but in vain.

And to this seems to be owing the great success of Gamaliel's reasoning, and the service he did the apostles at this time. He insinuates some hopes, that their design might be of the same nature with Judas's. This may be inferred from his way of expressing himself, "lest haply ye be found to fight against God." This was Judas's peculiar principle, that they were to own no mortal lords, but God only.[t] And it is not unlikely, that Gamaliel intended hereby to insinuate, not only that there was danger of their opposing a design which came from God, and of opposing it with no other effect, but that of contracting guilt to themselves, but also of opposing the very kingdom and government of God, which they wished to be under.

It deserves likewise to be observed, that Gamaliel mentions Theudas with contempt and indignation. 'Before 'these days rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be some-'body:' but nothing like this follows the mention of Judas.

Gamaliel concludes upon the whole, that they should "let these men alone." We have no occasion to meddle in this matter: it is not unlikely but the Romans, our present governors, will be jealous of these men. But it seems to me an affair we have no reason to concern ourselves in.

St. Luke therefore must be supposed to be well acquainted with the census made after the banishment of Archelaus.

I must be permitted to observe farther, that St. Luke does here call Cyrenius by his true name. It has indeed been a dispute among learned men, whether his Roman name was Quirinus or Quirinius: Onuphrius in his Fasti printed it Quirinus; Grotius[u] and Lipsius[v] thought Onuphrius was mistaken, and that it ought to be corrected Quirinius.

[t] Jos. p. 1060. v. 10.

[u] In Luc. ii. 2.

[v] In not. ad Tacit. Ann. l. iii. c. 48.

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Perizonius[w] seems to have proved, that Quirinus is the true way of writing it in Latin; since it was not the family name, or the nomen, but cognomen, the third name of this gentleman; for his name was Caius Sulpicius Quirinus; and in the Syriac version of St. Luke he is written Curinus, and in the Latin vulgate Cyrinus. But however that be, he allows it to be common for the Greeks to make some alteration in the termination of Roman names, when they turn them into their own language. It is certain, his name in all the Greek authors has the termination of *ιος* or *ius*; Strabo[x] and Dio[y] call him Κυρινιος, Cyrinius; but in Josephus[z] his name is always written, as in St. Luke, Cyrenius.

Moreover it is certain, Cyrenius was governor of Syria; and he has here a very proper title, by which he must have been well known in Judea, and in all that part of the world.

Lastly, if we consider that the words now before us are a parenthesis, and that St. Luke calls the enrolment or census he was speaking of, the first, we cannot well doubt, but that the original intention of them was, in some manner or other, to distinguish this enrolment, which was now made in the reign of Herod, from that which was afterwards made when Archelaus was banished.

He that will seriously consider all these particulars, will have no suspicions that St. Luke has made any mistake.

If then the sense, which is now ordinarily given these words, is not consistent with truth, it is highly reasonable to conclude, that either we do not take the true meaning of them, or else that some small alteration or other has happened in the text of St. Luke.

IV. But though what has been here offered, and which has also been in the main alleged before by those who have considered this place, be sufficient to take away the force of this objection, yet I presume it will be expected, I should give some account of the particular solutions that have been offered by learned men: this I shall do, and then endeavour to support or improve that which appears to me the fairest.

1. One solution proposed by[a] Calvin, and much approved by Salmeron and Baronius, is that Josephus was mistaken in the account which he has given of Cyrenius. The two last-mentioned writers especially are of opinion, that we need pay little regard to Josephus, whose history, they say,

[w] Dissert. de Aug. Orb. Terr. Descr. sect. 30. [x] Lib. xii. p. 854. [y] Vid. Dio. lib. liv. ad A. U. 742.
[z] Ant. p. 791. v. 5. 12. p. 794. v. 21. 37. et alibi. [a] In loc.

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abounds with mistakes and falsehoods.[b] And Baronius[c] has taken some pains to make out a new series of the succession of the governors of Syria about this time; for he thinks that Cyrenius was twice, if not thrice, president of Syria: but this project can be but little approved by learned men at present. No one that reads Josephus without prejudice, and that considers he had before him the history of Herod's reign, written by Nicolas of Damascus, who was a learned man, Herod's favourite, and employed by him in affairs of government, can make any doubt, but that Quintilius Varus was governor of Syria when Herod died; that C. Sentius Saturninus was his predecessor, and was in the province at least two or three years; and that M. Titius was president before him. With all these governors of Syria Herod had some concerns. What Josephus has said of them may likewise be confirmed in a great measure from other authors;[d] so that there is no room for Cyrenius at this time.

Nor can there well be any question made, but that Josephus has given us, in the main, a true account of the enrolment or census made by Cyrenius after Archelaus's banishment. It appears from the manner in which Gamaliel speaks of the taxing, when Judas of Galilee rose up, that it was a remarkable event: and the account Josephus gives of it may assure us, this was an affair all men were then well acquainted with. The disturbance raised by Judas was suppressed, but yet the principle subsisted; it was the occasion of much uneasiness under the Roman government, and many were at times punished on account of it.[e]

2. Another solution proposed by[f] Calvin, and which Valesius[g] judgeth to be most commodious of any, is, that the decree of Augustus was issued in the latter end of Herod's reign; but that for some reason or other the census could not be made, or at least not finished, till the time that Cyrenius was governor of Syria, ten or twelve years afterwards.

But this is to make St. Luke speak very improperly and confusedly in what he says of Cyrenius, and it is directly

[b] Præstat ut Josephi vero fidem et historiam deseramus, tanquam incertam, et fluctuantem et veritati in multis dissentientem. Salmeron in Evang. T. iii. Tractat. 32.

[c] Sicque contra Josephi deliria certo appareret, sub Augusto imperatore, vivente Herode seniore, reperiri duplicem, immo triplicem, Quirinii in Syriâ præfecturam. Baron. Ann. A. D. 3. Vid. etiam App. ad An. num. 80, 86.

[d] Vid. Noris. Cenot. Pis. Diss. ii. cap. 16. sect. 9, 10.

[e] Jos. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 1. sect. 6.

[f] Ubi supra.

[g] Vid. Notas ad Euseb. Hist. Ec. lib. i. cap. 5.

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contrary to what follows. Having related, that there "went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed," he subjoins: "And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city." And there was so great a resort at this time at Bethlehem upon this account, that Joseph and Mary were obliged to take up with very indifferent accommodations: "there was no room for them in the inn."

3. Some think, that instead of Cyrenius we ought to read Saturninus; because, according to Josephus, he was præfect of Syria within a year or two before Herod died; and Tertullian says, this census was made by him. This is one of the solutions proposed by[h] Valesius, though he rather approves that last mentioned. But against this it has been observed by many learned men, that Cyrenius is in all our copies of St. Luke, and appears to have been there before Tertullian's time; since Justin Martyr says expressly, that this census was made by Cyrenius.

4. Other learned[i] men have thought it a very easy and probable conjecture, that originally the name of St. Luke was Quintilius. Quintilius Varus succeeded Saturninus, and was in the province of Syria when Herod died. The census afterwards made by Cyrenius was certainly best known, and some ignorant transcriber might therefore imagine Quintilius a mistake, and pretend to correct the original by inserting Cyrenius in his room. Besides, the alteration of Quintilius to Cyrenius is a change of only a few[k] letters, and therefore might the more easily happen.

But this solution is liable to the same objection with the former, that Cyrenius is in all the copies of the Greek original, and in all the ancient versions; and besides, has this disadvantage, that this census St. Luke speaks of is not ascribed to Quintilius Varus by any ancient christian writer whatever, whereas Saturninus has been mentioned by Tertullian.

5. The next[l] I shall mention is that offered by[m] Mr. Whiston, which is this: 'That a description or enrolment of 'the Jews was made just before our Saviour's birth, but the 'tax itself was not raised till the banishment of Archelaus, 'when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.' And Dr. Prideaux

[h] Ubi supra.

[i] Huet. Dem. Evang. Prop. ix. cap. 10. Parker's Demonstration of the Truth of the Christian Religion, p. 219. 4to. 1681.

[k] Κυιντιλιυ—Κυρηνιυ.

[l] I have passed by the conjecture of those who have supposed this whole parenthesis to be an interpolation, as not deserving to be mentioned.

[m] A short View of the Harmony of the Evang. Prop. xi.

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seems to approve of this way of solving this difficulty. For he says: 'If the second verse of the second chapter of 'St. Luke be so rendered as to imply, that the levying the 'tax, according to the description mentioned in the former 'verse, was first executed while Cyrenius was governor of 'Syria, this will remove all difficulties: and the text can 'well bear this interpretation.'[n]

In order to support this interpretation, Mr. Whiston says:[o] 'The word used for the description at our Saviour's 'birth, is the verb *απογραφομαι*, and that used for the taxation under Cyrenius is the noun *απογραφη*.' He adds, 'that 'by custom a noun of the same original with a verb does 'vary in signification from it. *Γεωμετρειν* is to measure the 'earth: *Γεωμετρια* is geometry, or the science that consists 'of the knowledge of numbers and figures.—Nay, in 'English, in the words directly apposite to this matter, the 'verb to tax is oftentimes to lay an imputation, while the 'noun a tax is the levy of money only.'

But (1.) Mr. W——n's argument from the use of nouns and verbs is not valid here. He says: 'By custom a 'noun with the same original with a verb does vary in sig-'nification from it.' This may be, and there may be many instances of it; but it had been much more material to give an example or two of the use of the noun *απογραθη* for a tax, namely, in the sense in which he here understands it. This he has not done, and I presume no such example can be alleged from any Greek author.

I know of but two, or at the most three senses, in which this noun is used, which can have any relation to this matter.

[1.] It is used for the act of the people in presenting themselves to be enrolled; as when soldiers offered themselves to be enlisted[p] or enrolled under a general: and in a census it may be used for the act of the people, who come and offer themselves to be enrolled and assessed. So the word seems to be used by Josephus, when he says in the place above quoted, that Judas persuaded not a few[q] of the Jews not to take enrolments or entries: that is, not to offer themselves to be entered and assessed.

[2.] The word is used for a census; so it is used by Dio in many places: *απογραφας ποιεισθαι* is the same as censum

[n] Connex. Par. ii. l. ix. Anno ante Ch. 5.
[o] Ubi supra.
[p] See above, p. 276. not. [s].
[q] *Ελεαζαρος Ιυδα απογονος, τε πεισαντος Ιυδαιων ολιγους μη ποιεισθαι τας απογραφας.* De B. J. l. vii. p. 1343. 40.

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agere; that is, to make enrolments is the same as to make a census.[r]

[3.] This noun is used for the public rolls or court books in which the entries were made: this sense of the word is very common. Thus Caligula being at play at dice, and having lost all his money, he asked for the Gallic court rolls,[s] and ordered several of the most wealthy of that people to be put to death, and seized their cash. And the citizens of Rome, whose debts were more than they could discharge, having entered the sums they owed in books opened for that purpose, Servius Tullius took the books or rolls, *τας απογραφας ελαβε*, brought them into the forum, and paid the creditors.[t]

Thus I have reckoned up all the senses I know of this noun, relating to this matter; however it never signifies a tax. Taxes were paid according to the census, where any had been made, but they were no part of it: they might be remitted or demanded; and the tribute is never expressed by the noun *απογραφη*, but is ever distinguished from what that signifies.[u]

(2.) This interpretation of these words is contrary to matter of fact. There was no tax levied after the banishment of Archelaus, according to the enrolment made at the birth of our Saviour. But as soon as Archelaus was banished, 'Cyrenius came into Judea to make an assessment of their 'goods.' Josephus is as express in this matter as can be:[v] 'Then it was that Judas of Galilee and his followers ex-'claimed, that an assessment would bring in among them 'downright slavery.'[w]

This interpretation therefore is so far from being of any service to us, that it would introduce a new, and I think insuperable difficulty, by putting upon those words a sense directly contrary to what Josephus has said.

Josephus is so express, that there seems no need of reasoning upon the matter to confute this supposition. But I can never conceive, how a tax could be levied in Judea, after the removal of Archelaus, upon the census or enrol-

[r] *Πλην εν ταις απογραφαις.* p. 509. C. *Αυτος δε απογραφας των εν τῃ Ιταλιᾳ κατοικουντων εποιησατο.* 557. B. vid. etiam jam citat. pag. 496. C. 508. B. C.

[s] *Κυβευων δε ποτε, και μαθων ὁτι ουκ ειη οἱ αργυριον, ῃτησε τε τας των Γαλατων απογραφας· κ. τ. λ.* Dio. lib. lix. p. 657. B.

[t] Dion. Hal. l. iv. cap. 10. p. 207. 23.

[u] *Τον τε φορον τον εκ των απογραφων αφηκε, τελη τε τινα κατελυσε.* Dio. l. xlix. p. 401. B.

[v] *Παρην δε Κυρηνιος εις την Ιουδαιων—αποτιμησομενος τε αυτων τας ουσιας.* Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 1. sect. 1.

[w] *Την τε αποτιμησιν ουδεν αλλο η αντικρυς δουλειαν επιφερειν λεγοντες.* Id. Ibid.

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ment made at our Saviour's birth, without the utmost confusion or the utmost injustice. When the enrolment which St. Luke speaks of was made, Galilee, Trachonitis, and other countries, were subject to Herod, beside Judea: many who lived in Galilee enrolled themselves in Judea, particularly Joseph, as St. Luke assures us. But when Archelaus was banished, one half of Herod's dominions was in the possession of Herod the tetrarch and Philip, and had been so ever since the death of Herod called the Great: and only Judea, Samaria, and Idumea, which had been subject to Archelaus, were thrown into the form of a Roman province. The Jews having enrolled themselves according to their families at the time of our Saviour's nativity, and many having come into Judea, properly so called, from Galilee, and other parts of Herod's territories, a new enrolment was absolutely necessary in Judea at the time of Archelaus's removal, if they were to pay tribute there in the way of a census; Judea otherwise must have been very much overburdened. If there was an assessment of goods made at the latter end of Herod's reign, undoubtedly Joseph's stock at Nazareth was entered and rated at Bethlehem: and as the Jews in that part of the world were chiefly of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, the inhabitants of Galilee, and Trachonitis, &c. must have very generally enrolled themselves in towns that belonged to the province of Judea. But it would have been very unreasonable in the Romans to demand tribute of the people of Judea, properly so called, for estates and goods which were in the territories of the tetrarchs Herod and Philip.

And we are assured, that the Romans did use to act equitably and with great exactness in these matters. Many of the Roman citizens had been for a long time oppressed with the weight of their debts. A way having been found out, A. U. 402, to give them ease, Livy says, that the next year a census was ordered, because the property of many things had been altered.[x]

6. The solution I shall consider in the next place, is that which was first offered by Herwaert:[y] I give it here in the words of[z] Whitby, by whom it is espoused. "And this taxing was first made (before that made) when Cyrenius

[x] Quia solutio æris alieni multarum rerum mutaverat dominos; censum agi placuit. Lib. vii. cap. 22. n. vi. vid. et cap. 21.

[y] Ut hoc loco genitivus ἡγεμονευοντος vocabulo πρωτη additus, vim comparationis efficiat, et perinde sit, ac si diceretur descriptionem illam esse priorem priusque factam, quam Quirinius Syriæ præficeretur, præfecturamque ipsius gereret. Herwaert. Nova et Vera Chronologia, Monachii, 1612. p. 189.

[z] In loc.

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was governor of Syria: or rather, This taxing was made before Cyrenius was governor of Syria." The learned Kepler[a] approved of this interpretation, as perfectly agreeable to the genius of the Greek language; notwithstanding which[b] Casaubon rejected it, and was supposed by most to have confuted Herwaert's arguments for it. Perizonius, in his dissertation upon this subject of the taxing, has afresh supported this interpretation. Mr. Le Clerc, in his additions to Dr. Hammond's annotations, expresses his approbation of it; and has since declared,[c] that he thinks it has been set in so clear a light as to be incontestable. And it is now embraced by many other learned men, both protestants and catholics.

I am very desirous this solution should appear here to as much advantage, as an argument so full of Greek criticisms can do in a design of this nature in our own language. Perizonius allows, that a great many of Herwaert's instances are not to the[d] purpose. I reckon, therefore, that it will be sufficient to represent this argument as it is drawn up by Whitby and Perizonius; especially if I take in by the by an instance or two, insisted on by others, though neglected by them.

Whitby says: 'I would rather read προ της than πρωτη. 'But neither do we need this criticism, since the words πρωτος and πρωτερος are by the Seventy oft used according to 'this sense; of the word πρωτερον, this is beyond doubt, God 'saying twice αποστελω σφηκιας πρωτερας σου, "I will send hornets before thee," Exod. xxiii. 28; Jos. xxiv. 12.—That 'πρωτος also is used in the sense of priority we learn from 'these instances; πρωτοτοκος εγω η συ, I am before thee, I 'am elder than thou; και ινα τι ουκ ελογισθη ὁ λογος μου πρωτος; 'Chal. מדוכיתא לי, "Why then was not the word first spoken 'to me?" Cur mihi non annunciatum est priori? 2 Sam. 'xix. 43; Isa. xlv. 16. "The former troubles are forgot-'ten," Gr. επιλησονται την θλιψιν αυτων την πρωτην, and ver. '17, ὁ μη μνησθωσι των προτερων, "they shall not remember 'the former." So John, i. 15, 30, ὁτι πρωτος μου ην, "for he

[a] Cum igitur omnium Græce doctorum judicio constet sic optime versum esse hunc locum Lucæ, multoque emendatius quam habet antiqua versio, spero omnes acquieturos hac solutione objectionis prius propositæ. De Natal. J. Chr. p. 116, 117.

[b] Exerc. in Baron. i. n. 32.

[c] Ce denombrement se fit avant que Quirinius fût gouverneur de la Syrie. De savans hommes ont mis cette explication de ce passage de St. Luc dans un si grand jour, qu'elle paroît desormais incontestable. Nouv. Testam.

[d] Interpretationem hanc primus protulit Joh. Georg. Herwaertus, multisque argumentis, vel potius exemplis, probare laboravit, sed in quibus non pauca attulit valde απροσδιονυσα. Periz. De August. Descript. sect. 21.

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'was before me." And chap. xv. 18, "know that they 'hated, εμε πρωτον, me before you." 1 Cor. xiv. 30, ὁ πρωτος, "Let the former hold his peace;" and 1 John iv. 19, '"We love him, ὁτι πρωτος, because he loved us before." 'And in Aristophanes, αλλ' ουκ αν πρωτα is interpreted αλλ' ουκ 'αν προτερον' Neph. p. 122. And so Theophylact interprets 'the word here. Τουτεστι προτερα ηγεμονευοντος, ουχι προτερον 'η ηγεμονευσε της Συριας Κυρηνιος.'

Perizonius understands these words in much the same sense[e] with Whitby; only he differs from him and Herwaert, in that they suppose πρωτη to be the same as προτερα; whereas he says, these numeral adjectives have the force of adverbs.[f]

He alleges divers of the same examples which Whitby does, particularly John i. 15, and xv. 18. Of the latter, ὁτι εμε πρωτον ὑμων μεμισηκε, he says, it must by all means be understood[g] of priority of time: "It hated me before it hated you."

He supposes also[h] that we have a parallel instance in a word of an opposite meaning, 2 Macc. vii. 41, εσχατη των υἱων ἡ μητηρ ετελευτησε. Last of all after the sons the mother died. In the same manner is πρωτον the adverb used in Aristophanes in avibus, v. 484. de Gallo; ηρχε τε πρωτον Δαρειε και Μεγαβυζε, i. e. imperabatque Persis priusquam Darius et Megabyzus; vel ante Darium et Megabyzum.

Perizonius says, that the genitives that follow πρωτος are governed by an ellipsis,[i] and that πρωτον με is the same as

[e] Verus itaque meâ sententiâ verborum sensus est: Hæc descriptio prius, vel, ante, facta est, quam præsideret Syriæ Quirinius. Dissertatio de Augusti orbis terrarum Descriptione, sect. 21.

[f] Voluit autem Herwaertus πρωτη poni αντι του προτερα, atque hujus locutionis vi genitivum, qui sequitur, a τῳ πρωτῃ, tanquam a comparativo, regi. Durum hoc plerisque visum. Ego rem aliter expediendam omnino censeam. Πρωτη simpliciter, ut adjectivum numerale jungitur verbo, quemadmodum solent adjectiva habitum vel modum rei gestæ significantia, tanquam si sint adverbia.—Sic plane πρωτος, verbis adjunctum, sæpe significat solam ordinis et numeri rationem, sine discrimine, pluresne sint, an unus, qui sequantur; atque adeo tunc non tam superlativi, quam positivi naturam induit, eandemque subit constructionem, quam δευτερος, et seq. Ibid. sect. 22.

[g] Vertendum omnino cum significatu temporis, me primum ante vos. Ib. et sect. 23. [h] Ibid. [i] Nempe genitivi hi non reguntur ab adjectivis, sed a præpositionibus, quæ per ellipsin sunt omissæ, sect. 24. Προ enim esse particulam, quæ in istâ locutione desideratur, et a quâ regitur genitivus, certissimum ex eo, quod ubi ellipsis nulla, et sententia plene ac integre exponitur, illa potissimum occurrit expressa. Apud. Anton. Liber. fab. 29. Και προ Ἡρακλειος ἑορτη θυουσι Γαλινθιαδι πρωτῃ. Galinthias ibi optime dicitur merita fuisse de Hercule, et idcirco Thebanos in festo Herculis sacrificare Galinthiadi prius, seu primæ, ante Herculem.—Sed et ipse Lucas Evang. xi. 38. expressit similiter το προ πρωτος, ὁ δε Φαρισαιος, inquit,

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πρωτος προ μς, πρωτος ὑμων the same as πρωτος προ ὑμων. Thus in Luke xi. 38. "He wondered," ὁτι ου πρωτον εβαπτισθη προ αριστου, "that he had not washed before dinner." From this and another such instance he concludes, that the genitive is governed by προ understood, when it is wanting.

This is the substance of the argument in favour of this meaning of this passage of St. Luke.

It has been thought by some to be an objection against this solution, that then St. Luke has omitted to name the person by whom this enrolment was made; but methinks this is a defect which may be dispensed with, if that be the only difficulty. For my own part I dare not absolutely reject it; but yet I am not fully satisfied that this is the sense of the words. I think myself obliged to review the arguments here offered by these learned men, and hope it may be done without offence.

Whitby's instances of the use of πρωτερος and πρωτερον from the Seventy are not to the point, because the word in St. Luke is πρωτη. There is no doubt but πρωτερος, the comparative, is very often followed by a genitive case, and denotes such or such a thing to be before another; we want some plain examples of this use of πρωτος· nor is πρωτοτοκος εγω η συ to the point, because the η is wanting in St. Luke, and the construction is different. The example from Isa. lxv. 16, only proves that πρωτος signifies the former: and though πρωτη in St. Luke should be so rendered, the difficulty will remain in its full force. For then the sense will be, "This former taxing was made when Cyrenius was governor of Judea." Nor can the πρωτος in 1 Cor. xiv. 30, or 1 John iv. 19, do us any service, for want of a regimen equivalent to what we have in our text; nor do I see what use can be made of the phrase borrowed from Aristophanes. The passage from 2 Sam. xix. 43, as it is quoted by Keuchenius,[k] seems to me more strongly to support this inter-

ιδων εθαυμασεν, ὁτι ου πρωτον εβαπτισθη προ του αριστου· quod non primum se laveret, antequam cibum sumeret. Vides utrobique post πρωτη et πρωτον, ante genitivum expressam hanc præpositionem; quod certo est indicio, ab eâ etiam regi, quando nulla comparet, omissa per ελλειψιν, sed tamen intelligenda: atque adeo explicandum etiam πρωτον Δαρειου, quasi dictum esset πρωτον προ Δαρειου ἡ απογραφη πρωτη Κυρηνιου quasi πρωτη προ Κυρηνιου. sect. 25.—mihique idem est, ac si dixisset Lucas, non quidem προτερα ἡγεμονευοντος, verum πρωτη προ ἡγεμονευοντος.—Sed nihil similius, quod ad constructionis et linguæ rationem, Lucæ verbis secundum nostram eorum interpretationem, quam locus LXX. interpretum Jerem. xxix. 1. οὐτοι οἱ λογοι, οὑς απεστειλεν Ιερεμιας εις Βαβυλωνα ὑστερον εξελθοντος Ιεχονιου εξ Ἱερουσαλημ. Hæc sunt verba, quæ misit Jeremias Babylonem, postquam exiit Jechonias ex Hierosolymis, sect. 28.

[k] Silentio tandem præterire nequeo, quod 2 Sam. cap. xix. 43, legitur, Et vir Israëlis respondit viro Judæ, et dixit,

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pretation, than as it is quoted by Whitby, though I suppose he had his reasons for quoting it in that way; nor has Perizonius quoted this text, though he had Keuchenius before him. It is observable, that Ιωδα is wanting in [1]Grabe's edition of the Septuagint, as there is nothing answerable to it in the Hebrew: his instances from St. John's gospel will be distinctly considered presently.

The first quotation in Perizonius [sect. 23.] which I shall consider is John xx. 3, 4. "Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre. So they ran both together, and the other disciple did out-run Peter," και ηλθε πρωτος εις το μνημειον, "and came first to the sepulchre." Which Perizonius would render thus: And came first, or before Peter; and says, that the meaning cannot be "came first of all," πρωτος παντων, because Mary Magdalene had been there before. No, for certain, it is not, came first of all, because two only are here spoken of; and omnium primus is not properly said of two. But I wonder Perizonius did not perceive the proper ellipsis in this place, and which is very obvious, namely, τουν δυοιν, and came the first of the two. Perizonius does not deny, that πρωτος is used where two only are spoken of; nay, he contends for it. But because it is often denied,[m] and because his proofs appear to me not very clear, or at least not so fully to suit my interpretation of this text, I shall give two undoubted examples. Thus[n] Dionysius says, that Servius Tullius's wife was daughter of Tarquin the first, though there were but two Tarquins kings of Rome. Plutarch thus describes a restless uneasy mind. 'If he is a native of a province, of 'Galatia for instance, or Bithynia, he thinks he is not well 'used, if he has not some eminent post among his citizens. 'If he has that, he laments that he has not a right of wear-'ing the patrician habit: if he has that, he grieves that he is 'not a Roman prætor: if he is prætor, that he is not consul:

Mihi sunt decem partes in rege, ubi LXX. de suo addere videntur, και πρωτοτοκος εγω η συ, et etiam in David ego præ te: cur igitur me vilipendisti, et non fuit verbum meum primum seu prius (inter duos enim sermo est) mihi ad reducendum regem meum; quod LXX. vertunt, και ως ελογισθη ὁ λογος μω πρωτος μοι τω Ιωδα επιστρεψαι τον βασιλεα εμοι; ubi πρωτος τω Ιωδα manifeste ponitur pro προτερος. Petri Keuchen. annot. in loc.

[1] Και ως ελογισθη ὁ λογος μω πρωτος μοι τω επιτρεψαι τον βασιλεα εμοι.

[m] Πρωτος και προτερος διαφερει· πρωτος γαρ επι πολλων, προτερος δε επι δυο. Ammon. de Sim. et Diff. ap. H. Steph. Thes. Gr. in Appendice.

[n] Ταρκυνιω θυγατηρ ωσα τω πρωτω βασιλεως. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. p. 234. v. 13. conf. p. 250. v. 42. ὁτι Ταρκυνιω τω προτερον βασιλευσαντος Ρωμαιων αδελφω παις ην. et p. 253. 10. τω προτερον βασιλεως Ταρκυνιω θυγατηρ.

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'and if consul, that he was not declared first, but[o] only the 'latter (of the two).'

This text then will not help Perizonius. All that can be proved from it is, that πρωτος is used very properly where two only are spoken of; if πρωτη in St. Luke be allowed to signify the first or former of two taxings, all that will result from hence is, that St. Luke thought there was another taxing beside this; and that this now made by Cyrenius was the former of the two. No instance of this sort will prove, that the meaning of this passage is, this taxing was before, or prior to, that made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.

The examples from John i. 15, 30, xv. 18, are some of the most proper examples in the whole number; and if they are rightly understood, they are very much to the purpose. But, with submission to these learned men, I think they are taken by them in a wrong sense. They are both much of the same kind; but I choose to consider first of all that alleged from John xv. 18. Ει ὁ κοσμος ὑμας μισει, γινωσκετε ὁτι εμε πρωτον ὑμων μεμισηκεν· "If the world hate you, know that it hated me before it hated you." Herwaert[p] is much pleased with this example.

If πρωτον be supposed to be an adverb, then this is not a parallel instance: but indeed, as I take it, it is neither an adverb, nor an adjective, but a noun substantive; or at least, an adjective used substantively; and the latter part of the verse ought to be rendered, Know that it has hated me *your chief*. The connexion of the words may satisfy us, that this was our Saviour's meaning. His argument is, that men had hated him, who was superior to them; nay, they had hated even his Father; the disciples therefore ought not to be surprised if they hate them also, v. 20, "Remember the words that I said unto you, the servant is not greater than his lord; if they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you." V. 24, "But now they have both seen and hated me and my Father." The force of the argument is not, that the world had hated him before it hated them; but he bids them consider, that it hated him who was their master, and whom they allowed to be so. This is the argument made use of in other places with the same view, Matt. x. 24, 25, "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord.—If they have called the master

[o] Εαν δε και στρατηγων, ὁτι μη ὑπατευει· και ὑπατευων, ὁτι μη πρωτος, αλλ' ἑτερος ανηγορευθη. Plutarch. de Anim. Tranq. p. 470. c.

[p] Ille vero S. Joannis xv. 18. locus ad hoc institutum mirifice facit,—Si mundus vos odit, scitote quia me priorem vobis odio habuit.

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of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?"

If it be said, that there was no occasion to subjoin 'your 'chief' after 'me,' and that the disciples could consider Jesus no otherwise than as their master; I answer, that it is apparent from the texts already alleged here by me, that this was not our Saviour's style; and that he did not trust so much to his disciples' understandings. When he had occasion to draw any inferences from his superiority, he always expresseth it. John xiii. 14, "Ye call me Master, and Lord, and ye say well: for so I am. If I then your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet."

Πρωτος is used several times in the New Testament, in the plural number, for superiority of honour and dignity: Και τοις πρωτοις της Γαλιλαιας, is not ill rendered in our version, Mark vi. 21, "chief estates of Galilee:" γυναικων τε των πρωτων ικ ολιγαι, "of the chief women not a few," Acts xvii. 4; or, as perhaps the words might be rendered, not a few of the wives of the chief men.

It is likewise used in the singular number in the same sense. Και ὁς εαν θελη εν ὑμιν ειναι πρωτος, εστο ὑμων δυλος· Matt. xx. 27, "And whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant." There is another unexceptionable instance of this use of the word: Acts xviii. 7, Εν δε τοις——ὑπηρχε χωρια τῳ πρωτῳ της νησου· "In the same quarters were possessions of the *chief man* of the Island." Grotius, in his annotations upon this place, has exhibited a Greek inscription found in this very island of Melita, a part of which inscription is thus: Α. Κ. ΚΙΟΣ. ΙΠΠΕΥΣ. ΡΩΜ. ΗΡΩΤΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ. L. C. Kius, Roman knight, chief of the Melitenes.

The word is often so used in the septuagint version: πρωτος των τριακοντα, chief of the thirty, 1 Chron. xi. 11. Και Ασαφ πρωτος των αδοντων, Neh. xii. 46, and in many other places. And in Josephus: Ιωστος ὁ Πιστε παις ὁ της τριτης μεριδος πρωτος, Justus the son of Pistus, chief or leader of the third faction in[q] Tiberias. I throw an example or two more from other[r] authors into the margin.

Nor do I see, why πρωτος should not be allowed to be used substantively in divers of the places I have produced.

[q] Joseph. in Vit. p. 907. v. 12.

[r] Τον τηδε παιδα εοντος πρωτε παρ' ἡμος· κ. λ. Herodot. l. i. c. 115. ην δε ανηρ ατος, και ὁ πρωτος αυτων, κ. λ. Ibid. c. 173. Και Επαμινωνδας βοωταρχων, εν Λευκτροις ενικησε Λακεδαιμονιους, και των Ρωμαιων [Θηβαιων legit Perizonius] και των Ελληνων πρωτος εγενετο. Ælian. Var. H. vii. 14.

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Princeps in *Latin* is properly an adjective, and is often so used; at other times it is a substantive. Αυτοκρατωρ is sometimes an adjective; it is also used substantively: no one will deny it. Υπατος is a word very near parallel with πρωτος; is often an adjective, at other times is used substantively, and denotes a consul.

I come now to the other instance, John i. 15, ουτος ην ον ειπον, ὁ οπισω μου ερχομενος εμπροσθεν μου γεγονεν, ὁτι πρωτος μου ην· "This was he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me." The same words occur again, ver. 30, with little variation; but the last clause ought not, in my opinion, to be rendered, "for he was before me," but, "for he is my Prince or Lord."

What I have already said in favour of this meaning of πρωτος in the former instance, may, I presume, make way for admitting it here.

I apprehend John to say; He that follows me, or comes behind me, was always before me, or in my view, for he is my Prince. Εμπροσθεν and οπισω (unless I am much mistaken) are never used in the New Testament for priority or posteriority of time, nor for superiority or inferiority in respect of dignity, (unless they are so used here in the case of John the Baptist,) but always have a regard to place. "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ," 2 Cor. v. 10, Εμπροσθεν του βηματος του Χριστου. "I said unto Peter before them all," Gal. ii. 14, Εμπροσθεν παντων. "Forgetting the things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before," Phil. iii. 13, Τα μεν οπισω επιλανθανομενος, τοις δε εμπροσθεν επεκτεινομενος· ενωπιον and εμπροσθεν are frequently used the one for the other. See Matt. x. 33, Luke xii. 9. It is true, John came before Christ, that is, before his face. He went before him as an officer before a great man; but that is expressed here in οπισω μου ερχομενος.

But I will not contend about this. Perhaps εμπροσθεν μου γεγονεν is not ill rendered in our translation, 'is preferred 'before me,' though it appears to me an unusual sense of the word.

However, πρωτος μου must nevertheless be understood as I render it. And I learn from Beza,[t] that others have been of the same opinion before me.

Thus then John says, toward the conclusion of his ministry, "Ye yourselves bear witness, that I [from the begin-

[s] Λαβων την αυτοκρατορα αρχην. Dionys. Hal. l. vii. p. 408. v. 1.

[t] Quamobrem etiam nonnulli πρωτος μου interpretantur Princeps meus: quod mihi penitus insolens videtur. Bez. in loc.

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ning] said, I am not the Christ, but that I am sent before him," John iii. 28. Referring to what he had declared at first: " I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, *Make straight the way of the Lord*," ch. i. 23. That is, I came not on my own account, but barely as a harbinger that makes way for his Lord. This is the peculiar character of John, under which he was prophesied of, Isa. xl. 3; Mal. iii. 1; iv. 5, and under which he always speaks of himself. And what in the 15th and 30th verses of this 1st chapter of John, is ὁτι πρωτος μου ην, He is my prince, is in the 27th verse represented by an expression that denotes the vast superiority of Christ above him;[u] " He it is, who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose:" that is, I am so far inferior to him, and am in so low a post under him, that I am not worthy to perform the meanest office about his person: or, in other words, I am a mere harbinger, and he is my Lord. Athenagoras[v] has used this word in this very sense of a prince or chief.

I hope it will be no objection against this interpretation, that then the words would not have been πρωτος μου ην, but εστιν· for these are all one and the same. I need go no further for proof than these two verses: ουτος ην ὁν ειπον in the 15th—in the 30th is ουτος εστι περι ου εγω ειπον. So that ην and εστι signify the very same thing, and are used one for the other.

I am indeed aware, that some grammarians will except against my notion of πρωτος being a substantive: I will then, for the present, suppose it to be an adjective; but yet I cannot part with the interpretation I have given of either of these texts. The context satisfies me the sense I affix to the words is the true meaning; and I can, if I mistake not, account for it according to the strictest rules of the grammarians. Let then πρωτον, in John xv. 18, be inclusive, and be understood partitively, and ὑμων will be governed by the ellipsis εξ; this I suppose will not be contested: but I choose to understand πρωτον here exclusively. I think that is the best sense, and then the ellipsis may be[w] προ,

[u] Λυτος εστιν ὁ οπισω μου ερχομενος, ὁς εμπροσθεν μου γεγονεν· ου εγω ουκ ειμι αξιος ινα λυσω αυτου τον ἱμαντα του ὑποδηματος.

[v] Προσηκε δε τω μεν το πρωτευειν κατα φυσιν, τω δε δορυφορειν τον ΠΡΩΤΟΝ, ὁδοποιειν τε και προανεργειν παν ὁποσον εμποδων και προσαντες· Decet enim hoc secundum naturam principatum habere, illud autem, satellitis vice, *principi* suo viam facere, et prævio cursu, omnia impedimenta et prærupta tollere. De Resur. p. 50. D. Paris. 1636.

[w] Perizonius says, sect. 24, Apud Græcos hanc vicem præstant præpositiones προ et περι, quarum illa respondet τω ante, hæc τω præ. Προ is also.

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περι, επι, or whatever else the grammarians like best. Πρωτος in John i. 15, 30, is evidently exclusive, according to my way of rendering it; and the μου following is governed by an ellipsis of one of the last-mentioned prepositions. This I take to be perfectly agreeable to the rules of the grammarians: and thus, in one place, Jesus tells his disciples, that he was chief above them; and in the other, John the Baptist says, that Jesus was prince or chief above him. And now I have Beza on my side, with reference to John i. 15, for though he would not allow, that πρωτος μου is 'my 'prince,' yet he says,[x] after a very careful examination, he is convinced, it expresses the vast excellence and superiority of Christ above John. I am not singular therefore in supposing, that this text does not express directly and simply priority of time, but only virtually and consequentially, as it is implied and comprehended in the superior dignity of which it is a part.

There is another πρωτη in the New Testament, which has been understood by some in the same sense in which these learned men have taken the two former instances, though it is not alleged by them. Matt. xxvi. 17, Mark xvi. 12, "Now the first day of the feast of unleavened bread." This was the fourteenth day of the month: but it is argued here, that the fifteenth day was the first day of the feast of unleavened bread; for Josephus says, that the sixteenth day of the month was[y] the second day of the feast; and the words of the law agree herewith. "And in the fourteenth day of the first month is the passover of the Lord. And in the fifteenth day of this month is the feast. Seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten," Numb. xxviii. 16, 17. See Exod. xii. 18. The fourteenth day therefore was the day of the passover: the feast of unleavened bread was distinct from it, and lasted seven days from the fourteenth at night; the fifteenth day of the month was the first of unleavened bread. Therefore when the evangelists, speaking of the fourteenth day, say, it was πρωτη των αζυμων, they

used to denote preference and pre-eminence, both simply and in composition. Simply: Και ουτος ποιμην αποδεικνυται διανοιας, τυφον προ αληθειας ασπαζομενης, και προ του ειναι το δοκειν αποδεχομενης. Philo. p. 193. D. vid. et p. 194. D. In composition: in προιεσως, προτιμαω, &c.

[x] Cæterum hoc loco diligentius expenso, quam antea.—Declarat igitur præstantiam, sed Christo peculiarem, et ipsi propriam: nempe quasi diceret Joannes: Qui me sequitur, quasi magistrum præeuntem discipulus quispiam, mihi anteposítus est, idque optimo jure, quia infinitis modis est præstantior; quamvis ante docere cœperim quam ille sese mundo patefecerit. In loc.

[y] Τη δε δευτερα των αζυμων (ημερα εκτη δ' εστιν αυτη και δεκατη.) Antiq. lib. iii. cap. x. p. 124. v. 20.

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mean not the 'first' day of unleavened bread, but the day 'before' that feast.

The Jews have a rule, that in the computation of feasts, the day[z] precedes the night: what stress ought to be laid upon this rule in this case I know not, I am satisfied we do not need it. The passover was, strictly speaking, distinct from the feast of unleavened bread, and seven days of unleavened bread followed the day of the passover: but their houses were cleansed from all leaven on the morning of the day on which the paschal lamb was slain, and therefore after noon they could eat no leavened bread. For this reason, perhaps, the day of the passover was called the first of unleavened bread; but whatever was the reason of it, it is certain, that the passover and the feast of unleavened bread are often taken promiscuously the one for the other. And though Josephus, in the particular account of the institution, distinguishes the passover from the feast of unleavened bread, yet he often calls the one the other. 'At[a] that time,' says he, 'the feast approaching, in which the Jews are wont to 'eat unleavened bread: the feast is called the passover, it 'being kept in remembrance of their departure out of 'Egypt.' And in one place he says, 'we keep the[b] feast 'of unleavened bread eight days.' According to this method of computation, the fourteenth day was the first of unleavened bread: so that when the passover and feast of unleavened bread were considered as one, (as they were very often,) and the whole was called by the feast of unleavened bread, the fourteenth day must be the first. The evangelists perhaps do not write in system; nor does Josephus, as it seems, nor indeed any other good writers, but according to the usual way of speaking.

Herwaert[c] lays great stress upon a passage of Athenæus,

[z] Quum autem Matt. xxvi. 17. et Marc. xiv. 12, ipse dies 14. Nisan appellatur primus dies azymorum. Intelligendum id est secundum canonem Judæorum, mox traditum, scilicet in sacris comedendis diem præcedere noctem; sic ut tempus vespertinum diei 14, et nox subsequens hoc modo diei 14 accenseantur. Reland. Antiq. Heb. p. 422.

[a] *Ενταυθα δε κατα τονδε τον καιρον εορτης, εν ᾗ Ιουδαιοις αζυμα προτιθεσθαι πατριον. Πασχα δε ἡ εορτη καλειται ὑπομνημα ὑσα της εξ Αιγυπτου απαρσεως αυτων γενομενης.* Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 9. sect. 3. p. 773. v. 25. vid. et p. 609. v. 51. 887. v. 10.

[b] *Ὁθεν εις μνημην της τοτε ενδειας εορτην αγομεν εφ' ημερας οκτω, την των αζυμων λεγομενην.* Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 15. p. 88. init.

[c] Ille vero locus Aristotelis est singularis. Eum recenset Athenæus, Lib. xi. p. 505. *Προ γαρ αυτου [Πλατωνος] τυθ' ευρε το ειδος των λογων ὁ Τηϊος Αλεξαμενος, ως Νικιας ὁ Νικαευς ἱστορει και Σωτηριων. Αριστοτελης δε εν τῳ περι ποιητων ουτως γραφει, Ουκουν ουδε εμμετρους τους καλουμενους Σωφρονος μιμους μη φαμεν ειναι λογους και μιμησεις, ἡ τους Αλεξαμενου του Τηϊου τους πρωτους*

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who quotes Aristotle, saying, (as Herwaert understands the words,) that Alexamenus's dialogues were written before the Socratic dialogues; [that is, the dialogues in which Plato introduces Socrates;] expressly affirming, says Athenæus, that Alexamenus wrote dialogues before Plato.

But it is very plain to me, that Aristotle says, that Alexamenus's dialogues were the first Socratic dialogues; that is, that Alexamenus was the inventor of that way of writing. I have transcribed the passage of Athenæus more at length than Herwaert has done: and if the reader will consider the whole of it, I think he will be convinced, 1st, That by Socratic dialogues is here meant, not Plato's dialogues, in which he introduces Socrates, but in general that way of writing: and 2dly, That Aristotle says, that Alexamenus's dialogues were the[d] first of the kind. From whence Athenæus infers very justly, that Aristotle says expressly, that Alexamenus wrote dialogues before Plato.

I think likewise, that Athenæus never dreamed of that meaning of Aristotle's words, which Herwaert affixes to them. Interpret Aristotle as Herwaert does, and Athenæus is guilty of a ridiculous tautology in his inference.

That I understood Aristotle right, is farther evident from Diogenes Laertius, whose words upon the same subject are thus: 'Some say, that Zeno the Elean was the first writer 'of dialogues, but Aristotle, in his first book of Poets, says, 'that Alexamenus the Teian was, as does also Phavorinus 'in his Commentaries.'[e]

But though I contest all these instances, (as thinking I have given the true meaning of all those places,) it must be allowed, that Perizonius's example from Aristophanes, and another from Alexander Aphrodisius,[f] alleged by others in this cause, prove that πρωτον, used adverbially, is put without προ following it to denote the priority they contend for.

γραφεντας των Σωκρατικων διαλογων· αντικρυς φασκων ὁ πολυμαθεστατος Αριστοτελης προ Πλατωνος διαλογους γεγραφεναι τον Αλεξαμενον. Hæc quidem Athenæus: ubi sane verba illa Aristotelis τους πρωτους γραφεντας των Σωκρατικων διαλογων, Athenæus hisce interpretatur: [τους προτερον] προ Πλατωνος διαλογους, κ. τ. λ. Plato enim in suis dialogis introducit Socratem qui hortetur juvenes, sophistas redarguat, viros doceat; unde haud immerito vocantur Socratici.—Quemadmodum igitur Aristotelis Alexameni dialogos prius scriptos, quam Plato suos Socraticos conscripsisset, vocat τους πρωτους γραφεντας των Σωκρατικων διαλογων: sic Divus Lucas, &c. Herw. ubi supra, p. 197.

[d] So Athenæus says expressly: τυθ' ευρε το ειδος των λογων.

[e] Διαλογους τοινυν φασι πρωτον γραψαι Ζηνωνα τον Ελεατην· Αριστοτελης δε εν πρωτῳ περι ποιητων Αλεξαμενον Στυρεα η Τηϊον, ὡς και Φαβωρινος εν απομνημονευμασι. Diog. Laert. lib. iii. Segm. 48.

[f] Ἡ πληγη πρωτον της αστραπης την βροντην αποτελει, η ἁμα. Ictus prius tonitru perficit quam fulgur, aut simul. Alex. Aphrod. Problem. l. i.

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How far the argument will hold by way of analogy from adverbs to adjectives, I cannot say. It ought also to be allowed, that the πρωτος μοι τω Ιωδα of 2 Sam. xix. 43, (but not found in all copies of the Seventy,) is an equivalent phrase to that in St. Luke, and to be understood in the sense put upon St. Luke's words. The passage from the Maccabees, "Last of all after the sons the mother died," contains also a parallel phrase. To these I add two other instances[g] of πρωτος itself, which I am unwilling to contest, and shall leave with the reader.

Perizonius's way of accounting for this construction by the ellipsis of a preposition to be understood, when not expressed, is well argued from the two instances he has alleged of προ subjoined to πρωτος. I add another like instance from Eusebius:[h] though perhaps the other way of supposing πρωτη used for πρoτερα[i] need not be quite rejected.

I presume this may be sufficient to show, that the phrase in St. Luke is capable of the sense contended for by these learned men. But I cannot yet persuade myself, that it is the real sense of the text, for the following reasons.

1. This is a very uncommon use of the word πρωτος. This I think is evident, in that the critics have been so much at a loss for instances. Stevens knew of[k] none, beside that produced above from Aphrodisius, where πρωτον is used adverbially. There are also almost innumerable other ways of expressing this priority of time.[l] The reason of the Greek writers so rarely using this word thus is very obvious; it can hardly be done without causing some ambiguity, therefore when they use it in this sense, we see they often subjoin προ. That this use of πρωτος was designedly avoided, seems to me evident, from a passage of Herodotus; where having in the former branch of the sentence twice used the superlative, in the latter he takes the comparative; either

[g] Προ των οντως οντων, και των ὁλων αρχων εστι θεος εἱς, πρωτος και τω πρωτω θεω και βασιλευς. Ante eas res quæ vere sunt, et ante principia universalium, est unus Deus prior etiam primo deo et rege. Jamblich. de Mysteriis, sect. viii. cap. 2. Και πρωτος εστεφανωτο των αλλων primus ante alios coronâ honoratus est. Dionys. Hal. Hist. Rom. l. iv. c. 3.

[h] Αντικα γαρ μαλα θεασωμεθα, ὁπως μεν ὁ Πλατων τους προ αυτου πρωτους εσκωπτειν, ὁπως δε τους Πλατωνος διαδοχους αλλους Præpar. Evan. l. xiv. cap. 2.

[i] Εστι δε τις δυναμις, ουσιας μεν δευτερα, ψυχης δε πρωτη. Est autem quædam vis essentiâ quidem inferior, sed nobilior animo. Sallus. de Mundo, c. 8.

[k] Πρωτον προτερον, prius. Alexander Aphrodisius, ἡ πληγη, ε. λ. Quem alioqui usum apud vetustiores scriptores rarissimum esse puto: affertur tamen et ex Aristotelis Rhet. πρωτον η, pro prius quam. Thesaur. Gr. Tom. iii. 567 A.

[l] Προ, προτερον, πρωτον, [adverb] προτερα, πρωτη, προ, πριν, &c.

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to avoid ambiguity, or as more agreeable to the genius of the Greek language.[m]

2. It does not appear, that any of the first christians understood St. Luke in this sense. That they did not so interpret this text, we are assured from the Syriac, Vulgate, and other versions; from Justin Martyr, Eusebius, and from the passage of Julian above quoted: in which he certainly represents the common opinion of people in his time, of christians and others.

7. There is another solution, which was first proposed by [n]Beza, and has been embraced by many learned[o] men. The Roman catholic authors, that approve of this solution, agree to understand the words as they stand in the Vulgate version: This first description, or enrolment, was made by Cyrenius.[p] The protestants generally render them: "This first enrolment was made, Cyrenius being president of Syria: or, when Cyrenius was president of Syria."[q]

By president of Syria, they do not understand president in the most strict and proper sense of the word; it being apparent from Josephus, that either Saturninus or Quintilius Varus must have been president of Syria at the time this enrolment was made. And there is no instance of two persons being jointly presidents with equal power in the same province, when a province was in peace, as Syria was at this time.[r]

They suppose, that when Augustus had issued his decree, that all the world, that is, all the Roman empire, should be taxed, (for in this wide and extensive sense do these learned men understand these words of St. Luke,) Cyrenius was sent with extraordinary power to make the census in Syria and Judea: and Saturninus, or Quintilius Varus, whichsoever of them was then president, was joined with him;

[m] Οἱ δε Αιγυπτιοι, πριν μεν η Ψαμμητιχον σφεων βασιλευσαι, ενομιζον ἑωϋτους πρωτους γενεσθαι παντων ανθρωπων· επειδη δε Ψαμμητιχος βασιλευσας ηθελησε ειδεναι οἱτινες γενοιατο πρωτοι, απο τυτυ νομιζυσι Φρυγας προτερυς γενεσθαι ἑωϋτων, των δε αλλων ἑωϋτους. Herodot. l. ii. init. The Egyptians, before the reign of Psammetichus, thought themselves the first [or most ancient] of all people. But since the reign of Psammetichus, who made an experiment for finding out who were the first of all people, they have thought that the Phrygians were before them, they before others.

[n] Bez. in loc. Vid. et Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. ix. cap. 10. sect. 3.

[o] Grot. et Hamm. in loc. Scaliger. Animad. in Chron. Euseb. ad A. 2016. Casaub. in Bar. Exerc. i. Num. xxxi. 32. Usser. Ann. ant. ær. Chris. v. Noris. Cenot. Pis. Dissert. ii. p. 320—322. Pagi, Ap. ad ann. Bar. Num. 126—129.

[p] Hæc descriptio prima facta est a præside Syriæ Cyrino.

[q] Hæc descriptio prima facta est, præsidente Syriæ Cyrenio. Bez. Hæc descriptio prima facta est, cum præesset Syriæ Cyrenius. Casaub. ubi supra. Numb. xxxi.

[r] Vid. Noris. Cenotaph. Pis. Diss. ii. c. 16. sect. 10.

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and was subordinate to him, or had equal power with him in this particular work. Cyrenius therefore, having at this time some power in Syria, he is called president of it, though he was not properly president, or the ordinary chief magistrate of that province.

In order to justify this solution, two things are to be considered: 1. Whether Cyrenius, though not properly president of Syria, may be called so in a loose and general sense: 2. It must be shown, that it is not unlikely, that Cyrenius might be sent upon this affair at this time with extraordinary power.

As to the first point, it is alleged, that the title of governor or president is often given to others beside those who are properly possessed of that dignity. Josephus calls Saturninus and Volumnius presidents of Syria,[s] though Saturninus was at that time president, according to his own account, and Volumnius procurator only; that is, the officer that took care of the emperor's revenue in that province.

That Cyrenius might be sent upon this affair with extraordinary power, is not at all unlikely, for the office of censor in the city was very honourable, and was a distinct charge from that of the consuls and prætors, the ordinary magistrates. The surveys in provinces also were often performed, not by the ordinary governors, but by persons sent thither with extraordinary power, and those persons of the highest eminence and dignity.

Such an one was this Cyrenius. He was not descended from a noble, or patrician family; but by his early services he had obtained the honour of the consulship, and passed through that and other offices with great reputation; obtained a memorable victory over the Homonadenses, for which he received the honour of triumphal ornaments: was afterwards governor to Caius Cæsar, Augustus's eldest adopted son; married Æmelia Lepida, who had been designed by Augustus for the wife of Lucius, his second adopted son; and at last had the honour of a public funeral by a decree of the senate in the reign of Tiberius.[u]

[s] *Εκεινος δε διελεγετο περι τουτων τοις Καισαρος ἡγεμοσιν Σατουρνινῳ τε και Ουολουμνιῳ——περι ὡν επι τε Σατουρνινου και Ουολουμνιου της Συριας επιστατουντων·* Ant. lib. xvi. c. 9. p. 734. v. 25, et 37. *Πολλακις μεν επι Σατουρνινον ελθοντα και Ουολουμνιον τους της Συριας ἡγεμονας·* Ib. c. 10. p. 741. v. i.

[t] Regimen summæ rei penes Germanicum agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum. Tacit. Ann. l. i. c. 31. ad A. U. 767. Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census accipienti, excessisse Augustum adfertur. Id. cap. 33. vid. et lib. ii. cap. 6.

[u] Sub idem tempus, ut mors Sulpicii Quirinii publicis exsequiis frequentaretur, petivit [Tiberius] a senatu.

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The quick despatch he made of affairs of importance, rendered him a very fit man for such an affair as this census in Syria and Judea.

Moreover there is nothing in the history that we have of Cyrenius, which is any way inconsistent with his coming into Judea about this time; but divers particulars, which render it very probable he might be employed in this work.

Cyrenius was consul of Rome, A. U. 742. He might therefore very well be sent upon the expedition against the Homonadenses in the year U. C. 747, or possibly, in 746. It was a piece of prudent advice, which Mæcenas gave[v] Augustus, never to bestow a provincial government upon the senators, or other great men, till some time after they laid down their city magistracy: which advice Augustus followed, and appointed the space of five years' interval between their serving any public office in the city, and receiving another in the provinces.[w]

As Cyrenius's expedition against the fore-mentioned people was his first action after his consulship, he might very probably be employed in it, A. U. 747. Archbishop Usher[x] thinks he was then proconsul of Cilicia. Cardinal Noris thinks it more likely, that he was not then the ordinary governor of Cilicia, but that he was sent upon this expedition with extraordinary[y] power. However, the learned men that embrace this solution suppose, that having finished this war, he might be sent into Syria and Judea to perform the census there, in the latter end of the year of Rome 747; or, as others, in 748, or 749. About which time the census or enrolment, which St. Luke speaks of, must have been made; for Herod died in the year 750, or 751.

Cyrenius was not appointed governor to Caius Cæsar till the year U. C. 755. Cardinal Noris infers this from the words of Tacitus above cited; *datus rector Caio Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti.* It is evidently a mistake of those

Nihil ad veterem et patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinius pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium: sed impiger militiæ, et acribus ministeriis consulatum sub Divo Augusto; mox, expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis, insignia triumphi adeptus; datusque rector Caio Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti, Tiberium quoque Rhodi agentem coluerat. Tacit. Ann. l. iii. c. 48. Quirinio—destinata quondam uxor L. Cæsari, ac Divo Augusto nurus, dederetur. Id. ibid. c. 23. De hac re vid. etiam Sueton. Tib. c. 49. et de victoriâ in Homonadenses partâ, Strabon. l. xii. p. 854.

[v] Dio, lib. 52. p. 479. fin. [w] *Μηδένα προ πεντε ετων μετα το εν τη πολει αρξαι πληρεσθαι.* Id. l. liii. p. 505. C. Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit. In queis—ne magistratus deposito honore statim in provincias mitterentur. Sueton. Aug. c. 36. [x] Vid. Ann. A. 5. ante ær. Chr. [y] Cenotaph. Pis. Diss. ii. p. 319.

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learned men who have thought, that Cyrenius was governor to Caius, when he first went into the east. It is certain, that M. Lollius was then his governor. And Cyrenius was not put into that post, till after the death of Lollius,[z] which seems to have happened some time in the year of Rome 755. Besides, it is certain from Josephus, that Caius was at Rome after the death of Herod, and therefore was not yet set out for the east; for he was one of those whom Augustus called to the council he held after Herod's death about confirming his last will.[a]

Cyrenius therefore seems to have been at leisure for this work; and from the whole of his story and character, so far as it is come down to us from the Greek and Roman authors, no man appears more likely to have been employed in it.

This solution has one advantage above most of those above mentioned, in that it is here allowed, that this survey was performed by Cyrenius, in which all the ancient christian writers agree, except Tertullian; who in one place (but the only place in which he has named the chief officer concerned in it) ascribes it to Saturninus. And we are much obliged to these learned men, for tracing the history of Cyrenius, and thereby removing, in part at least, the objections against this supposition, which has been the current opinion of christians.

There is, however, one difficulty attending this solution; I mean the sense in which these learned men understand Cyrenius's government or presidentship. I do not at all contest the validity of their argument, that the title of ἡγεμων may be given to one who is not properly president. But since Cyrenius certainly was afterwards the ordinary governor of Syria, it is not easy to understand this title in St. Luke in a loose and general way: and I can never persuade myself, that St. Luke intended no more than the power and authority of making a census in Syria. If Cyrenius had never been president of Syria, perhaps their instances had been to the point; but now I think they are not. Besides, according to the way in which these learned men generally interpret St. Luke, ἡγεμονευοντος, &c. is here the genitive case absolute, or governed by επι understood: either of which does as fully express Cyrenius's being president of Syria, as any form of expression can do.

Joseph Scaliger seems to have interpreted these words somewhat differently from other learned men, who embrace

[z] Velleius, l. ii. c. 102. Suet. Tib. c. 13. Noris. ubi supra, p. 317.

[a] Joseph. Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 9. p. 775. v. 24.

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this solution. He takes them thus: 'This description was 'the first under Cyrenius, president of Syria.' I put his words in the margin,[b] that the reader may judge whether I misunderstand him. But still this interpretation is liable to the objection last mentioned; for it is implied in it, that Cyrenius was president of Syria, at the time of both these surveys.

V. There is yet another interpretation, which these words are capable of, and which has for some time appeared to me the genuine meaning of them. "This was the first assessment of Cyrenius, governor of Syria." The natural order of the words is this: *Αυτη εγενετο ἡ πρωτη απογραφη ἡν· τ. σ. κ.* There are innumerable instances of a construction parallel with this here, of *Αυτη ἡ απογραφη πρωτη·* Matt. xxii. 38. *Αυτη εστι πρωτη και μεγαλη εντολη·* "This is the first and great commandment," Mark xii. 30. *Αυτη πρωτη εντολη·* Numb. ii. 32. *Αυτη επισκεψις των υἱων* Ισραηλ· "These are those which were numbered of the children of Israel." I put an instance or two more into[c] the margin. It is easy for the reader to observe, these instances are parallel with the words before us; the particle *ἡ* or *αἱ* follows *αὐτη* or *αὐται*, and precedes the substantive.

Εγενετο is not here facta est, 'was made,' but fuit, 'was.' I presume I need not give any proofs that this is a very common meaning of this verb.

The distant situation of *εγενετο* in St. Luke from *αὐτη*, need not create any scruple. In some examples the verb substantive is quite wanting, as in Mark xii. 30, Numb. i. 44. Sometimes *εστιν* is expressed, and follows immediately after *αυτη*. But it is found in all kinds of positions in passages parallel with this of St. Luke. I give one instance, which answers the construction of this verse in every respect, Rev. xix. 9, *οὐτοι οἱ λογοι αληθινοι εισι του Θεου·* "These are the true sayings of God." And another instance from[d] Plato of *εγενετο* itself, in a situation exactly parallel with this in St. Luke. *Ἡ δε ἡ τελευτη, ω Εχεκρατες, τῳ ἑταιρῳ ἡμιν εγενετο, ανδρος, ὡν ἡμεις φαιμεν αν, των τοτε ὠν επειραθημεν αριστου, και αλλως φρονιμωτατου και δικαιοτατου.* 'This, O Eche-

[b] Ideo S. Lucas non contentus est dicere, *Αυτη απογραφη εγενετο ἡγεμονευοντος της Συριας Κυρηνιου.* Sed quum duas *απογραφας* sciret fuisse, addidit, *πρωτη· αυτη ἡ απογραφη εγενετο πρωτη.* Certe, si est *πρωτη*, ergo quædam fuit *δευτερα*; et sane *της δευτερας* meminit, idem, Act. v. 37. Atque ita distinguendum esse nemo dubitare potest. Scaliger. Animadv. in Chron. Euseb. ad A. 2016. [c] Numb. i. 44. *Αυτη ἡ επισκεψις ἡν επεσκεψατο Μωϋσης.* cap. iii. 1. *Και αυται αἱ γενεσεις Ααρων*, v. 2. *και ταυτα τα ονοματα των υἱων Ααρων·* vid. c. iv. 31, 37. Deut. vi. 1. et alibi. [d] Phædo. fin.

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'crates, was the end of our friend; and, as we say, the best, 'wisest, and justest man that ever we knew.'

If it be objected, that it must be this census, or this first census was made, and not this was the first census; because there is no noun substantive preceding αυτη, by which it can be governed: I answer, that, as I interpret the words, αυτη is governed by the απογραφη that follows, or by an απογραφη understood. And this is the case of many other[e] passages, which yet must be construed, as I do St. Luke.

Let us proceed. When St. Luke calls Cyrenius "governor of Syria," I understand the words in the strict and proper sense. Ηγεμονευοντος της Συριας is not the genitive case absolute, or governed by επι understood, and to be construed, "Cyrenius being governor of Syria," or "when Cyrenius was governor of Syria;" but it is governed by απογραφη. They do not express any time at all: but this is Cyrenius's title, the title by which he was well known in that part of the world: as we say, Antony the triumvir, or Cato the censor, to distinguish them from others of the same names. Ηγεμονευοντος, &c. is with me the same thing, as if St. Luke had said, ηγεμονος της Συριας, Κυρηνιου.

It is certain, that Greek authors delight very much in the use of participles; and I think more especially when they speak of titles and dignities. Thus Cicero, in [f]Dio, says: 'We expect that our prætors and consuls should follow the 'laws of reason and justice.' The same historian[g] says: 'The three brothers, the Antonies, had all of them some 'office in the city at one and the same time; Marcus was 'consul, Lucius tribune, and Caius prætor.'

These participles seem to me to be sometimes substantives, or at least, to be[h] used substantively. I believe all are sensible that αρχων is so used. Some of those other titles of offices or dignities expressed by participles, seem to me to be very near, or altogether parallel with it.

But let ηγεμονευοντος be a mere participle; only then it will be said, if it be governed by απογραφη, it ought to have been ηγεμονευσαντος. To this I answer, that undoubtedly

[e] Ezek. xlviii. v. 1, Και ταυτα τα ονοματα των φυλων. v. 29, 30, Αυτη ἡ γη, ἡν βαλειτε εν κληρῳ ταις φυλαις τῳ Ισραηλ· και ουτοι οἱ διαμερισμοι αυτων—Και αυται αἱ διεκβολαι της πολεως.

[f] Τους μεν στρατηγουντας τους θ' ὑπατευοντας παντα απ' ορθης της διανοιας ποιειν αξιωσομεν· Lib. xliii. p. 250. D.

[g] Τρεις γαρ οἱ αδελφοι οἱ Αντωνιοι ουτοι οντες αρχας ἁμα παντες εσχον. Ὁ μεν γαρ Μαρκος ὑπατευων ὁ δε Λευκιος δημαρχων· ὁ δε Γαϊος στρατηγων. Lib. xlv. p. 274. C.

[h] Δεκιανος Κατος ὁ της νησου επιτροπευων· Dio, l lxii. p. 791. A. Κεστιῳ Γαλλῳ τῳ της Συριας ἡγεμονευοντι. Joseph. p. 907 v. 12. Αυτους δε υπο τῳ της χωρας ἡγεμονευοντος διεθεις. Id p. 945. v. 35.

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ἡγεμονευσαντος would have been very proper, but so is also ἡγεμονευοντος. It is no uncommon thing, for Greek authors to use the present tense for the first aorist. I give an instance or two that may fully justify my interpretation. Josephus says, 'And it is certain that Varus was of a royal 'family, since he was a descendant of Soemus, who was te-'trarch of a country near mount [i] Libanus.' Και ην ὁμολογημενως ο Ουερος βασιλικης γενους· εγγονος Σοεμου του περι Λιβανον τετραρχουντος. Dionysius says, that the Latins were so called from Latinus, a king of that country.[k] If any should say, it is improper to understand this participle as I do, because Cyrenius was not governor of Syria till after the time in which St. Luke's survey was made, I add one example more, which must fully obviate this exception. Herodian says, 'That to Marcus the emperor were born several 'daughters[l] and two sons.' Τῳ βασιλευοντι Μαρκῳ θυγατερες μεν εγενοντο πλειους ἀῤῥενες δε δυο. Yet several of those children were born to him before he was emperor. This instance shows plainly, that these participles do not always import only the time when men are in office.

I hope this is sufficient to show, that ἡγεμονευοντος is the same as ἡγεμονος, at least that it is governed by απογραφη. The supposing ἡγεμονευοντος, τ. σ. κ. to be the genitive absolute, or governed by επι, as it has given occasion for the objection we are now upon, so it seems to have carried most learned men off from the right way of solving it.

I apprehend I have now justified my interpretation of every part of this verse: "This was the first assessment (or survey) of Cyrenius, the governor of Syria, or of Cyrenius, who was governor of Syria."

But if any choose rather to take Scaliger's method as to the first part of the verse, I shall not contend about that, provided my sense of the latter part be admitted. Then the interpretation will stand thus: this survey was the first [survey] of Cyrenius the governor of Syria.

Nor can I see any reason why all those who follow Beza, and suppose that this survey was made by Cyrenius, as well as that made after Archelaus's removal, should not receive this interpretation. When they come to show, why this is called by St. Luke the first survey, though indeed they have not translated the place as I do,[m] they unavoid-

[i] P. 909. v. 20.

[k] Ονομα δε κοινον οι συμπαντες ουτοι Λατινοι εκληθησαν επ' ανδρος δυναστευοντος των τοπων Λατινου. Antiq. R. lib. ii. p. 76. v. 24.

[l] Lib. i. init.

[m] Denique dicitur hæc descriptio πρωτη, ut distinguatur ab aliâ, de quâ Act. v. 37. quam Josephus et Eusebius literis consignârunt, et sub Cyrenio

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ably run into the same meaning. Baronius[n] likewise understands the words much after the same manner, only he falsely supposed that Cyrenius was twice president of Syria.

Some time after I had been persuaded that this was the sense of this text, I met with these words of Tanaquil Faber.[o] 'Beatus Lucas, cap. 2. ait natum esse Christum 'Dominum tempore primi census, seu descriptionis, quæ a 'Cyrenio seu Quirinio facta est.' This passage gave me a great deal of pleasure, though it does not appear how this acute and learned man understood ἡγεμονευοντος.—But I have since met with a more explicit authority for my way of translating Αὑτη ἡ απογραφη. The title of Origen's xith Homily upon St. Luke, in the Latin edition of his works, is thus: 'De eo quod scriptum est, Puer autem crescebat et 'confortabatur spiritu, usque ad eum locum ubi ait: Hæc 'est descriptio prima quæ facta est sub præside Syriæ 'Cyrino.' And in the body of the homily[p] are words to the same effect.

The version I here offer does not only appear to me a very natural and obvious meaning of the words, but it is very good sense, and extremely suitable to their position in a parenthesis. "In those days there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world [land] should be taxed. (This was the first assessment of Cyrenius the governor of Syria,)" It is needless to observe, that if this version be allowed, the objection we are considering vanishes. There is no colour or pretence to say, that St. Luke confounded the census or survey made in the time of Herod, with that made after the removal of Archelaus.[q]

etiam factam dicunt, licet diverso tempore. Hamm. in loc. ex versione Cleric.

Hunc igitur censum Quirinius habuit A. U. 749. cum extraordinario imperio in Syriam missus; quæ descriptio prima a S. Lucâ dicitur, quod idem postea Quirinius A. U. 760. præses ordinarius in Syriam veniens, censum iterum in Judæâ egit, eâdem tum primum in provinciæ formam redactâ. Noris. Cenotaph. Pis. p. 322.

[n] Quod igitur ab evangelistâ ea descriptio a Quirino prima facta dicitur, non sic (ut vidimus) est accipiendum, ut tunc primum Judæi fuerint descripti atque censi: sed primam dixerit respectu secundæ sub eodem præside factæ. App. Num. 88.

[o] Epist. lib. i. ep. 43.

[p] Hæc fuit descriptio prima, a præside Syriæ Cyrino.

[q] Non potest hic census esse, de quo Lucas meminit, quippe tamdiu post natum Dominum factus. In quo turpiter lapsus est Eusebius, l. i. Hist. c. 5. qui eundem fuisse credidit. Nos ab Quirino bis in Judæâ censum actum esse conjicimus, et extraordinarium utrumque, hoc est, præter ordinarios præsides Syriæ, missum esse cum extraordinariâ curatione et potestate Quirinum. Primus ab illo census institutus est sub ortum Domini, quo tempore Cn. Sentius Saturninus Syriæ præerat.—Posterior censio, post Archelai relegationem ab eodem facta Quirino est. Ideo S. Lucas superiorem illam descriptio-

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VI. I apprehend there lies now no objection against St. Luke, but what may arise from the doubts which some may have in their minds, concerning Cyrenius being the officer employed in making this survey. I wish the reader be not quite tired with this long succession of criticisms; but whether he will accompany me any farther or not, I think myself obliged to take into consideration all the difficulties which attend this particular circumstance.

Here I adopt at once all that has been already offered by those who embrace Beza's solution, to make it appear probable, that Cyrenius performed the census of which St. Luke speaks. But now I enjoy a peculiar advantage above those learned men, in the supposition I advanced at first, that this census of Cyrenius was of Judea only. They think, that Augustus's decree extended to the whole empire; and that Cyrenius was sent with extraordinary power to make the census in Syria and Judea. But they suppose, (and indeed they are obliged to allow it,) that Saturninus was joined with him, if Saturninus was then president. This has given Perizonius[r] a fine advantage against their supposition, that Cyrenius was concerned in this census. To give Cyrenius superior or equal power to Saturninus in Syria, the province of which he was the ordinary governor, would have been an affront; especially considering, that Saturninus was equal to Cyrenius in every respect, and superior to him in some: for he was of a better family, and the elder consul by seven years. And it is no less injurious to Cyrenius to put him under Saturninus.

I am not at all concerned with this. I think Cyrenius performed the census alone, by virtue of the extraordinary power with which he was sent; but if any are inclined to think, that Saturninus was joined in the commission with him, this would be no disparagement to Saturninus. To give him authority in a neighbouring kingdom, where he had none before, would not be to lessen him, but to augment his power: nor do I suppose it could be any disgrace to Cyrenius, to have the governor of Syria made his partner.

I proceed to consider all the difficulties that can affect the supposition, that this census was made by Cyrenius, as far as I am concerned with them.

1. It is said, that it was not customary for the Romans to send any great man twice into the same country. Since it

nem primam appellat. In quâ tributi nihil, aut capitationis, exactum puto, &c. Petavii Rationarium Temporum. P. 2. lib. iv. cap. 2.

[r] Dissert. de Aug. Descrip. sect. 15, 16, 17

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is certain from Josephus, that Cyrenius afterwards made a census in Syria and Judea, it may be concluded, he did not perform that survey, which St. Luke says was made in Judea at the time of our Saviour's nativity.[s]

To this I answer: I allow, that it was not usual for the same person to be more than once made the president of one and the same province; and in this, Baronius, who thought Cyrenius was twice or thrice governor of Syria, is deserted by all learned men. For none of the defenders of Beza's solution, who maintain the double census of Cyrenius, do say, that Cyrenius was twice the ordinary president of Syria.

But it was very common for one and the same person to be sent twice or oftener into the same country in different posts, or with different degrees of authority. Casaubon[t] has produced instances enough to silence this objection. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the person last mentioned by him, was sent twice into Syria by Augustus with extraordinary power: first of all, A. U. 731,[u] and again, A. U. 738.[v]

I will give an undeniable example of an officer's being twice in the same province with different degrees of power. When Piso, prefect of Syria, had been removed by Germanicus, and after that Germanicus himself died, the officers in the province had a consultation together, who should be made president of Syria: Vibius Marsus laid claim to it, but at last yielded to Cn. Sentius Saturninus,[w] the elder officer. Thus Sentius, one of the chief officers then in the province, was made president. This alone is a proof, that it was very common for officers to serve different posts in the same province. But this is not the only thing I aim at. This consultation[x] was held A. U. 772. A. D. 19.

[s] Multis de causis displicet nobis gemina hæc Cyrenii descriptio. Bis ad eandem rem Quirinium in Syriam fuisse missum, fidem vix imperat, nec Romanos ad mores quadrat. Basnage. Ann. Pol. Ecc. ant. Dom. 5. num. 14.

[t] Neque vero nullum est exemplum illorum, qui in easdem provincias cum eodem vel diverso munere sunt missi. C. Cassius profectus in Syriam quæstor M. Crassi: mox, ipso et ejus exercitu deleto, res magnas ibi gessit, et aliquamdiu provinciam obtinuit: eidemque post aliquot annos senatus Syriam et bellum contra Dolabellam decrevit. Ventidius Bassus quando primum cum Parthis bellum gessit, Antonii fuit legatus: postea ejusdem belli gerendi cura illi demandata est,—Agrippa, qui per decennium Asiam administravit, bis ex Italiâ eodem est profectus. Casaub. in Baron. Exerc. 1. num. 32.

[u] Dio, l. iii. p. 518. c.

[v] Id. lib. liv. p. 534. B.

[w] Consultatum inde inter legatos, quique alii senatorum aderant, quisnam Syriæ præficeretur. Et cæteris modice nisis, inter *Vibium Marsum* et Cn. Sentium diu quæsitum: dein Marsus seniori, et acrius tendenti Sentio concessit. Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 74

[x] M. Silano et L. Norbano Coss.

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and it appears from Josephus,[y] and Tacitus,[z] that long after this, in the reign[a] of Claudius, this same Vibius Marsus came to be actually president of Syria. There is therefore no absurdity at all in supposing, that Cyrenius was sent by Augustus with extraordinary power at the latter end of Herod's reign to make a survey in Judea, and that about ten or twelve years afterwards he came as the ordinary governor into Syria, and then made a census in that province, and in Judea annexed to it.

2. It is objected, that none of the Roman or Greek historians, though Cyrenius has been spoken of by several of them, have taken any notice of this census.

I answer, that this is no difficulty at all. I suppose, that no one will make any question, but that Cyrenius made an assessment in Syria and Judea when he was sent president into Syria, because we have Josephus's authority for it; and yet none of the Roman or Greek authors have said any thing of that census.

Though Tacitus has in the passage above cited reckoned up divers of Cyrenius's exploits and honours, and others have made mention of him, and some of his services, yet Florus[b] has taken notice of a considerable action of his omitted by all the rest: if indeed he means our Cyrenius.

3. But it will be said: It may be certainly concluded from the account which Josephus has given of the census made[c] by Cyrenius after Archelaus's banishment, that Cyrenius had never been in Judea, or enrolled the Jews before; if he had, Josephus could not well have omitted to take notice of it then.

I own, that at first sight this must appear a very considerable difficulty.

(1.) But it ought to be observed, that Josephus does not particularly name any of Cyrenius's honours or services, beside those which relate to the city of Rome. Josephus knew of divers others, but he does not express them: and among those omitted or referred to in the general only, may be that of the first survey in Judea.

(2.) I think it is plain, that either Josephus did not care to give any particular account of that oath taken by the

[y] Και μετ' ε πολυ, Πετρωνιον μεν Μαρσος διεδεξατο, και διεπε Συριαν. Ant. l. xix. c. 6. sect. 4.

[z] Et reciperare Armeniam, ni *Vibio Marso* Syriæ legato bellum minitante cohibitus foret. Tacit. Ann. xi. cap. 10.

[a] About A. U. 795. vid. Pagi. Crit. in Bar. A. D. 42. n. 8.

[b] Marmaridas atque Garamantas Curinio subigendos dedit [Augustus]. Potuit et ille redire Marmaricus; sed modestior in æstimandâ victoriâ fuit. Florus, lib. iv. c. 12.

[c] See the account above, p. 307.

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Jews to Augustus in the latter end of Herod's reign, or else that he found but a slight account of it in those memoirs or histories which he made use of. He had said nothing of it, had it not been for a most remarkable disturbance in Herod's court and family, with which it had a connexion.

And any one may perceive, that it is then touched upon very slightly. Is it not strange, that Josephus should not name the officer that took the oath for Augustus? No one can make any doubt, but there was some person of eminence deputed by the emperor for that work. As Josephus did not mention him then, I should never expect to find his name afterwards. And whoever can account for Josephus's omissions relating to the affair of the oath, may account for his silence in this passage, though Cyrenius had been once before in Judea.

(3.) I think, that arguments formed upon the omissions of historians are of very little weight. There are in Josephus other omissions as remarkable as this. I desire to consider the account he gives, in his War of the Jews, of the reducing Judea to a province. 'Archelaus's country 'being reduced to a province, Coponius, a man of the 'equestrian rank among the Romans, was sent procurator, 'being invested with the power of life and death. In his 'time [επι τουτου] a certain Galilean, whose name was Judas, 'excited the people to a rebellion; telling them, That they 'were of a mean spirit, if they could endure to pay tribute 'to the Romans, and acknowledge mortal men for their 'lords after God had been their king. This man was the 'head of a distinct sect in nothing like[d] the rest.' This is all he says. He does not say there was *now* any census made, has not one word of Cyrenius, or his coming into Judea.

It is true, that Josephus has in two other places in the War of the Jews [e] occasionally mentioned Cyrenius, and in the latter of those places his census also; but it must be allowed to be a very great omission, not to do this in the proper place, in the account of the reduction of Judea to the state of a province. This might have been reasonably expected in the History of the War, when this assessment made by Cyrenius, and the principles broached at that time, were main foundations of it.

If it be said, that Josephus passed over this affair slightly in the War, because he intended to write his Antiquities, and mention it more particularly then: I answer, this is said

[d] De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 8. sect. 1.

[e] Ibid. cap. 17. sect. 8. et lib. vii. cap. 8. sect. 1.

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without ground: and I might as well say, that Josephus omitted in his Antiquities the particular account of Cyrenius's first assessment, because he intended to write afterward another book of the history of the Jews, and go over their affairs once more, as he expressly assures us at the conclusion of his Antiquities.

Josephus informs us in his Life, written after the War and the Antiquities, that the Jews had a battle with Gessius Florus, their last procurator, and killed him, and a good many of his men; and that this victory was fatal to them, forasmuch as this determined them to the war with the[f] Romans. Is it not strange that Josephus should say nothing of this in the History of the War, where he has made so frequent mention of Florus, and ascribed the Jewish uneasiness under the Roman government to the cruelties and other irregularities of this man? For this instance I am indebted to[g] Mr. Le Clerc.

There is another omission appears to me very remarkable. Pheroras, Herod's youngest brother, is often mentioned by Josephus. He has particularly informed us, that when Augustus was in Syria, he gave this Pheroras a tetrarchy,[h] at the request of Herod; and we are informed by Josephus, of Pheroras's retirement into his tetrarchy, of Herod's visiting him there, and of Pheroras's dying[i] at home, and of his being brought afterwards from thence to be buried. But yet, if I mistake not, he has never once said what this tetrarchy was, whose it had been before, nor where it lay. It is true, that whereas in the Antiquities[k] Josephus says, Pheroras went to his tetrarchy; in his War[l] he says, he went to Peræa; or, as in some copies, Petræa: but Peræa, properly so called, could not be this tetrarchy, because Peræa belonged all along to Herod. But this tetrarchy of Pheroras was given him by Augustus, and was distinct from that estate or revenue which had[m] been settled upon him by Herod. These particulars may convince us, that though Cyrenius was in Judea in the time of Herod, Josephus was capable of omitting to take notice of it.

4. Again, it will be said: It may be fairly concluded

[f] Ὁ δ' ελθων και συμβαλων μαχη, ενικηθη, πολλων των μετ' αυτου πεσοντων· και γινεται το Γεσσιω πταισμα, συμφορα τω παντος ἡμων εθνος επηρθησαν γαρ επι τουτῳ μαλλον οἱ τον πολεμον αγαπησαντες, και νικησαντες τους Ῥωμαιους εις τελος ηλπισαμεν· in Vit. sect. 6. [g] Hist. Eccl. A. D. 66. n. 12.

[h] Ant. l. xv. c. 10. sect. 3. [i] Ibid. l. xvii. c. 3. de B. J. l. i. c. 29.

[k] Φερωραν δ' επ. της αυτου τετραρχιας· p. 756. v. 37. [l] Φερωρας δε ὑποχωρησειν εις την Περαιαν, p. 1031. v. 41. vid. et p. 1032. v. 26.

[m] Τῳ μεν αδελφῳ Φερωρᾳ παρα Καισαρος ητησατο τετραρχιαν, αυτος απονειμας ικ της βασιλειας προσοδον ἑκατον ταλαντων, κ. λ. Ant. l. xv. c. 10. sect. 3

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from another place in Josephus, that Cyrenius was but once in Judea. For he says, that 'Massada was then held 'by Eleazar, the chief man of the sicarii, a descendant of 'Judas, who persuaded not a few of the Jews not to enrol 'themselves, as I have said[n] above, when Cyrenius the cen-'sor[o] was sent into Judea.'

I own this is a difficulty, but the argument is not conclusive. It is true, that Judas made this disturbance when "Cyrenius was sent into Judea," or in the time of Cyrenius; but it does not follow, that Cyrenius was sent but once into Judea. The New Testament will afford us an instance upon this very subject, which will be of use to us. Gamaliel says, Acts v. 37, "After this man, rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him." If we had in our hands this book only of St. Luke, namely, the Acts of the Apostles, it is not unlikely, that many would have supposed, that St. Luke knew of no other taxing made in Judea, but that in the time of which Judas rose up. But we are assured from his gospel, that this conclusion would have been false: for there he has spoke very particularly of another, which he calls the first, or at least distinguishes very plainly from some other.

I must be allowed to repeat here once more, that arguments formed upon the silence of writers are very seldom of much moment. Josephus is the only Jewish writer of those times in whom we have the history of that country; and it cannot be justly concluded, that any particular thing was not done, or that such or such circumstance did not attend it, because he has not mentioned it. All writers have their particular views, and some things we are very desirous to know, might, for some reason or other which we are ignorant of, lie without the compass of their designs. Besides, the most accurate and careful historians have omitted many facts or incidents, that might be very properly mentioned, through forgetfulness or oversight. I take the omission of the description of the tetrarchy that belonged to Pheroras, to be a remarkable instance of this sort.

5. But it will be said, that Tertullian is positive, the census in Judea at the time of our Saviour's birth was made by Sentius Saturninus.[p]

[n] Vid. de Bell. l. ii. c. 17. sect. 8.

[o] *Καλειται δε το μεν φρουριον Μασαδα, προειστηκει δε των κατειληφοτων αυτο σικαριων δυνατος ανηρ Ελεαζαρος, απογονος Ιουδα τυ πεισαντος Ιουδαιων εκ ολιγυς, ὡς προτερον δεδηλωκαμεν, μη ποιεισθαι τας απογραφας, ὁτε Κυρηνιος τιμητης εις την Ιουδαιαν επεμφθη·* de B. l. vii. c. 2. sect. 1.

[p] Sed et census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judæâ per Sentium Saturninum. Apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent. Cont. Marc. lib. iv. cap. 19.

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I answer to this: (1.) It ought to be considered, that the heretic Marcion, with whom Tertullian disputes in this place, did not admit the authority of the first chapter[q] of St. Luke's gospel. And it was the custom of Tertullian, to argue from those parts of scripture which the heretics he was dealing with[r] acknowledged. Possibly therefore Tertullian having, or supposing he had, reason to think, that this census was made when Saturninus was president of Syria, he might choose to mention the ordinary officer as a thing certain; but yet might not intend to affirm, that the census was made by him, but only that it happened in his time. Isaac Casaubon judged it not unreasonable so to understand Tertullian, who often uses[s] words improperly. I thought it not fit to deprive the reader of this answer of that learned man: but I do not adopt his interpretation of Tertullian.

(2.) Tertullian's authority ought not to outweigh the testimony of more ancient writers, who were nearer the event. Justin Martyr, in his first apology, presented to the Roman emperor sixty years before Tertullian wrote his books against Marcion, says, this census was performed in Judea by Cyrenius; and all other writers agree with Justin, as has been shown already.

(3.) Tertullian's authority is of the less weight in this point, because he has made very gross blunders in history, of which I shall say somewhat more in the third chapter.

4. I imagine some account may be given of this mistake of Tertullian. It has been observed, that Marcion, whom Tertullian was now arguing with, did not own the first chapters of St. Luke's gospel. Tertullian therefore not having his eye particularly on St. Luke, and supposing that this census was made in Judea when Saturninus was president of Syria, says, it was made by him.

Judea having been afterwards a branch of the province of Syria, he concluded it was so at this time, and that therefore the census must have been made by the president of Syria: but this was arguing from later to more early times, as men not thoroughly versed in history are apt to do.

[q] Accedit his Cerdon quidam.—Solum evangelium Lucæ, nec tamen totum recipit. Post hunc discipulus ipsius emersit Marcion.—Hæresin Cerdonis approbare conatus est. De præscrip. Hæret. c. 51.

[r] Quam et argumentationibus earum, et scripturis quibus utuntur, provocavimus ex abundanti. De Carne Christi, cap. 25.

[s] Tertullianus, cum adversus Marcio scribit, Sed et constat,—ad majorem fidem magistratum ordinarium potius nominat, quam extraordinarium. Ait autem per Sentium Saturninum dure et Tertullianice, hoc est, improprie pro επι Σεντιω Σατορνινω, vel ηγεμονευοντος της Σ. Κ. Casaub. Exercit. 1 n. 31.

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After the banishment of Archelaus Judea was annexed to Syria; but whilst Herod was living, the president of Syria had not any proper authority in Judea. The president of Syria was always the most considerable officer in the eastern part of the empire. When the Romans had any war[t] in that part of the world, the neighbouring kings were obliged to follow his directions; to furnish those sums of money, or those troops, which he required, and to send these to the places he appointed. When any differences happened between these kings and tetrarchs, they were bound to refer them to him, nor could they march any forces out of their territories without his consent: but he seems not, especially in a time of peace, to have had any proper authority within their dominions.

Nor do I think I here impute to Tertullian any very gross mistake. The state of dependent kingdoms and provinces in the Roman empire underwent frequent changes, and a person had need to have made history his peculiar study, and to have aimed at some uncommon accuracy, in order to understand the state of the Roman provinces for a couple of centuries.

I have now gone through all the difficulties which are of any moment in this point.

I have nothing farther to add to those evidences, which I have already produced, except these two observations: 1st, That it seems to me highly probable, from the manner in which Eusebius speaks of this matter in his Chronicle, that it was originally the common opinion of christians, that Cyrenius was sent into Judea on purpose to make this census; 'In the thirty-third year of Herod, Cyrenius being 'sent by the Roman senate, made a census (or enrolments) 'of goods and persons.'[u] This does very much confirm the opinion of those learned men, who think that Cyrenius was sent with extraordinary power: though why Eusebius mentions the senate instead of the emperor I know not.

Possibly some may be disposed to set aside Eusebius's authority, because in his Ecclesiastical History he has confounded the two surveys. But I must confess I ascribe that, not to ignorance, but to somewhat a great deal worse. It is impossible, that a man of Eusebius's acuteness, who had the New Testament and Josephus before him, should think

[t] Tum intellecto barbarorum irrisu, qui peterent quod eripuerant, consuluit inter primores civitatis Nero, bellum anceps an pax inhonesta placeret, nec dubitatum de *bello*—scribitur tetrarchis ac regibus præfectisque ac procuratoribus,—jussis Corbulonis obsequi. Tacit. Ann. lib. xv. cap. 25.

[u] Chron. p. 76.

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a census made after Archelaus's banishment was the same with that made before Herod died; but Eusebius was resolved to have St. Luke's history confirmed by the express testimony of the Jewish historian, right or wrong. Here Eusebius was under a bias. In his Chronicle we have a simple unbiassed account of what was the opinion of christians, and others, at that time.

Secondly, It seems to me in the nature of the thing most probable, that some person was sent with extraordinary power to make this enrolment. There is no evidence in Josephus, that Augustus had any intention to take away the kingdom from Herod, and make Judea a province. A census in his dominions was a very great disgrace: but to have ordered it to be performed by the president of Syria, would have been an additional affront; it would have looked like making Herod subject to Syria. Since Judea was to continue a distinct kingdom as hitherto, and only to be reduced to a more strict dependence, the only method of making this census could be that of sending some person of honour and dignity, like Cyrenius, to enrol the subjects of Herod, and value their estates; that, for the future, tribute might be paid according to this census. And this does admirably suit the nature of the oath mentioned in Josephus, the substance of which was, to be faithful to Cæsar and Herod.

I conclude therefore, that it is upon the whole most probable, that the first assessment, of which St. Luke here writes, was performed by Cyrenius, as well as the second. This appears to me a very natural meaning of St. Luke's words, and the external evidences for this supposition seem to me to outweigh the objections.

We have now got through the affair of the census. If I have not been so happy as to remove every difficulty attending this text of St. Luke, yet I hope the reader will allow, at least, that I have not concealed or dissembled any.

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CHAP. II.

TWO OBJECTIONS TAKEN FROM THE SILENCE OF JOSEPHUS.

1. *He has not mentioned the slaughter of the infants of Bethlehem:* II. *Nor of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices.*

ST. MATTHEW says, chap. ii. 16, "Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceedingly wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the wise men."

It is objected to this, that if there had been so cruel a slaughter made by Herod, of innocent infants at Bethlehem, a place not far from Jerusalem, it is very unlikely it should have been omitted by Josephus, who has written the history of the Jews, and particularly of the reign of Herod.

To this I answer: I. This appears to me to be at the best an objection of a very extraordinary nature. The most exact and diligent historians have omitted many events that happened within the compass of those times of which they undertook to write: nor does the reputation which any one historian has for exactness, invalidate the credit of another, who seems to be well informed of the facts he relates. Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dio Cassius, have all three written of the reign of Tiberius: but it is no objection against the veracity of any one of them, that he has mentioned some things of that emperor, which have been omitted by the rest. No more is it any objection against St. Matthew, that he has related an action of Herod not mentioned by Josephus.

2. There have been as great cruelties committed by many eastern princes; nor was there ever any man more likely than Herod to give the orders here mentioned by St. Matthew. When he had gained possession of Jerusalem[a] by the assistance of the Romans, and his rival Antigonus was taken prisoner, and in the hands of the Roman general Sosius, and by him carried to Mark Antony, Herod by a large sum of money persuaded Antony to put him to death. Herod's great fear was, that Antigonus might some time

[a] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 16. sect. ult.

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revive his pretensions, as being of the Asmonean family. Aristobulus, brother of his wife Mariamne, was murdered[b] by his directions at eighteen years of age, because the people at Jerusalem had shown some affection for his person. In the seventh year of his reign from the death of Antigonus, he put to death Hyrcanus, grandfather of Mariamne, then eighty years of age, and who had saved Herod's life when he was prosecuted by the sanhedrim; a man, who in his youth and in the vigour of his life, and in all the revolutions of his fortune, had shown a mild and peaceable disposition.[c] His beloved wife, the beautiful and virtuous Mariamne, had a public execution,[d] and her mother Alexandra was put to death soon after.[e] Alexander and Aristobulus, his two sons by Mariamne, were strangled in prison by his order,[f] upon groundless suspicions, as it seems, when they were at man's estate, were married, and had children. I say nothing of the death of his eldest son Antipater: if Josephus's character of him be just, he was a miscreant, and deserved the worst death that could be inflicted.

In his last sickness, a little before he died, he sent orders throughout Judea, requiring the presence of all the chief men of the nation at Jericho. His orders were obeyed, for they were enforced with no less penalty than that of death. When these men were come to Jericho, he had them all shut up in the Circus, and calling for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, he told them, 'My life is now but 'short: I know the dispositions of the Jewish people, and 'nothing will please them more than my death. You have[g] 'these men in your custody; as soon as my breath is out 'of my body, and before my death can be known, do you 'let in the soldiers upon them and kill them. All Judea 'and every family will then, though unwillingly, mourn at 'my death.' Nay, Josephus says, 'That with tears in his 'eyes he conjured them, by their love to him, and their 'fidelity to God, not to fail of doing him this honour; and 'they promised[h] they would not fail.'

These orders indeed were not executed; but, as a modern historian of very good sense observes, 'The[i] history of this

[b] Antiq. l. xv. c. 3. sect. 3. De Bell. l. i. c. 22. [c] Ant. l. xv. c. 6. de Bell. ubi supra. [d] Ant. xv. c. 7. sect. 5, 6. [e] Ibid. sect. 8.

[f] Ant. lxvi. c. 11. sect. 6. De Bell. l. i. c. 27. [g] Τους δε τους φρουρουμενους ανδρας επειδαν επνευσω, ταχιστα κτεινατε περιστησαντες τους στρατωτας, ινα πασα Ιουδαια και πας οικος ακων επ' εμοι δακρυσῃ. De Bell. l i. c. 33. sect. 6.

[h] Και ὁ μεν μετα δακρυων ποτνιωμενος, και τυ συγγενυς την ευνοιαν και πιστιν τυ Θειυ προσκαλων, επισκηπτε μη ητιμωσθαι αξιων· κἐκεινοι ωμολογουν υ παραβησεσθαι. Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 6. sect. 5. [i] Prideaux, Conn. Part. ii. p. 655.

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'his most wicked design, takes off all objection against the 'truth of murdering the innocents, which may be made 'from the incredibility of so barbarous and horrid an act. 'For this thoroughly shows, that there can nothing be 'imagined so cruel, barbarous and horrid, which this man 'was not capable of doing.'

It may be also proper to observe, that almost all the executions, which I have instanced in, were sacrifices to his state-jealousy and love of empire. And the slaughter, which St. Matthew has given an account of, was made upon the occasion of tidings brought to Jerusalem, of the birth of one who was "King of the Jews."

3. Josephus has given us an account of a terrible execution made in Herod's court, and at Jerusalem, about this very time, upon the occasion of some predictions, that God was about to take away the kingdom from Herod. I think it was made at the very same time with the slaughter of the infants. St. Matthew relates only what was done at Bethlehem, Josephus what happened at Jerusalem. The silence of Josephus about the former, and of St. Matthew about the latter, may be in a good measure accounted for by these two or three considerations.

(1.) St. Matthew was not concerned to relate state matters, but barely to give the history of Jesus Christ; and therefore all that he was obliged to take notice of upon this occasion, was the attempts made upon the life of Jesus. Josephus's is a political history of the Jewish nation, and therefore the executions at court might be more suitable to his design.

(2.) All writers of good sense and candour, who have written the history of such jealous and cruel princes as Herod, have been obliged, both out of a regard to themselves and their readers, to omit some of their odious and offensive actions, and to pass by some parts or circumstances of those transactions which they mention.[k] And I cannot help paying a particular respect to the evangelists for the many instances of their candour and goodness, and for this in particular, that none of them strove to brand the memory of Herod, who sought the life of Jesus, with the many cruelties of his reign, or the dreadful circumstances of his death; and that Matthew, who alone has informed us of the murder of the infants, confined his narration to

[k] Neque sum ignarus, a plerisque scriptoribus omissa multorum pericula et pœnas, dum copiâ fatiscunt, aut quæ ipsis nimia et mœsta fuerant, ne pari tædio lecturos adficerent, verentur. Tacit. An. l. vi. c. 7.

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that, and passed by all the other tokens, which, I doubt not, Herod showed at this time, of a most odious jealousy.

Nor would I blame Josephus barely for the omission of the barbarities committed at Bethlehem. He has related many cruel actions of Herod: to have related them all would probably have appeared spite and ill will, rather than faithfulness or impartiality. It is evident, there were many put to death at Jerusalem, beside those he nameth in the account of that execution. Possibly, the omission of the murder of the infants may be owing to those reasons I have here hinted, namely, a fear of being charged with a design to load Herod unreasonably, or a fear of rendering his history disagreeable, by too particular a detail of cruel actions.

(3.) I have thus far endeavoured to account for Josephus's silence in the way of apology for him, and should be glad to leave the matter here: but his strange way of speaking, and that in two[1] places of his works, of an execution at Jerusalem about this time, though according to his own account and acknowledgment it was very severe and terrible, will not permit me to conclude here. Supposing, then, that execution to have been made on account of discourses, which happened at Jerusalem upon the rumour of the birth of Jesus, I think, that since Josephus was determined in the main to vindicate Herod upon that occasion, he was obliged, for his own honour, to say nothing of what was done at Bethlehem. The slaughter of the infants, from two years old and under, of a whole city, town, or village, and the district round about it, whatever colours an historian might have put upon it, would have appeared to all mankind, but prejudiced and hardened Jews, an horrid inhumanity.

In a word, the objection against this relation of St. Matthew must be founded on the silence of the Greek and Roman historians, or of Josephus. As for the silence of the former; the Roman republic or empire about this time was so vast, that the affairs of many dependent princes have been lost in the crowd. Tacitus goes over the history of the Jews, from Pompey's conquest of Judea to the government of Felix, mentioned in the Acts, in one short chapter.

[1] One of those passages with obeervations upon it may be seen above, p. 292, 293. It is the passage I referred to, p. 140, &c. as deserving a particular attention. If the reader has not yet observed it, I would now recommend it to his perusal. The other passage will be found toward the latter end of sect. 1. of the next chapter to this. See in the index 'Josephus, his account of a 'terrible execution at Jerusalem.'

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Of Herod he says, 'The kingdom he received from Antony 'was enlarged [or confirmed] by Augustus. And that 'after his death, his kingdom was divided between three of 'his sons;'[m] without so much as naming the sons of Herod, who arrived at sovereign power, and succeeded their father. Strabo says, 'Herod obtained the title of king first from 'Antony, and then from Augustus. Some of his sons he 'put to death, as guilty of designs against himself: others 'he appointed his successors, dividing his kingdom among 'them. But his sons were not happy, for they fell under 'some accusations: one of them was banished into Gaul, 'and the other two, by means of a great deal of submission, 'with much difficulty kept their several tetrarchies.'[n] He does not so much as name those sons whom Herod killed, nor those that succeeded him. It is with a like brevity that some other writers have mentioned Herod. Dio Cassius's history of affairs about the latter part of Herod's reign is wanting. I leave it to any one to judge, whether it be reasonable to expect the particular fact at Bethlehem from historians, who plainly content themselves with delivering the successions of princes, without relating their affairs, or so much as recording all their names.

As for Josephus, his silence is no more an objection against St. Matthew, than the silence of other writers is against him. Josephus has said a great deal of Herod's liberality to foreigners, to Antioch, Berytus, Tyrus, Sidon, Damascus, and many other cities in Syria; to the Athenians, Lacedæmonians, Rhodians, and other people of Greece. Of his benefaction to the Eleans, he says, 'It was a common 'benefit not to Greece only but to all the world:[o] and that 'he was so remarkable for his liberality, that Augustus and 'Agrippa often said, Herod's kingdom was too small for 'him, and that he deserved to be king of all Syria and 'Egypt.'[p] I suppose people to take these things upon

[m] Regnum ab Antonio Herodi datum, victor Augustus auxit [al. sanxit]. Post mortem Herodis, nihil expectato Cæsare, Simon quidam regium nomen invaserat. Is a Quintilio Varo obtinente Syriam punitus. Et gentem coërcitam liberi Herodis tripartito rexere. Tacit. Hist. l. v. c. 9.

[n] 'Ηρωδης—ὡστε και βασιλευς εχρηματισε, δοντος το μεν πρωτον Αντωνιου την εξουσιαν, ὑστερον δε και Καισαρος του Σεβαστου· των δε υἱων τους μεν αυτος ανειλεν, ὡς επιβουλευσαντας αυτῳ· τους δε τελευτων διαδοχους απελιπε, μεριδας αυτοις αποδους·—ᾳ μεν τοι ευτυχησαν οἱ παιδες, αλλ' εν αιτιαις εγενοντο· και ὁ μεν εν φυγῃ διετελεσε, παρα τοις Αλλοβροξι Γαλατας λαβων οικησιν· οἱ δε Θεραπειᾳ πολλῃ μολις ευροντο καθοδον, τετραρχιας αποδοθεισης ἑκατερῳ. Strabo. l. xvi. p. 765. ed. Casaub.

[o] Antiq. l. xvi. c. 5. sect. 3, 4. De Bell. l. i. cap. 21. sect. 11, 12. Το δε Ηλειοις χαρισθεν, ᾳ μονον κοινον της Ελλαδος, αλλ' ὁλης της οικουμενης δωρον. Ibid. sect. 12.

[p] Και φασιν αυτον τε Καισαρα και Αγριππαν πολλακις ειπειν, ὡς αποδοιτα

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Josephus's authority. I cannot conceive, how the single silence of Josephus (and of Justus of Tiberias, if you please to add him) should be an objection against St. Matthew, when the silence of the Greeks and Syrians, people that abounded so much in writers, (several of which are also still in being,) is no objection against Josephus; who has recorded many things done by Herod for those people, of which they have made no mention, that we know of.

It has been pretended, indeed, that Josephus was a great enemy to Herod, and seems willing to tell all his various acts of cruelty. But this is not certain. For Herod's character in Josephus has a mixture of good and bad: he has related a great many things to his advantage, which can be verified by no other writers. Herod put to death every member of the Jewish great council in Hyrcanus's time, except Hillel and Shammai: yet Josephus mentions this very slightly:[q] he even takes part with Herod against the pharisees in an account of an execution made at Jerusalem in the latter part of his reign. Though Josephus were an enemy to Herod, he might have inducements to show him favour upon some occasions: Agrippa the younger was living, when Josephus wrote, and he had some acquaintance with him, and obligations to him:[r] it was not for the honour of the Jewish nation, to make a mere monster of Herod, who had reigned over them between thirty and forty years. A particular recital of all Herod's cruelties could not but make the uneasiness of the Jewish people under the Roman government appear very unreasonable: they might be thought a strange people, who rebelled against the Romans, and yet had borne with a man who had spared neither young nor old; who had slaughtered all the members of their great council, and the innocent infants of a whole town and all its district. I have sometimes thought, that this was really one reason, why Josephus made so slight mention of the cutting off the members of that senate: it might also be some inducement not to relate the slaughter of the infants.

But Josephus, as a firm Jew, had certainly a particular reason for passing over this event at Bethlehem: he could not mention it, without giving the christian cause a great advantage. To write, that Herod, at the latter end of his reign, had put to death all the young children at Bethlehem, on occasion of a report spread at Jerusalem, that the king of the Jews had been newly born there, would have

της αρχης Ἡρωδη της υσης εν αυτῳ μεγαλοψυχιας. Αξιον γαρ ειναι και Συριας ἁπασης και Αιγυπτυ την βασιλειαν εχειν. Ant. l. xvi. c. 5. sect. 1.

[q] Ant. l. xiv. c. 9. sect. 4. l. xv. 1.

[r] Joseph. Vit. sect. 65.

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greatly gratified the christians; since it was well known, when he wrote, that about thirty years after the death of Herod, Jesus, being then about thirty years of age, had been styled the king of the Jews, and had been publicly crucified at Jerusalem with that title; and it was firmly believed by all his followers, that he was the great person spoken of under that character, and was now advanced to dominion and power.

Nay, I do not see how any serious and attentive heathen, who had heard any thing of Jesus, could read a relation of this event in Josephus, a Jewish historian, known to be no favourer of those called christians, but he must be disposed to think, the christian belief deserved some consideration. For if there was a report spread at Jerusalem, the capital city of Judea, that the king of the Jews had been newly born; and if this report was so far credited, that Herod, notwithstanding his numerous issue, thought it needful to make away with all the young children at Bethlehem and its borders, in order to secure the succession in his own family: this is at once a strong argument, that the Jewish expectation of a great person to arise from among them is no new thing, and that there were some reasons to think, that great person had been born at that time. Moreover, he must also suppose it possible, that the child, whose life was aimed at, escaped, notwithstanding the care of Herod: for it is plain he did not certainly know the child, of whom the discourse was; if he had, he would not have given orders for destroying all the young children under such an age.

The more any heathen knew of the Jewish expectations, or of the story of Jesus, either by hearsay from the christians, or by having looked into any of the gospels, the more would he have remarked such a relation in this historian.

For this reason, Josephus could by no means be willing to relate this event, with its most peculiar circumstances; though I think he has given a general account of Herod's cruelty at that time, as I have sufficiently shown already.

4. St. Matthew's account is confirmed by the testimony of ancient christian authors. I give one passage from Justin Martyr, who wrote before the middle of the second century. 'But,' says he, 'Herod, when the Arabian wise men did 'not come back to him as he had desired them, but ac- 'cording to a command given them returned by another 'way into their own country; and when Joseph, together 'with Mary and the young child, were gone into Egypt, 'according to directions given to them also by a divine

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'revelation; not knowing the child whom the wise men had 'come to worship, commanded all the children in Bethle-'hem, without exception, to be killed.'[s] This was prophesied of by Jeremiah, the spirit of God saying by him thus, "A voice was heard in Rama."—

This event is also mentioned by[t] Irenæus, who lived in the same century, and by Origen[u] in the third century, in his answer to Celsus, where he says, 'Herod put to death 'all the little children in Bethlehem and its borders, with a 'design to destroy the king of the Jews, who had been born 'there.' It is needless to make any more quotations of christian[v] writers.

There is also a noted passage in Macrobius, a heathen author, who flourished in the latter end of the fourth century, who among other jests of Augustus has this; 'When 'he [Augustus] had heard that among the children within 'two years of age, which Herod king of the Jews com-'manded to be slain in Syria, his own son had been killed, 'he said, "It is better to be Herod's hog than his son."'[w]

I lay little or no stress upon this passage, partly because it comes too late, partly because there is reason to suppose, Macrobius has been mistaken about the occasion of the jest. No early christian writers have said any thing of Herod's having had a young child of his own killed in the slaughter at Bethlehem. If Augustus did pass this jest upon Herod, it might be occasioned by the death of Antipater, or rather of Alexander and Aristobulus.[x]

This is what I said of this passage in the first edition. I would now add; it ought to be allowed, that Augustus did pass this jest upon Herod, upon some occasion or other, and that Macrobius has given us exactly the words of the jest. This passage also shows, that Herod's slaughter of the in-

[s] Παντας ἁπλως τους παιδας τους εν Βηθλεεμ εκελευσεν αναιρεθηναι. Dialog. Part. ii. p. 304. Paris. (p. 307. Thirlb.)

[t] Propter hoc et pueros eripiebat, qui erant in domo David, bene sortiti in illo tempore nasci, ut eos præmitteret in suum regnum; ipse infans cum esset, infantes hominum martyres parans, propter Christum, qui in Bethlehem natus est Judæ, in civitate David, interfectos secundum scripturas. Contra Hær. lib. iii. c. 16. sect. 4. al. c. 17. In quâ [Ægypto] et Dominus noster servatus est, effugiens eam persecutionem quæ erat ab Herode. Ib. c. 21. sect 3. al. c. 28.

[u] Ὁ δ' Ἡρωδης ανειλε παντα τα εν Βηθλεεμ και τοις ὁριοις αυτης παιδια, ὡς συναναιρησων τον γεννηθεντα Ιουδαιων βασιλεα. Lib. i. p. 47.

[v] Vid. Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. i. c. 8. P. Oros. l. vii. c. 3, &c. &c.

[w] Cum audisset inter pueros, quos in Syriâ Herodes rex Judæorum intra bimatum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum; ait, Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium. Macrob. Sat. lib. ii. cap. 4.

[x] See Whitby's Annot. on Matt. ii. 16, 17.

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fants in Judea was a thing well known in Macrobius's time, and was not contested by heathens.

If we could be assured, that Macrobius transcribed this whole passage, not only the jest itself, but the occasion of it likewise, from some more ancient author, it would be a proof, that this event was well known in that author's time also. And we should have a great deal of reason to suppose that author was a heathen, because it is most likely that Macrobius, a bigoted heathen himself,[y] did not much deal in christian writers.

But it is possible, that Macrobius found only the jest in his author, and added the occasion, having collected it from the common discourse of the christians of his time, who frequently spoke of this cruel action of Herod. There is some reason to suspect this, because it is very likely, that Augustus's reflection upon Herod was occasioned by the death of one of those sons whom Josephus has mentioned; and that it has no relation at all to the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem. This suspicion may be farther strengthened by the great agreement of Macrobius with St. Matthew, in the words he uses concerning the children.[z] Macrobius being ignorant of Herod's story, and having heard of the slaughter of the infants, when he met with this jest in some author, concluded there had been some young child of Herod put to death together with them.

I am content therefore to leave it a doubtful point, whether Macrobius transcribed this whole passage, or the jest only, from some more ancient author.

Upon the whole then, there lies no objection against this relation of St. Matthew: there is nothing improbable in the thing itself, considering the jealous, cruel temper of Herod. The silence of Josephus, or of the ancient Greek and Roman historians, can be no difficulty with any reasonable person. This fact is confirmed by the express testimony of very early christian writers, and by Macrobius, a heathen author, in the latter end of the fourth century; from whom it appears, that this event was not then contested, and that it was even better known, than the fate of those sons of Herod, whom Josephus says he put to death at man's estate.

II. An objection of the like sort with that we have been considering, may be made against St. Luke, who says, ch.

[y] This is very evident from his works: and the reader may see a full proof of it in the Rev. Mr. Masson's Slaughter of the Children in Bethlehem, as an historical Fact, vindicated, sect. 3.

[z] Children within two years of age, which Herod king of the Jews commanded to be slain.

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xiii. 1, " There were present at that season, some that told him of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices." It has been thought strange by some, that Josephus has made no mention of this event.

In answer to this objection, I shall transcribe a passage of Josephus. ' Judas the Galilean introduced a fourth sect ' among the Jews. In all other things they agree with the ' pharisees, but they have an invincible love of liberty, and ' acknowledge God alone their lord and governor: nor can ' any kind of death, or any punishments of their friends and ' relations, make them call any man lord. As many have ' been witnesses of their immoveable firmness, I shall say no ' more upon this head; not out of a fear lest my accounts ' should be thought incredible, but rather because it is not ' easy fully to represent their contempt of all kinds of suf- ' ferings.'[a]

Perhaps the Galileans mentioned by St. Luke were some of the followers of the before-mentioned Judas. Josephus says, he has omitted the greatest part of the sufferings of that sect. I think it is not difficult to guess the reason. Judas's principles were very popular among the Jews, but in the opinion of the Romans they were criminal, as being inconsistent with subjection to their government. And it was next to impossible for Josephus to give a particular account of all transactions in Judea relating to this matter, without offending the Jews, his countrymen, on the one hand, or the Romans on the other.

But whether the Galileans in St. Luke were men of this principle is not certain, nor is it material. For though they were not, the passage just transcribed from Josephus may satisfy us, that many remarkable events have been omitted by him upon some account or other.

[a] *Ου γαρ δεδοικα μη εις απιστιαν ὑποληφθη τι των λεγομενων επ' αυτοις, τουναντιον δε μη ελασσονως τα εκεινων καταφρονηματος, δεχομενα την ταλαιπωριαν της αλγηδονος, ὁ λογος αφηγηται.* Ant. l. xviii. c. 1. sect. 6.

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CHAP. III.

AN OBJECTION AGAINST THE FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS, COMPARED WITH THE AGE OF JESUS AT HIS BAPTISM.

I. *The objection stated.* II. *The first solution: That St. Luke by the fifteenth of Tiberius, might intend the fifteenth of his proconsular power, not of his sole empire after the death of Augustus.* III. *The consistence of other notes of time in the Gospels with this supposition.* IV. *The second solution: That the age of thirty years ascribed to Jesus at his baptism may be understood with latitude.*

ST. LUKE says, chap. iii. 1, 2, "Now in the *fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar*, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea,—the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness.—Now when all the people were baptized, it came to pass, that Jesus also being baptized, and praying, the heaven was opened: And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased. And Jesus himself——*began to be about thirty years of age*," ver. 23.

Against this account of St. Luke this objection may be formed. St. Matthew says expressly, that Jesus was "born in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king." Though Jesus was born but a month or two before the death of Herod, he would be at least thirty-one years of age at his baptism. But if Jesus was born above a year, much more, if above two years before Herod's death; then the age of thirty years here ascribed to him at his baptism, is absolutely inconsistent with the notes of time mentioned at the commencement of John the Baptist's ministry; even allowing that the word of God came to John in the very beginning of the fifteenth year of Tiberius, and that Jesus was baptized a few months after.

Before I state this objection at length, I would observe, that the true genuine meaning of these words, "Jesus himself[a] began to be about thirty years of age," is not that he

[a] Και αυτος ην ὁ Ιησους ὡσει ετων τριαχοντα αρχομενος, ων, κ. λ.

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then entered the thirtieth year of his age, but that Jesus was about thirty years of age when he began his ministry: or, when[b] he thus began to show himself publicly. This, I think, is now the general opinion of learned[c] men: so the Greek word of this text is used by St. Luke in other places. Thus the high priests and others charge Jesus before Pilate, saying, Luke xxiii. 5, "He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, *beginning* [αρξαμενος, having begun] from Galilee to this place." St. Peter, in the debate concerning the choice of an apostle in the room of Judas, says, Acts i. 21, 22, "Wherefore of these men, which have accompanied with us *all the time* that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, *beginning* from the baptism[d] of John, unto the same day that he was taken from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection."

I come now to the objection: Augustus died, and Tiberius succeeded him, the 19th of August, A. U. 767, Julian year 59, A. D. 14. Therefore the fifteenth of Tiberius began the 19th Aug. A. U. 781, A. D. 28. Herod died[e] before the passover in A. U. 750, Jul. year 42, or else before the passover in A. U. 751, Jul. year 43. If then John the Baptist began to preach in the beginning of the fifteenth of Tiberius, in the latter end of A. U. 781, and Jesus be supposed to have been baptized by John a few months after, on the 6th of January of the year following, viz. A. U. 782, Jesus must have been in the 32d year of his life, if Herod died in the spring, A. U. 751, and if Jesus was born the 25th Decemb. preceding, viz. A. U. 750. But if Herod died, A. U. 750, and Jesus was born the 25th Decemb. before, viz. A. U. 749, then he would be at his baptism in the 33d year of his age.

But it may be made appear several ways, that Jesus was born above a year, probably above two years before Herod died.

1. This may be inferred from the evangelists themselves. For it is very probable, that Herod lived a year or more after the murder of the infants. The wise men having worshipped Jesus, when they were departed, Matt. ii. 13, 14, "Behold, the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a

[b] Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase.

[c] Lucæ mentem Jansenius [Con. cap. 14.] optime assecutus est, quam sic exprimit: Sensus erit, et ipse Jesus erat fere triginta annorum, cum jam suscepto baptismo auspicaretur deinde munus suum. Bas. ann. Pol. Ecc. ant. D. 5. n. 28. vid. et Anton. Cappell. de Cœnâ Christi supremâ. Sect. 12. c. 23. Mr. Whiston's Short View of the Harmony, &c. p. 136.

[d] Εν ῳ εισηλθε και εξηλθεν εφ' ἡμας ὁ Κυριος Ιησους, αρξαμενος απο τυ βαπτισματος Ιωαννυ.

[e] See the Appendix.

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dream, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, *and be thou there until I bring thee word:* for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him. When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt. And was there *until the death of Herod.*" The direction given to Joseph by the angel, may afford ground to suppose, that Joseph was to make some stay in Egypt, at least some months, or more than a few weeks or days: which, from what follows, appears to have been "till the death of Herod."

Moreover, St. Matthew says, ch. ii. 19, 20, that "when Herod was dead, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream in Egypt, saying, Arise, take the young child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel: *for they are dead which sought the young child's life.*"

It being known from Josephus, that Antipater died but five days before his father Herod, it may be inferred from the use of the plural number, that Antipater is meant by the angel as well as Herod, and that he had been concerned in the design to put Jesus to death, and that his cruel intentions were one cause of Joseph's removal out of Judea into Egypt. But Antipater could have no influence on his father's counsels for ten months or more before Herod died, as will appear presently: therefore the murder of the infants happened, most probably, a year before the death of Herod.

It may likewise be concluded from St. Matthew's account, that Jesus was born near two years before the murder of the infants. For thus he says, ch. ii. 1, 2, "Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him." Ver. 7. "Then Herod, when he had privily called the wise men, inquired of them diligently, what time the star appeared."

The wise men having been to worship the child, and departing into their own country without coming back to Jerusalem, Ver. 16, "Then Herod, when he saw he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the wise men."

Jesus was born before the wise men came, for their question was, "Where is he that is born?" They knew he was

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born, because they had seen his star in the east. Herod inquired what time the star appeared, and slew all the children from two years and under, according to that time. Therefore the star had appeared two years before, and Jesus was born at or near that time.

Nor can the supposed distance between the appearing of the star, and the arrival of the wise men, weaken this calculation. There might be many reasons to hinder their undertaking the journey immediately: possibly, they apprehended no necessity of setting out sooner. For allowing the truth of the fact, that they had seen a star, by which they understood the birth of a king in Judea, they could not well make any doubt of his living, or of their having an opportunity to worship him, though they delayed a year or two. But, whatever were the reasons of their delay, we have no right to depart from the words of St. Matthew; who intimates very plainly, that it was two years from the appearing of the star, to the time in which Herod ordered the children to be slain.

Add these two years to the fore-mentioned year, which Herod lived after the slaughter of the children, and it will appear, that according to St. Matthew, Jesus was born three years before Herod's death.

2. It may be proved from Tertullian, that Jesus was born above two years before the death of Herod: for he says, that the census or tax made in Judea, at the time of which Jesus was born, was made[f] by Sentius Saturninus. But Josephus assures us, that Quintilius Varus was come into Syria as successor to Saturninus, before[g] the death of Herod. It may not be easy to determine exactly from Josephus the time of Varus's arrival in Syria: but there are in being some ancient coins[h] or medals of the city of Antioch, the capital of that province, that demonstrate the time of his government. One of these coins has on the reverse a figure representing the city of Antioch, and the name of Varus with a date in Greek numerals, xxv. And there are others with the same figure and inscription, with the numerals xxvi. xxvii. The first of these coins assures us, that Varus was in Syria before September, A. U. 748. For the

[f] Adv. Marc. lib. iv. cap. 19. See above, p. 343.

[g] Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 5. sect. 2. et alibi.

[h] Scripsit ad me Card. Norisius, extare in scrinio illustrissimi Marchionis Ricardi nummum minimæ magnitudinis caput Jovis in anticâ repræsentantem, in cujus posticâ habetur, ΕΠΙ ΟΥΑΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ, mulier sedens pede super figuram Orontis fluminis, tenens dextrâ palmam: et in medio ΕΚ. id est, Anno xxv. Pagi, Appar. ad Bar. n. 136. vid. omnino Noris. Epoch. Syromaced. Dissert. 3. cap. 7. et Memoires de l' Academie des Inscrip. Tom. iv. p. 181. ed. Amst.

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æra which the Antiochians used at that time was that of the Actiac victory, which was obtained, A. U. 723.[i] The 25th year of this æra ended the second of Sept. A. U. 748. It is therefore manifest, that Jesus was born before September in that year, if Saturninus made the census of which St. Luke speaks, or if it was made in his time: and if it be supposed, that Jesus was born on the 25th of December, then his nativity must necessarily be placed as far back as the 25th Decemb. A. U. 747.

3. I expect likewise to be here reminded of some things advanced by me in the first chapter of this book; and that it will be urged; If the oath which Josephus says was taken by all the Jews to Augustus and Herod, relating to the census or enrolment which St. Luke speaks of, then Jesus must have been born three years before the death of Herod.

Possibly the objection may be stated in this manner:

It cannot be less than ten months from the commencement of the inquiries made by Herod into the cause of Pheroras's death, and the crimes of Antipater, to the death of Herod. When the first discoveries were made, Antipater was at Rome: Herod sent for him in a very pressing but kind manner, dissembling all suspicions concerning him, that he might not delay to return to Judea. Josephus says, that when Antipater returned, he knew nothing of the accusations which had been brought against him, though[k] seven months had then passed from the first discovery of his crimes. In a day or two after Antipater's return to Judea, Herod calls a council in which[l] he himself and Varus, governor of Syria, presided. Antipater is brought before them, convicted, and remanded to prison. But Herod not daring to pronounce sentence on Antipater without leave from Augustus, expresses were sent to Rome with an account of what had passed. After that these messengers were sent away from Judea, a letter was intercepted, which was written to Antipater by Acme a Jewish woman at Rome, in the service of the empress Livia, in which letter were fresh proofs of Antipater's designs. Hereupon Herod sent away fresh despatches to Rome. These return to Judea, and bring word, that Acme had been put to death by Augustus,

[i] Allix supposes, that the Antiochian æra of the Actiac victory does not begin till A. U. 724. Vid. Dissert. de J. C. Anno et Mense natali, p. 102. It is not my business to enter into dispute upon this head: the other opinion seems to me most probable. Vid. Noris. ubi supra. Pagi. Apparat. n. 103, 104.

[k] *Και τοι μεταξυ των ελεγχων και της επανοδου διελθοντων επτα μηνων.* De Bell. Lib. i. c. 31. p. 1034. v. 27.

[l] Ibid. cap. 32.

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and that the emperor left it to Herod to do with Antipater as he thought fit. Soon after this Antipater was put to death, and in five days after Herod died.[m]

As there was a second embassy sent to Rome after the trial of Antipater, and this returned before Herod died, with an account that Acme had been put to death, upon informations they had carried with them to Rome; it is impossible to assign less than three months for the interval between the arrival of Antipater in Judea, and Herod's death, which added to the former seven make ten months.

It being supposed in the first chapter, that the execution which Herod made in his own family happened at the same time with the slaughter of the children at Bethlehem; it must next be considered, how long time that execution preceded the first inquiries into Antipater's designs. The facts mentioned by Josephus in this interval stand thus.

Herod having put to death several of his courtiers and servants, calls his friends together, charges Pheroras's wife with creating disturbances, and insists upon it that Pheroras put her away. Pheroras loving his wife too well to comply with this demand, the two brothers fall out. Pheroras leaves Herod, and goes to his tetrarchy, withal swearing solemnly never to come to Herod more. About this time, as it seems, Antipater, with his father's consent, left Judea and went to Rome. Soon after Pheroras was gone home, Herod fell sick; but though Herod sent for Pheroras, he would not come to him. Not long after, Pheroras is sick; Herod goes to see him, they are reconciled, Pheroras dies. Herod has him brought to Jerusalem and buried there.[n]

When Pheroras was buried, some of his servants made application to Herod, desiring him to inquire into the manner and causes of Pheroras's death. These inquiries open a horrid scene of wickedness. And it appears, that a conspiracy had been formed by Antipater to poison his father Herod; and that he had committed the execution of this design to Pheroras, and servants of his own, whom he had left behind him when he went to Rome, and who were to obey Pheroras's directions.[o]

It will not be easy to allot less than three months for the facts just now mentioned, in the interval between the execution in Herod's family, and the first inquiries into the cause of Pheroras's death. Three months added to the former ten make thirteen.

[m] Vid. Jos. de Bell. l. i. c. 30—33. Ant. l. xvii. c. 3—8.
[n] Joseph. de Bell. lib. i. cap. 29. sect. 4. Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 3.
[o] De Bell. ibid. cap 30. Ant. ibid. 4.

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The execution spoken of by Josephus, and the slaughter of the children mentioned by St. Matthew, being allowed to have happened both at the same time, the interval between the birth of Jesus and this execution is already computed. It cannot be less than a year and nine or ten months, that is, near two years; consequently, we have a fresh argument that Jesus was born three years before the death of Herod: but how inconsistent this is with Jesus being "about thirty years of age" in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, appears from what has been said already.

Having now stated these objections, and given them their full force, as I imagine; before I proceed to offer a reply, I would make two or three reflections upon some particulars contained in them.

I do allow that it appears to me highly probable, that Herod did live a year at least after the slaughter of the infants.

But as for Tertullian's testimony, that the tax in Judea was made by Saturninus, I think it is not of much weight; since he is the only person that has said this, and he flourished not till about two hundred years after the event. Besides, though Tertullian was well skilled in the Roman laws and customs, he has committed many gross blunders in history. The reader may see several of them collected by[p] Dodwell in his Dissertations upon Irenæus. One of them is the computation Tertullian has made of the time, from the nativity of Jesus to the taking of Jerusalem[q] by Vespasian; which, according to him, was not full fifty-three years. And in reckoning up the reigns of the several emperors, he has quite omitted that of Claudius, and allotted not quite ten years to the reign of Nero. He, who could make such mistakes in the history of the Roman emperors, might very easily be ignorant who was president of Syria at the time of our Saviour's nativity.

Nor am I satisfied with the proofs offered in these objections, that Jesus was born two years before the slaughter of the children at Bethlehem. Whitby[r] questions whether απο διετους και κατωτερω, should not be rendered from "one year old" and under, rather than from "two years old" and under. But let διετης signify two years, yet I think no conclusion can be made about the precise time of the birth of Jesus from Herod's orders. It is most likely, that this star appeared some time before the birth of Jesus, and that it was understood by the wise men to pre-signify it. Here-

[p] Dissert. iii. sect. 13.
[q] Vid. Tertul. advers. Jud. cap. 8.
[r] Matt. ii. 16.

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by they were prepared for their journey, and it is highly probable, that these wise men came into Judea to worship this King, as soon as they could, after they concluded he was born, and that they arrived at Jerusalem in a very few months after his birth. But since their inquiry was, "Where is he that *is born* King of the Jews?" Herod, whose cruelty had in a manner no bounds, orders all children near Bethlehem to be slain who had been born since the appearing of the star; or perhaps even for some space[a] before the time, at which, after an exact inquiry of the wise men, he perceived it had appeared.

As there appears not any proof from St. Matthew, that Jesus was born two years, or near two years before the slaughter of the infants; so, I think also, that there are no proofs in Josephus, that the oath taken by the Jews had preceded two years, or near two years, the execution made in Herod's court. The oath and the execution are related by Josephus both together. The reader is referred to that passage, as also to the charge brought against Pheroras's wife immediately after that execution was over: among other things in the charge Herod says,—'That she did all 'she could to create a difference between him and his bro-'ther; that the fine imposed upon the pharisees had been 'evaded by her means; and that in the present affair no-'thing had been done without her.' This present affair I suppose to relate to the predictions given out by the pharisees, that God would take away the kingdom from Herod and his children. The payment of the fine is the last crime she is charged with before this affair, which had preceded the execution; it certainly therefore is not a crime of two years' standing. Herod, in so long a time, might have found out some new fault in a woman he was so much offended with. We may be pretty well assured from this account, if I mistake not, that this oath had preceded the said execution and predictions but some few months only.

Supposing then the execution to be truly dated in the objection, at about thirteen months before the death of Herod, we may infer, that the oath in Josephus, and the description in St. Luke, was made, and that Jesus was born about a year and six or seven months before Herod's death.

If indeed Antipater had been at Rome two years before he was recalled by his father, as some learned men have thought, then this execution must have been made above

[a] Neque vero sequitur, si Herodes, omni modo caveus ne puer elaberetur, latius sævitiam extendit, non minus in ætate quam loci ratione, ideo stellam quoque tanto ante apparuisse. Grot. ad Matt. ii. 1.

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thirteen months before Herod's death; because it is likely, or rather certain, that Antipater was in Judea at the time of that execution. But I think it is a mistake to suppose he had been so long out of Judea. Antipater staid some time in Judea after his brothers Alexander and Aristobulus were[t] dead; and took a great deal of pains to defeat and set aside the advantageous marriages, which Herod designed for their children: he also entered into cabals with Pheroras and his wife, in order to secure the succession for himself: moreover, Saturninus was got to Rome a good while before Antipater went from home. Josephus says in his Antiquities, that Antipater having resolved, if possible, to hasten his father's death, and being desirous to strengthen and secure his own interest, that he might reign after him; 'He 'remitted large sums of money to his father's friends at 'Rome, that he might gain their good will, but especially 'that he might have the favour of Saturninus the governor 'of Syria.'[u] Saturninus is not here called governor of Syria because he was then actually in that post, for he is manifestly at Rome, but to distinguish him from others of that name, of which there were many. And it appears from the parallel place in the War of the Jews, that one favour which Antipater desired of these persons at Rome, who had influence on his father, was, that they would write to Herod that his [Antipater's] presence at Rome would be serviceable to him in the present posture of affairs. Antipater had now settled all things with Pheroras for the poisoning of Herod, as soon as an opportunity offered: but Antipater, so long as he staid in Judea, could not forbear conversing with Pheroras and his wife, which was extremely disagreeable to Herod. 'Therefore Antipater[v] contrived, by the 'interest of friends at Rome, to procure leave for a voyage 'thither. These writing, that it would be very proper for 'Antipater to be sent to Cæsar without delay; he [Herod] 'immediately sent him thither, having furnished him with 'a sumptuous equipage and large sums of money, giving 'him also his will to carry with him to the emperor.'

It is true, that after Antipater's journey to Rome, mention is made of Saturninus as in Syria; but then it is, because Josephus relates a fact that had happened before Antipater

[t] Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 1.

[u] *Και μαλιστα τους επι 'Ρωμης φιλους* ΗΟΜΠΑΙΣ *μεγαλων δωρεων ενους καθιστωμενος, προ παντων δε Σατορνινον, τον της Συριας επιμελητην·* ibid. p. 750. v. 10.

[v] *Πραγματευεται, δια των επι της Ιταλιας φιλων, την εις 'Ρωμην αποδημιαν αυτω· γραψαντων γαρ εκεινων, δειν Αντιπατρον πεμφθηναι δια χρονου προς Καισαρα, ὁ δε ωτι μελλησας εξεπεμψε, κ. λ.* de Bell. lib. i. c. 29. sect. 2.

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went from Judea. Josephus, giving an account of what Antipater did at Rome, mentions[w] some accomplices of Syllæus sent thither by Saturninus to answer for themselves. But this might have been done by Saturninus some time before.

Again, if Antipater had been two years out of Judea, Herod, who wanted plausible reasons to induce him to return, could not have failed to have put this, of his long absence, into his letters, as a very cogent and unexceptionable argument, which yet he does not appear[x] to have done.

It may be further argued, that Antipater's journey to Rome did not precede the death of Herod two years. The very commencement of the inquiries into the death of Pheroras, could not be above ten months before the death of Herod, as has been shown already. A great progress had been made in those examinations; Doris, Antipater's mother, had been detected and put out of[y] Herod's house; Mariamne the high priest's daughter[z] was also put away, and her son struck out of a new will Herod had made. 'When 'these things were doing,' says Josephus, 'Bathyllus, An- 'tipater's freedman, arrived from Rome, and being put to 'the question, was discovered to have brought with him a 'fresh quantity of poison to be given to his [Antipater's] 'mother and Pheroras, and that if the former had failed to 'despatch the king, they might try[a] this upon him.' Before Antipater had gone to Rome, he had provided[b] poison for Pheroras to give his father. It is plain, that when Bathyllus was sent from Rome, Antipater did not know whether Pheroras had made any use of the first poison or not, and that he had still a full confidence in him: but if Antipater had been gone from Judea two years, and had heard nothing of the effect of that poison, such a delay would have created suspicions. Moreover, this second preparation appears to be sent to back the former; so that we may be assured, we are to go backward, not years, but only some months, for the true time of Antipater's leaving Judea.

Once more, the first opening of the inquiries into the causes of Pheroras's death has been laid at about ten months before the death of Herod. That Antipater was then but

[w] De Bell. ibid. sect. 3. Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 3. sect. 2. [x] See the substance of these letters. De Bell. lib. i. cap. 31. sect. 3. Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 5. sect. 1. [y] Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 4. sect. 2. [z] Ibid.

[a] *Εν τουτῳ δε και Βαθυλλος εκ 'Ρωμης απελευθερος Αντιπατρου παρην, και βασανισθεις εύρισκεται φαρμακον κομιζων, δωσειν τη τε αυτου μητρι και Φερωρᾳ ὡς ει το προτερον μη ἁπτοιτο τε βασιλεως, τουτῳ γων μεταχειριζοιντο αυτον.* Ibid. sect. 3. De Bell. cap. 31. sect. 1. [b] Ant. ibid. sect. 3. De Bell. ibid. cap. 30. sect. 5.

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newly set out for Rome, may be inferred from hence. Pheroras being dead, Herod had him brought to Jerusalem, honoured him with a funeral, and made great lamentations for him. 'This,' says Josephus, 'was the beginning of sorrow to Antipater, though[c] he was then sailed to Rome, 'God requiring of him the blood of his brothers. I shall 'give a particular relation of this whole affair, that it may 'be an admonition to all mankind to adhere to the practice 'of virtue.' If Antipater had been then any long time out of Judea, Josephus would have said, though he was then at Rome, or though he had been some time there. It is possible, Antipater might have been gone from home a month or two; but the phrase here used by Josephus seems to me to import, that there were not yet come to Jerusalem any tidings of Antipater's arrival at Rome.

I hope it will be excused, that I have insisted so long upon this point. The supposition, that Antipater was gone to Rome before the removal of Saturninus, and two years or more before the death of Herod, has caused much confusion in the chronology of many learned men about this time.

There is in Josephus another passage, not yet observed by any one upon this occasion, that I know of, which may help to determine the time of the execution made by Herod in his court and at Jerusalem, and which will confirm my opinion about it. Josephus, having given the history of Herod's putting to death his two sons Alexander and Aristobulus, makes divers reflections upon that action. 'It 'might have been sufficient,' says he,[d] 'even supposing 'them guilty of the crimes laid to their charge, to have 'condemned them to perpetual imprisonment, or to have 'banished them, but to take away their lives was a piece of 'downright cruelty. Nor does the delay extenuate the 'crime; for after deliberation, having been resolved at one 'time and in suspense at another, to commit such a fact, is 'an argument of a cruel disposition, and of a mind obstinately bent upon wickedness: which same temper he 'showed afterwards upon another occasion, when he spared

[c] Και πενθος μεγα επ' αυτω προειθετο· τουτο Αντιπατρω καιτοιγε επι Ρωμης πεπλευκοτι κακων εγενετο αρχη, της αδελφοκτονιας αυτον τινυμενω τω Θεω, κ. λ. Ant. l. xvii. c. 3. sect. 3.

[d] Εν επιτασει δε, και πολλακις μεν ὁρμηθεντα πολλακις δε μελλησαντα, το τελευταιον δε ὑποστηναι και διαπραξασθαι, φονωσης και δυσμετακινητου ψυχης απο των χειρονων· εδηλωσε δε και τοις ανθις ουκ αποσχομενος ὡδε των περιλοιπων ὁσους εδοκει φιλτατους, εφ' οις το μεν δικαιον ελαττον εποιει συμπαθεισθαι τοις απολλυμενοις, το δε ωμον ὁμοιον ην, τω μηδε εκεινων φεισαμενω· δειξιμεν δε ὑπερ αυτων ἑξης αφηγουμενοι. Ant. l. xvi. c. ult. ad fin.

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'not others, [or the rest,] persons who seemed to be the 'most dear to him of any. The justice of their punish- 'ment abates our compassion for their ruin, but yet his 'cruelty was alike here also, in that he spared not even 'them. But of these more in course by and by.'

This last piece of cruelty, I take to mean the execution made by Herod in his court, and which Josephus relates afterwards in the next book of these Antiquities. It cannot refer to the death of Antipater, because he is but one; nor to the design upon the chief men of Judea shut up in the Circus, because they had committed no offence, and that design was never executed; nor to the rabbies, because they do not appear to have ever been dear to Herod: but it must be the before-mentioned execution, of which I hope the reader has a clear idea. Then Herod put to death all of his own family, that adhered to the things said by the pharisees, and other persons, who appear to have been favourites with him. And it is observable, that as in that account Josephus is pleased to divert himself with those executions; so here also, even when he is aggravating the cruelty of Herod, he betrays the same good will toward those who then suffered under the rage of this inhuman tyrant.

It would be desirable here to settle exactly the time when these two sons of Herod were put to death. Allix[e] places the council of Berytus, before which they were tried, and by which they were condemned, in the month of May, A. U. 749, about ten months before Herod died. But if Herod died in the spring, A. U. 750, as Allix supposes, this council is certainly placed by him too late. It is evident, from particulars insisted on in the objection, and since allowed, or mentioned by me, that it must have preceded the death of Herod above ten months. Moreover, Saturninus was one of this council, and if the first medal and the epoch above mentioned be allowed, Saturninus was gone from Syria before Sept. 748. It may be however supposed, I think, that this council was not held long before the removal of Saturninus: and it is certain from the passage just transcribed, that the execution of the pharisees and others at Jerusalem, happened some considerable time after the death of Alexander and Aristobulus.

If any should object, that according to the account I have given of the oath or enrolment, that it was owing to the displeasure of Augustus against Herod; it cannot be placed

[e] — Conventum Berytensem, qui habitus est in causâ Alexandri et Aristobuli Maio mense. A. U. 749. ibid. p. 18. vid. etiam p. 13. et alibi.

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so near the end of Herod's reign as I here suppose, but must have happened a considerable time before the removal of Saturninus; because Augustus appears to have been reconciled to Herod before Saturninus left the province, and before the council at Berytus, in which Alexander and Aristobulus were condemned: I answer, that the enrolment is not placed by me too late at all. It might be resolved upon by Augustus before, and yet not be executed till after Saturninus went away. And though Augustus might be in some measure pacified, yet he might think fit to have the assessment made. Besides, though Josephus says, that upon the applications which Nicolas of Damascus had made to Augustus at Rome, the emperor was reconciled to Herod; that Syllæus was ordered home, required to pay the money he owed, and give all proper satisfaction, and was[f] afterwards to be punished: yet it is certain, that Syllæus did not give Herod, or any one else, satisfaction. And it may be from thence inferred, that Herod was not fully reinstated in Augustus's favour, for then Syllæus would have been more submissive. Josephus, relating Antipater's voyage to Rome, of which we have made frequent mention, says: 'Syllæus the Arabian[g] also went thither at the same time, 'not having performed any of those things which Cæsar 'enjoined: and Antipater accused him to Cæsar upon the 'same heads he had been before accused of by Nicolas.' From what has been said concerning the time of Antipater's journey, it appears, that this accusation must have been brought against Syllæus in the last year of Herod's life.

It is evident, that Herod's affairs were not in a good posture at this time at Rome: if they had, Antipater could not have made the state of them, and the service he might do his father there, a pretence for his journey. Moreover, Antipater[h] charged Herod with a sum of two hundred talents, laid out chiefly, as he pretended, in the cause against Syllæus, his father's great enemy. From all which it is reasonable to conclude, that Nicolas had, in his history, out of regard to his master and himself, magnified the success of his negociations at Rome. Nor can it be justly expected

[f] Και περας εις τουτο κατεστη Καισαρ, ὡς τω μεν Συλλαιω καταγνωναι θανατον, Ἡρωδῃ δε διαλλαττεσθαι.—το δε συμπαν, ὁ μεν Συλλαιος ανεπεμπετο, τας δικας και τα χρεα τοις δεδανεικοσιν αποδωσων, ειτα ουτω κολασθησομενος. Ant. l. xvi. c. 10. sect. 9.

[g] Συνεξορμᾳ δε Αντιπατρῳ και Συλλαιος ὁ Αραψ, μηδεν ὡν προσεταξε Καισαρ διαπεπραγμενος· και Αντιπατρος αυτω κατηγορει επι Καισαρος, περι ὡν προτερον Νικολαος. Ib. l. xvii. c. 3. sect. 2.

[h] Διακοσια γων αναλωματος, ανηνενκε ταλαντα, και τουτων μεγιστη προφασις ην ἡ προς Συλλαιον δικη· De Bell. lib. i. c. 31. sect. 2.

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from an historian, that when he comes down to the affairs of his own time, he should be perfectly indifferent toward those in which he acted a part himself.

Having now cleared the way, I would lay down two or three conclusions.

1. I apprehend it appears from what has been here offered, that there is no necessity of placing the birth of Jesus above a year and six months before the death of Herod. If Herod died in March, A. U. 750, I should be inclined to place the nativity of Jesus in September or October, A. U. 748: if Herod died in March 751, then the nativity of Jesus might very well be placed in September or October, 749. As I am not able fully to determine the time of Herod's death, I shall for the future have some regard to both these dates of our Saviour's nativity.

2. The account that has been given above of the time of Saturninus's removal, and Varus's arrival in the province of Syria, does also incline us to one of these dates. It is not improbable, that the oath was taken, or the assessment made, much about the same time that Varus came into Syria. And it is supposed by many learned men, that the Roman governors usually came from Rome into these eastern provinces at the latter end of the summer. It is certain, that upon the removal of Archelaus, when Cyrenius came governor into Syria, there was an assessment made in Syria and Judea. I am the rather inclined to think this the time of the oath, because Josephus in his history does not relate when it was taken, but mentions it only upon occasion of a disturbance at Jerusalem, which had a connexion with it. And it is observable, that he has said nothing of Varus, nor of the concerns of Syria, till we hear of Varus being at Jerusalem when Antipater returned home; but, if those medals are to be relied on, Varus had now been a good while in Syria. There is therefore in Josephus a long gap in the concerns of Syria, and also in the public concerns of Judea, from the council at Berytus to the execution at Jerusalem: during this time of Josephus's silence, I suppose the assessment was made. According to the first of the Antiochian medals, Varus came into Syria before Sept. 748: if this be supposed the most likely date of his government, and if it be also most probable that Herod died, A. U. 750, these may strongly dispose us to place the nativity of Jesus in September or October, 748.

3. The latter part of the summer, or the autumn season, seems to be the most likely time of the year for the birth of Jesus; there is no particular reason to determine us to the

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25th of December. The very depth of winter is not a very proper season for a survey and assessment, when people are to enter themselves according to their tribes or families: the autumn, when harvest and vintage are over, is a time of general leisure. When Jesus was born at Bethlehem, "there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks by night," Luke ii. 8. In some very mild climates sheep may be abroad in the night time in December; but it is not very likely, they should be so in those countries where they must be attended by shepherds: this circumstance is not very favourable to the supposition, that Jesus was born the 25th of December, and we are at liberty to place it in autumn, a more likely season.

It is not improbable, then, that Jesus might be born some time between the middle of August and the middle of November. Cyrenius, we may suppose, came into Judea at the time, or soon after the time, that Varus came governor into Syria, and published the decree of Augustus, requiring all people to enter themselves, their dependents, and estates. Judea was a country of a narrow compass, and the assessment might very well be made in two or three months. Cyrenius coming into the country, and being a man of despatch in all his undertakings; being desirous also to hasten to Rome to receive the honours decreed him for the victory over the Homonadenses; being also concerned to set sail before the bad weather came on, he appointed all people to enrol themselves with all expedition within a certain limited time, which they did accordingly, ver. 3, "And all went to be taxed, every one in his own city." The short time appointed for this work may be fairly concluded from St. Luke's history of it. If the space of time allotted for it had been of any considerable length, it cannot be thought but that Joseph would have taken an opportunity to go to Bethlehem some while before the time of the virgin's delivery, or else have deferred the journey till that was over. There is not the least hint, that this journey was taken just at this season, in obedience to a divine admonition; it is given us as the pure result of obedience to this decree of Augustus.

We will now lay together a few events of this time, in the order in which it may be supposed they happened.

About a year and six or seven months before the death of Herod, soon after the arrival of Varus in the province of Syria, in August or September, A. U. 748, or 749, Julian year, 40 or 41, Cyrenius [or some other person of eminence]

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came into Judea, an assessment was made there, and in the time of it, Jesus was born at Bethlehem, in the month of September or October. After the term of forty days was expired, Jesus was presented in the temple at Jerusalem, and Mary made her offering according to the law. When these things were finished, they went from Jerusalem, and dwelt in some city of Judea, possibly at Bethlehem. In the year following, viz. A. U. 749, or 750, about the beginning of February, came "wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews?" they being guided by the star, which they "had seen in the east, went and worshipped him." After their departure, the virgin and the child Jesus being now fit for travelling, Joseph was admonished by "an angel, to take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt;" which he did. Herod soon perceiving from the wise men's not returning to him, that he had been mocked by them, and being much enraged thereat, "sent forth and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the wise men." He also put to death at the same time divers pharisees, and other persons at Jerusalem, some of his own family and attendants; who, being before in expectation of the coming of a great prince, who was to rise up from among them, and by the arrival of the wise men had been confirmed in the belief that this event was now at hand, expressed themselves in terms, which Herod and his son Antipater and their flatterers termed seditious. Immediately after these executions, Pheroras's wife was called to an account also, as being supposed to have entertained the same principles with these pharisees; to whom she had lately shown great favour, in paying the fine imposed upon them for not entering themselves, nor taking the appointed oath in the time of the fore-mentioned assessment. Pheroras not submitting to the orders given him by Herod in council to put away his wife, Herod and Pheroras fell out: hereupon, in the latter end of February, or beginning of March, the same year, Pheroras retires with his wife to his tetrarchy. And Antipater having before this, by various practices, and particularly by[1] letters procured from Rome, disposed his father to

[1] The account of Antipater's sending letters and presents to Rome is Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 1. sect. 1. of Herod's last quarrel with Pheroras, his forbidding Antipater to converse with Pheroras, or his wife; of Antipater's journey to Rome, and Pheroras's retirement, is ibid. cap. 3. In the War. [lib. i. cap. 29. sect. 2.] Antipater's letters to Rome, and his journey, are mentioned together;

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consent to his making a journey into Italy; and supposing, that by the execution now just over, all turbulent spirits had been awed, and that peace and quiet might ensue, set sail for Rome. In the latter end of April, or the beginning of May following, Pheroras dies, is brought to Jerusalem, and buried: no sooner is the mourning for him over, but his servants apply to Herod to make inquiry into the causes of his death; and now in the middle of May, or soon after, the examinations into this matter began: and though Antipater was sailed from Judea for Rome, and got at a distance from the place in which justice ought to be executed on him, and therefore, according to the ordinary course of things, it might have been supposed he was in safety; yet from this time the divine vengeance began to prepare itself against him, till at last it fell upon him for all his horrid crimes. The evidence was at first obscure and imperfect, but opened continually more and more: Herod, in his letters to Antipater, dissembled his resentments, but earnestly pressed his return to Judea. About the middle of December, seven months after the first inquiry into the cause of Pheroras's death, Antipater arrived at Jerusalem: and is tried before Herod, and Varus president of Syria, and condemned to death. Herod, however, not daring to proceed to execute the sentence without express leave from Augustus, sent ambassadors to Rome with a full account of what had passed; and soon after a second embassy, new evidence having been found after the departure of the former. These last ambassadors return to Judea, with full power from Augustus, about the middle of March, A. U. 750, or 751; soon after which Antipater was executed, and in five days after Herod himself died, about a year and five or six months after the birth of Jesus.

Upon the whole, I presume, it appears we lie under no necessity of dating the birth of Jesus before the latter end of the year of Rome 748, or 749. We hereby in part abate the objection, as stated above; but still we have before us undoubtedly a very great difficulty. We will now inquire what can be said to it.

II. 1. When St. Luke says, "Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius,—the word of God came unto John;" he may intend some computation of the reign of Tiberius, different from that of his sole empire after the death of Augustus. It is no unusual thing, for the reigns of princes to

but as his journey is here also represented as the effect of advice brought from Rome, it is supposed that these letters were sent by him some time before. And Pheroras's retirement is the thing next mentioned.

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be computed from several dates. There were two computations of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. For, as Prideaux observes, 'Nabopollaser, king of Babylon, being old and infirm, took his son Nebuchadnezzar into partnership in the empire, and sent him with an army into those parts [Syria and Palestine]. And from hence the Jewish computation of the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign begins.—But according to the Babylonians, his reign is not reckoned to begin till after his father's death, which happened two years afterwards. And both computations being found in scripture, it is necessary to say so much here for the reconciling of them.'[k] And there were two or three ways of computing the reign of [l]Cyrus.

But to come nearer to our time; there were many computations of the reign of [m]Augustus. Some computed the beginning of his reign from the year in which Julius Cæsar was killed; as [n]Josephus, who says, Augustus reigned fifty-seven years six months and odd days. Some from the year after, and reckoned his reign fifty-six years; others computed from the year in which the victory was obtained at[o] Actium, and say, he reigned forty-four years; others from the year after, as Ptolemy in his canon, and St. Clement[p] of Alexandria, and give him only forty-three years. And Herod reigned thirty-four years from the death of Antigonus, thirty-seven from the time he was declared king of Judea by the[q] Roman senate.

2. There seems to be very good reason to conclude, from divers passages of the Roman historians, and the most ancient christian writers, that there were two different computations of the beginning of Tiberius's reign; one from the time he was made colleague with Augustus, and the other from his sole empire after the death of Augustus.

Several very learned men and very eminent chronologers[r] are of opinion, that St. Luke intends the former of these two computations. I shall give a brief account of the grounds

[k] Conn. Part. i. p. 60. [l] Marshall's Treatise of the 70 Weeks, p. 44. [m] Vid. Petav. Rationarium Temp. Par. 2. l. iii. cap. 15. Pagi. Appar. n. 66—73, 103, 114.

[n] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 2. sect. 2. De Bell. l. ii. c. 9. sect. 1.

[o] Atque ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis, primum cum M. Antonio. Marcoque Lepido, dein tantum cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quatuor et quadraginta solus rempublicam tenuit. Sueton. in August. c. 8. vid. Dio. l. li. [p] Strom. p. 339. A. Edit. Paris.

[q] Joseph. de Bell. l. i. c ult. sect. 8. Antiq. l xvii. cap. 8. sect. 1.

[r] Herwaertus in nova et vera Chronologia, c. 248. Usser. Ann. A. M. 4015. Joann. Cleric. Dissertatio. de Ann. Vitæ Christi. Prideaux Conn. Part. ii. Book ix. A. D. xii. Pagi, Critic. in Baron. A. Chr. 11. 71. 117. 147.

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there are for this supposition, taken chiefly from Pagi; who appears to have bestowed a great deal of pains upon this argument, and must be allowed to have treated it with great accuracy and judgment.

(1.) That Augustus did in part lay aside government some time before he died, may be inferred from the words of an uncertain author of a panegyric, in which, in the name of the city of Rome, he dissuades Maximianus Herculeus from resigning the empire. 'Is it fit,' says he, 'that you 'should now give yourself a discharge, and do that so soon, 'which Augustus did not do till after the seventieth year 'of his age, and the fiftieth of[s] his reign?'

(2.) Several of the Roman historians have expressly mentioned Tiberius's being taken into partnership in the government with Augustus.

Velleius Paterculus, who lived in the reigns of these two emperors, says; 'That at the desire of Augustus there was 'a law passed by the senate and people of Rome, that Ti- 'berius might have equal power with him in all the pro- 'vinces and[t] armies.' Suetonius says; 'There was a law 'made, that Tiberius should govern the provinces jointly 'with Augustus, and make the census with[u] him.' Tacitus says; 'That Tiberius was made colleague in the empire '(with Augustus), taken into partnership in the tribunician 'power, and recommended[v] to all the armies.' And there are in this last-mentioned[w] historian frequent references to Tiberius's partnership in the empire with Augustus.

[s] Quo usque hoc, Maximiane, patiar, me quati, te quiescere, mihi libertatem adimi, te usurpare tibi illicitam missionem? An quod Divo Augusto post septuaginta ætatis, quinquaginta imperii, non licuit annos, tam cito licuit tibi? Panegyr. cap. 11. laudat. a Pagio. Critic. A. Ch. 11. n. iii.

[t] Cum res Galliarum maximæ molis, accensasque plebis Viennensium dissensiones, coërcitione magis quam pœnâ mollisset, et Senatus Populusque Rom. (postulante patre ejus) ut æquum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus esset—in urbem reversus, jampridem debitum, sed continuatione bellorum dilatum, ex Pannoniis Dalmatiisque egit triumphum. Vellei. lib. ii. cap. 121.

[u] A Germaniâ in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum, quem distulerat, egit.——Dedicavit et Concordiæ ædem: item Pollucis et Castoris, suo fratrisque nomine, de manubiis. Ac non multo post, lege per Coss. latâ, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret, condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est. Suet. in Tiber. cap. 20, 21.

[v] Drusoque pridem extincto, Nero solus e privignis erat: illic cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribunitiæ potestatis adsumitur, omnisque per exercitus ostentatur Tacit. An. lib. i. cap. 3.

[w] Etenim Augustus, paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio tribuniciam potestatem a *patribus rursum* postularet, &c. id. ib. cap. 10. Versæ inde ad Tiberium preces. Et ille varie disserebat, de magnitudine imperii, suâ modestiâ; solam Divi Augusti mentem tantæ molis capacem: se, in *partem curarum*

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I must be allowed to be particular in the account of some things said by Dio. In his history of the affairs, A. U. 765, A. D. 12, he says: 'Augustus[x] now advanced in years, 'recommended in a writing Germanicus to the senate, and 'the senate to Tiberius. He did not however read the 'writing himself, (not being able,) but Germanicus, as he 'had been wont to do.—But yet he did not lay aside the 'care of the public.'—Under the next year, A. U. 766, A. D. 13, the same historian says: 'Augustus then accepted[y] 'for the fifth time, though unwillingly, the government of 'the state for ten years, and renewed also the tribunician 'power to Tiberius.' He says also, 'That Augustus,[z] on 'account of his great age, (which likewise hindered his 'coming to the senate, except very rarely,) desired he might 'have twenty annual counsellors.—And a decree was passed, 'that whatever was enacted in council by him, together 'with Tiberius, and those said counsellors, and the consuls 'in being, and the consuls elect, and his grandsons adopted 'by him, and any others, whom he should call to his coun-'cil, should be ratified, and deemed of the same authority, 'as if enacted by the authority of the whole senate.' This mention of Tiberius, and of him only by name, in this decree of the senate, next after Augustus, appears to me remarkable. I do not observe, that any of these passages of Dio have been quoted by Pagi; for what reason he omitted them I do not know. He has however insisted upon another passage of this historian, taken from the preceding year, A. U. 764, A. D. 11; but his argument from it seems to me to be founded upon a forced and arbitrary construction of Dio; and therefore I content myself with referring the reader for it to[a] him, and [b]Mr. Le Clerc, who also lays a stress upon it.

Once more, Dio says, 'That upon the death of Augustus, 'Tiberius immediately[c] sent away letters from Nola to the

vocatum, experiendo didicisse, quam arduum—regendi cuncta onus. Ibid. cap. 11.

[x] Ὁ δὲ δὴ Αυγυστος εκεινον τε, ὡς και επι γηρως ων, τῃ βωλῃ, και ταυτην τῳ Τιβεριῳ παρακατεθειτο· ανεγνω δε το βιβλιον υκ αυτος (υ γαρ οἱος τε ην γεγωνισκειν) αλλ' ὁ Γερμανικος, ὡσπερ ειωθει·—η μεντοι και ταλλα ἡττον τι παρα τυτο δωκει. Dio. l. lvi. p. 587. B. C.

[y] Την τε προτασιαν των κοινων την δεκετιν, την πεμπτην ακων δη ὁ Αυγυστος ελαβε, και τῳ Τιβεριῳ την εξυσιαν την δημαρχικην αυθις εδωκε. Ib. p. 588. B.

[z] Και συμβωλυς, ὑπο τυ γηρως (ὑφ' ὑπερ ὡδε ες το βωλευτηριον ετι, πλην σπανιωτατα, συνεφοιτα) εικοσιν ετησιυς ητησατο·—και προσεψηφισθη, πανθ' ὁσα αν αυτῳ μετα τε τυ Τιβεριυ και μετ' εκεινων, των τε αει ὑπατευοντων, και των ες τυτο αποδεδειγμενων των τε εγγονων αυτυ των ποιητων δηλονοτι, των τε αλλων ὁσυς αν ἑκαστοτε προσκαλαλαβῃ, βωλευομενῳ δοξῃ, κυρια, ὡς και πασῃ τῃ γερυσιᾳ αρεσαντα, ειναι. Ib. C. D.

[a] A. C. 11. n. 13, 14, 15.

[b] Ubi supra.

[c] Τοιυτος συν δη τις ων, ες τε τα τρατοπεδα

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'armies and all the provinces as emperor; but yet did not 'call himself so, though that, with other titles, had been 'given him by a decree.'

(3.) There is a particular fact related of Tiberius by several historians, said to be done by him when prince, which yet must have been done before Augustus died. Pliny says, that Tiberius was much given to drinking: 'And that it was thought, that for this reason Lucius Piso 'had been chosen by him to be præfect of Rome, because 'he had continued two days and two nights drinking with 'him,[d] when prince.' Suetonius says; 'That Tiberius, in 'his first campaigns, was much reflected on for his excess 'in drinking; and that afterwards, when prince, in the very 'time of the correction of the public manners, he spent a 'night and two days in eating and drinking with Pompo- 'nius Flaccus and Lucius Piso; to the former of which he 'gave immediately the province of Syria, and to the other 'the præfecture of the city.'[e]

It may be worth while to observe with Pagi, that these two writers, who tell us the story of this drunken bout of Tiberius, and the consequences of it, seem not to have had their accounts from one and the same source. They differ from each other in two or three particulars: one says, that this piece of excess lasted 'two days and two nights;' the other, 'one night and two days.' Pliny mentions only the preferment of Piso; Suetonius adds that of Flaccus also; but they both agree in saying, that Tiberius was 'then 'prince,' and Suetonius adds a very particular circumstance as to the time, that it was during the correction of the public manners; which may very naturally lead us to what he had said of the law passed, that Tiberius should govern the provinces jointly with Augustus, and make the census with him, one part of which at Rome was the correction of manners.

και ες τα εθνη, παντα, ὡς αυτοκρατωρ, ευθυς απο της Νωλης επεστειλε, μη λεγων αυτοκρατωρ ειναι· ψηφισθεν γαρ αυτῳ και μετα των αλλων ονοματων, ουκ εδεξατο. Dio. l. lvii. p. 602. D.

[d] —Tribus congiis (unde et cognomen illi fuit,) epotis uno impetu, spectante miraculi gratiâ Tib. principe, in senectâ jam severo atque etiam sævo alias, sed ipsâ juventâ ad merum pronior fuerat: eâque commendatione credidere L. Pisonem urbis Romæ curæ ab eo delectum, quod biduo duabusque noctibus perpotationem continuâsset apud ipsum jam *principem*. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 22.

[e] In castris tiro etiam tum, propter nimiam vini aviditatem, pro Claudio Caldius, pro Nerone Mero vocabatur. Postea *princeps* in ipsâ publicorum morum correctione cum Pomponio Flacco et L. Pisone noctem continuumque biduum epulando potandoque consumpsit: quorum alteri Syriam provinciam, alteri præfecturam urbis confestim detulit. Suet. in Tib. cap. 42.

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But we must inquire somewhat more particularly into the time of this act of intemperance: it may be easily inferred from Tacitus, who relating the affairs of the year in which Domitius Ænobarbus and M. Furius Camillus were consuls, sc. A. U. 785, A. D. 32, says: 'Then Piso had the honour 'of a public funeral by decree of the senate, having be- 'haved in his office to general satisfaction for[f] twenty 'years.' If we go back twenty years, we are brought to the 12th year of the christian æra, and the 765th of the city, in which year, according to Tacitus, Piso must have been præfect of Rome, which is two years before the death of Augustus.

There are however some objections to this story, which must be considered before we leave it. Several[g] learned men would read in Tacitus X. instead of XX. but to this Pagi's reply is sufficient, that this emendation is without the authority of any manuscripts. It is likewise objected, that Pomponius Flaccus was not præfect of Syria till long after the year of the city 765; consequently, neither was Piso then made præfect[h] of Rome. Dr. Pagi[i] allows very readily, that Pomponius did not at this time go præfect into Syria; but then he gives several instances of men who have been nominated governors of provinces, who yet never went into them; one is Ælius Lamia, who by this very same emperor had been nominated præfect of the same province likewise, namely, of Syria, but yet never went thither. The fact is taken notice of by [k]Tacitus and [l]Dio; which last observes, that this was a common practice with Tiberius. Tacitus has mentioned another like instance in the reign of Nero.[m]

Another objection against Piso's being made præfect of

[f] Dein Piso viginti per annos pariter probatus, publico funere ex decreto senatûs celebratus est. Tacit. Ann. l. vi. cap. 11.

[g] Lipsius in loc. Noris. Cenot. Pis. Diss. ii. p. 324.

[h] Sed hoc amplius ex Suetonio colliges, factum Pisonem præfectum, sub idem tempus quo Pomponius Syriæ prætor. Ille autem Syriæ non ante annum 773 præponi potuit: (Mæsiam enim provinciam administrabat, A. 772. uti ex Tacit. lib. ii. clarum:) non ergo tot annos Piso præfectus urbi. Lipsius ubi supra; vid. etiam Norisium ibid.

[i] A. Chr. 11. n. v.

[k] Extremo anni [A. U. 786. A. D. 33.] Mors Ælii Lamiæ funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandæ Syriæ imagine tandem exsolutus, urbi præfuerat. Tacit. Ann. l. vi. c. 27.

[l] Τοντε Πεισωνα τον πολιαρχον τελευτησαντα δημοσιᾳ ταφῃ ετιμησι, και Δουκιον (legendum Δαμιον, id est, Lamiam) αντ' αυτε ταμιαν ανθειλετο, ὁν προπαλαι τῃ τραπιᾳ (legendum Συριᾳ. Muretus in Tacit. Ann. vi.) προταξας κατειχεν εν Ῥωμῃ τουτο δε και εφ' ἑτερων πολλων εποιει, ἐργῳ μεν, μηδενος αυτων δεομενος, λογῳ δε δη, τιμαν αυτος προσποιουμενος. Dio, lib. lviii. p. 633. D.

[m] Syria P. Anteio destinata, et variis mox artibus elusus, ad postremum in urbe retentus est. Tacit. Ann. l. 13. cap. 22.

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the city, A. U. 765, is this: Suetonius says, that this excess of Tiberius was committed during the public correction of manners; by which he has been supposed to refer to Tiberius's being made censor with Augustus. But cardinal Noris objects, that the census was not made by Augustus, A. U. 765, but 767; and[n] he is of opinion, that the 'public 'correction of manners,' which Suetonius here speaks of, intends the edicts which Tiberius published against luxury, A. U. 775. For my own part, I cannot see but that the words of Suetonius may very well refer to the time in which Tiberius was decreed censor with Augustus, which might be done, A. U. 765; though the census was not made, or at least not finished, till the year 767.

But that this 'correction of manners,' which Suetonius here speaks of, is not that which he has himself mentioned in another[o] place, and which Tacitus says was made, A. U. 775,[p] may be made evident from two or three passages, not particularly insisted on by Pagi. Seneca says, that Tiberius gave secret directions of importance to Piso, when he went into Campania, at which time there were divers uneasinesses and discontents in the city.[q] This journey of Tiberius was made in the beginning of the year before that, in which the edicts were published for the suppressing of luxury, namely, in the year of the city 774, as appears from Tacitus.[r] It is plain therefore, that Piso was præfect of Rome in 774, and in the very beginning of it; and it may be supposed, that Tiberius had had considerable experience of Piso's fidelity and ability in that post before that, since he relied upon him in a very critical conjuncture.

Cardinal Noris objects[s] farther: It is true Tiberius had

[n] Sed Suetonius si censorem Tiberium significaret, annum U. C. 767. designásset, quo ipsa publicorum morum correctio a censoribus peracta est. Itaque designat tempus, quo Tiberius publicis edictis urbano luxui modum ponebat, A. U. 775. ibid. p. 324. vid. eund. p. 329. [o] In Tib. cap. 34.

[p] Caius Sulpicius, D. Haterius, consules sequuntur. Inturbidus externis rebus annus domi suspectâ severitate adversum luxum. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 52.

[q] L. Piso, urbis custos, ebrius, ex quo semel factus est, fuit, majorem partem noctis in convivio exigebat: usque in horam sextam fere dormiebat: hoc erat ejus matutinum. Officium tamen suum, quo tutela urbis continebatur, diligentissime administravit. Huic et Divus Augustus dedit secreta mandata, cum illum præponeret Thraciæ, quam perdomuit, et Tiberius proficiscens in Campaniam, cum multa in urbe et suspecta relinqueret et invisa. Seneca, ep. 83.

[r] Sequitur Tiberii quartus, Drusi secundus consulatus. Ejus anni principio Tiberius, quasi firmandæ valetudini, in Campaniam concessit: longam et continuam absentiam paulatim meditans. Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 31.

[s] His accedit, Tiberium in provinciis biennio ante mortem Augusti imperium obtinuisse; intra urbem vero non habuisse, nisi jus intercedendi ob tribuniciam potestatem. Quare unus Augustus urbis præfecti designandi potestatem habebat. Noris. ibid p. 324.

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proconsular power in the provinces two years before Augustus's death: all the authority he had in the city was owing to his tribunician power, but that included only a right of interceding or forbidding, but could not give the power of appointing a prætect.

I think it is undoubted, that Tiberius might call the senate by virtue of the tribunician power,[t] and it is likely do several other things: but there is no need of contending about this point. Perhaps Tiberius did not nominate and appoint Piso prætect of the city; he might however recommend him so effectually to Augustus, his colleague, that he might appoint him. Pagi observes, that Pliny, speaking of this matter, uses the word choosing, not appointing.[u]

I imagine, that this fact is now cleared up and vindicated against the several objections which have been made to it; and that Piso was appointed or chosen to be prætect of the city of Rome by Tiberius, 'then prince,' two years before the death of Augustus, namely, in A. U. 765.

But before I quite leave this story, I would strengthen the argument founded upon it by a remark or two upon the title of prince, given here to Tiberius by Pliny and Suetonius.

It is well known, that prince was the soft title which Augustus chose, rather than that of[v] king or dictator. This title therefore, when used absolutely, is equivalent to emperor: and Dio says, that Tiberius had the title of emperor given him by a decree before Augustus died, as has been observed already. Moreover this title of emperor is frequently given by Roman and Greek authors to Titus and Trajan, on account of their tribunician and proconsular power which they enjoyed, the former in the lifetime of his father Vespasian, the latter of Nerva. Pagi thinks, this title of emperor which was given to these colleagues in the empire, was founded particularly on the perpetual proconsular power in all the provinces.[w] But, however that be, it is certain they are often called emperors. Josephus, in his description of Vespasian's and Titus's triumph at Rome,

[t] Vid. Usser. Ann. A. M. 4015 et 4017.

[u] Eâque commendatione credidere L. Pisonem urbis Romæ curæ ab eo delectum. Vid. Pagi, Critic. ad An. Ch. 11. n. 4.

[v] Qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine *principis*, sub imperium accepit. Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 1. Non regno tamen neque dictaturâ, sed *principis* nomine constitutam rempublicam. Id. ibid. cap. 9.

[w] Titus enim, quemadmodum et ante eum Tiberius, ac post eum Trajanus, imperii collega fuit, ideoque imperatoris titulo exornatus. Imperii collegæ tribuniciâ potestate et imperio proconsulari donabantur, ratione cujus imperatores nuncupati. Pagi, A. D. 71. n. 3. in Crit. ad Bar.

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after the Jewish war, says, That the[x] emperors lodged the night before near the temple of Isis. Pliny the elder, in his dedication of his Natural History to Titus, written before the death of Vespasian, calls Titus emperor[y] more than once. Philostratus says, that Titus was declared emperor at Rome, and admitted to equal power in the government[z] with his father. It is in vain therefore to say, that Titus was called emperor in his father's lifetime, purely on account of his having been saluted emperor by his soldiers in the camp, or in the sense in which this word was used under the commonwealth; since Philostratus says, he was declared emperor at Rome; moreover Capitolinus[a] calls Vespasian and Titus princes without any distinction. All these passages thus laid together may satisfy us, that prince and emperor are equivalent in these writers; and that Tiberius had a right to the title of prince, even during the lifetime of Augustus, after he was made his colleague in the empire. I shall refer the reader to but one passage more, in which Pliny the younger assures us, that Trajan was declared emperor[b] by Nerva in his lifetime; and it seems very strongly to support Pagi's opinion, that the title of emperor given to these colleagues was founded rather on their proconsular empire than their tribunician power.

(4.) There are two or three verses of Dionysius the geographer, which Pagi esteems a very remarkable testimony to the proconsular empire of Tiberius.[c] It appears from the two last of these verses, that in Dionysius's time Rome was governed by more than one prince. It has been ques-

[x] Εκει γαρ ανεπαυοντο της νυκτος εκεινης οι αυτοκρατορες· Joseph. de Bell. lib. vii. cap. 5. p. 1305. v. 2.

[y] Jucundissime imperator—Sciantque omnes quam ex æquo tecum vivat imperium. Triumphalis et censorius tu, sexiesque consul, ac tribuniciæ potestatis particeps. Plin. in Præfat.

[z] Αναρρηθεις και αυτοκρατωρ εν τη Ρωμη, και αριστειων αξιωθεις τυτων, απηει μεν ισομοιρησων της αρχης τω πατρι· ε. τ. λ. Cumque imperator Romæ esset appellatus, omnibus ornatus dignitatibus, Romam iter ingressus, ut patris collega fieret. Philost. Vit. Apollonii, lib. vi. cap. 30. p. 269. Lipsiæ, 1709.

[a] Avus Annius Rufus, item consul et præfectus urbi adscitus in patricios a *principibus* Vespasianio et Tito censoribus. In Marc. Antonin. Philos.

[b] Simul filius, simul Cæsar, mox IMPERATOR, et consors tribuniciæ potestatis, et omnia pariter et statim factus es, quæ proxime parens verus tantum in alterum filium contulit. Plin. Paneg. c. 8.

[c] Εκ Διος Αυσονιης αει μεγα κοιρανεοντες, v. 78.
A Jove Ausonii semper longe lateque dominantes.
Ρωμην τιμησσαν, εμων μεγαν οικον ανακτων, 355.
Μητερα πασαων πολιων, αφνειον εδεθλον, 356.
De amne Tiberi loquitur; aitque, Qui amabilem secat in duas partes Romam, Romam honorabilem: meorum magnam domum Principum vel Dominorum. Dionys. Orbis Descript.

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tioned indeed when Dionysius lived, and who are those princes he speaks of; some have thought they were the two Antonines, others have thought he intended Severus, Caracalla, and Geta. Cardinal[d] Noris, I think, hath put it beyond all doubt, by a passage alleged from[e] Pliny, that Dionysius lived in the time of Augustus: the cardinal indeed supposes, that the princes here referred to are Caius and Lucius Cæsar, Augustus's adopted sons. Pagi seems to me to have shown, that the title of ανακτες cannot belong to them; and that Augustus and Tiberius are the princes which Dionysius means: but for the particulars I must refer the reader to Pagi himself.[f]

(5.) There were two different computations of Tiberius's reign in the time of St. Clement of Alexandria: for having first said, that Augustus reigned forty-three years, and Tiberius twenty-two,[g] he adds: 'But some reckon the 'reigns of the Roman emperors thus.—Augustus reigned 'forty-six years, four months, and one day. Then Tiberius, 'twenty-six years, six months,[h] nineteen days.'

Having laid before the reader the chief arguments that have been produced for the proconsular, or joint empire of Tiberius with Augustus, I will consider also some of the objections which there are against this opinion.

1. It is objected, that Spartian says, that Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus[i] were the two first Augusti that governed the Roman empire together. But to this it is answered, that none of the patrons of this opinion ever said, that Tiberius had the title of Augustus whilst Augustus lived, but only that he was colleague with him in the empire. These words of Spartian are no more an objection against Tiberius's proconsular empire, than they are against Titus's and Trajan's; who certainly enjoyed this honour, the one with his father Vespasian, and the other with Nerva.

Nor indeed did the title of Augustus give any new power; it was only a title of honour,[k] which sort of titles were

[d] Cenot. Pis. Diss. 2. p. 193.

[e] Hoc in loco [Arabiâ nempe] genitum esse Dionysium, terrarum orbis sitûs recentissimum auctorem, quem ad commentanda omnia in orientem præmisit Divus Augustus, ituro in Armeniam ad Parthicas Arabicasque res majore filio. Plin. Hist. Nat. l.b. vi. cap. 27.

[f] Critica in Baron. A. D. 11. n. 6, 7.

[g] Ανγυστος στη τεσσαρακοντα τρια· Τιβεριος, στη κβ. Clem. Strom. l. i. p. 339. A Parisiis, 1629.

[h] Τινες μεν τοι τους χρονους των Ρωμαϊκων βασιλεων ουτως αναγραφουσι.—Ανγυστος εβασιλευσεν στη μς, μηνας δ, ημεραν μιαν. Επειτα Τιβεριος, στη κς, μηνας ς, ημερας ιθ. Id. ib. C.

[i] Hi sunt qui postea duo pariter Augusti, primi rempublicam gubernaverunt. Spartian. in Hadrian. cap. 24. Vid. Eutrop. lib. viii. cap. 9. et Capitolin. in Marc. cap. 7.

[k] Vid. Dio. lib. liii. p. 507.

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usually taken gradually. Tiberius ever refused that of father of his country, and would not permit that of Augustus to be given him by any decree, though he accepted of it from some persons, and made use of it himself in letters to[l] foreign princes. And Dio takes notice of it as a singularity in Caligula, that in one day he accepted all those titles which Augustus had received throughout his long reign, and had suffered to be given him only one by one, (some of which Tiberius never would accept of,) except only that of father of his country, which he took upon him also in a short time after.[m]

2dly, It is objected: If Tiberius had been made colleague in the empire with Augustus, there could have been no reason for those fears about the succession of Tiberius which Livia showed upon the death[n] of Augustus; nor would Tiberius have hesitated to accept the empire when offered to him by the senate: or indeed, what occasion could there have been for any new investiture at all?

But to this, I think, it is easy to answer; that it is no surprising thing that Livia should be under some pain, when the settlement of her son in the empire was at stake. Though Tiberius had been partner in the empire, yet certainly the death of Augustus made a great change. Germanicus was very popular, and at the head of a numerous army:[o] and as for Tiberius's hesitation, he had been hitherto but partner in the empire, and some kind of new investiture was needful. It is true, he carried his dissimulation very far; but Augustus himself never renewed a fresh term of government, (which he did several times,) but with much difficulty; and not till he had been overcome by importunity, and the consideration of the necessity of affairs.

However, this dissimulation of Tiberius has afforded a new proof, that he had been colleague with Augustus: for as Tacitus and Dio intimate very plainly the fears which Tiberius had of Germanicus, so Suetonius says: 'He pre-'tended a bad state of health, that Germanicus might 'entertain hopes of a speedy succession, or at least[p] a part-

[l] Το τε τυ πατρος της πατριδος προσρημα παντελως διωσατο, και το τυ Αυγυστυ ως επεθετο μεν (ουδε γαρ ψηφισθηναι ποτε ειασε) λεγομενον δ' ακουων, και γραφομενον αναγινωσκων, εφερε· και οσακις γε βασιλευσι τισιν επιστελλε, και εκεινο προσενεγραφε. Dio. lib. lvii. p. 607. A.

[m] Ωστε παντα οσα ὁ Αυγυστος εν τοσυτῳ της αρχης χρονῳ μολις και καθ' ἑν ἑκαστον ψηφισθεντα οἱ εδεξατο (ὡν ενια Τιβεριος ὁυ' ὁλως προσηκατο) εν μιᾳ ἡμερᾳ λαβειν, κ. τ. λ. Dio. lib. lix. p. 641. D.

[n] Acribus namque custodiis domum et vias sepserat Livia. Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 5.

[o] Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 33—35. Dio. lib. lvii. p. 603.

[p] Simulavit et valetudinem, quo

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nership in the empire.' But such an expectation had been ridiculous in Germanicus, and this pretence of Tiberius could never have had the effect he designed, if no one had been partner in the empire before.

3. But the chief objection against the supposition, that St. Luke has computed the reign of Tiberius from the time of his proconsular empire, seems to be this; That it does not appear that any writers have computed the reign of those who were colleagues in the empire by the epoch of their proconsular empire, and that in particular there are no traces of this computation of Tiberius's reign.[q]

To this I answer: There is reason to think, that people did often compute according to the epoch of the proconsular empire. Pagi mentions a medal which has this inscription: 'In the xi. new sacred year of the emperor Titus 'Cæsar[r] Vespasian Augustus.' Now Titus reigned alone after his father's death but a little above two years.

It will not be expected I should here attempt to explain the meaning of the epoch of the new sacred year. All that I shall observe is, that it appears not to have been used upon the coins of any emperors beside those of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, and Nerva: and that it does not begin at any one common period, such as the building or dedication of any one particular temple, but that the numbers answer exactly to the years of the several emperors on whose coins it is found.[s] And Pagi is of opinion, that it was an epoch chiefly used by the people of Syria and Egypt, because the epithet 'sacred' is more common upon their coins than any others.[t]

And I cannot but think, that there were for some time different computations of the length of Nerva's and Trajan's reigns; and that they were owing to this, that Trajan was

æquiore animo Germanicus celerem successionem vel certe societatem principatûs operiretur. Suet. in Tiber. cap. 25.

[q] Est autem inauditum in omni memoriâ, Titi annos ab alio initio fuisse deductos quam a morte Vespasiani. S. Basnage, Annal. Pol. Eccles. A. D. 11. n. iv.

[r] Sic in nummo Græco apud Occonem, p. 166. legitur ΑΥΤ. ΤΙΤΟΥ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ. ΣΕΒ. ΕΤΟΥΣ. ΙΕΡΟΣ. ΙΑ. id. est, Imperatoris Titi Cæsaris Vespasiani Augusti anno novo sacro xi. Quo ex Titi nummo manifeste apparet, deceptos viros eruditos qui negant annos Tiberii, Titi, aliorumque imperii collegarum numeratos fuisse. Hæc porro epocha non nisi in Vespasiani, Titi, Domitiani, et Nervæ nummis occurrit. Pagi, Crit. in Baron. A. D. 81. n. iii.

[s] Nisi enim hoc modo in nummis Titi, Domitiani, et Nervæ, epocha hæc explicetur, impossibile est nummos inter se posse convenire; cum eorum imperii annos non excedat, sed ad amussim iis respondeat. Pagi, ibid.

[t] Et nullibi sacri nomen frequentius, quam in nummis in Syriâ et Egypto percussis, usurpatum. Ibid. n. iv.

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for some time Nerva's colleague in the empire. Mr. Dodwell[u] was of opinion, that Nerva did actually resign the empire to Trajan before his death: and so [v]Aurelius Victor and [w]Lactantius seem to say. I think indeed that Nerva did not resign, not only because Eutropius[x] says, that Diocletian was the first of all the Roman emperors that did so, but especially because the younger Pliny, who served under Nerva and Trajan, and knew them both very well, says nothing of it, though he often mentions[y] their joint empire. But I think, that the notion which the fore-mentioned authors had of Nerva's resigning, may be very well accounted for upon the supposition, that they had met with different computations of the time of these two princes' reigns in some ancient writers; and their mistake is not easy to be accounted for otherwise.

As for Tiberius, I take it for granted that it has been fully proved, that he was for some time partner in the empire with Augustus; and particularly that it has been made appear, that Piso was præfect of Rome twenty years, and that he was put into that post by the appointment or procurement of Tiberius. Thus much I think Basnage allows,[z] and Suetonius and Pliny both say that Tiberius was 'then 'prince.'

And it is highly probable that the christians had a persuasion, that there were two different epochs of the beginning of Tiberius's reign: otherwise, when they said that Jesus was crucified in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, when the two Gemini were consuls, namely, A. D. 29, (as they did almost universally,) after he had preached above[a] two years, or

[u] Vid. Append. ad Dissert. Cypr. n. 39, 40. [v] Quid enim Nervâ prudentius?—Qui cum extremâ ætate apud Sequanos, quo tyranni defecit metu, imperium arbitrio legionum cepisset; ubi prospexit, nisi a superioribus robustioribusque corpore animoque geri non posse, mense sexto ac decimo semet eo abdicavit. Aurel. Vict. de Cæsar. in Nervâ.

[w] Simul et exemplum Nervæ proferebat, qui imperium Trajano tradidisset. De Mort. Persecut. cap. 18. [x] Diocletianus privatus in villâ quæ haud procul a Salonis est, præclaro otio senuit; inusitatâ virtute usus; ut solus omnium post conditum Romanum imperium ex tanto fastigio sponte ad privatæ vitæ statum civilitatemque remearet. Eutrop. lib. ix. cap. 28. [y] Assumptus es in laborum curarumque consortium. Plin. Paneg. cap. 7. Inde *quasi* deposito imperioquâ securitate, quâ gloriâ lætus? (Nerva nempe) Nam quantulum refert, deponas an *partiaris* imperium, nisi quod difficilius *hoc* est? ib. c. 8. Magnum hoc tuæ moderationis indicium, quod non solum successor imperii, sed *particeps* etiam *sociusque* placuisti. cap. 9. [z] Ubi supra, A. D. 11. n. ii.

[a] Tricesimo enim juxta evangelistan. Lucam anno ætatis suæ cœpit in carne Dominus evangelium prædicare; et juxta Johannem evangelistam, per tria paschata duos postea implevit annos: et inde sex Tiberii supputantur anni, &c.

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a[b] whole year including two passovers, or a year and some[c] few months; they must have been sensible that they contradicted St. Luke, who says, that the "word of God came" to John the Baptist in the "fifteenth year of Tiberius;" since also they must necessarily have allowed some time for the ministry of John, distinct from that of Jesus.

That we have so few examples of this way of computing the reign of Tiberius, is not to be wondered, considering how few ancient writers who lived near his time are come down to us, and especially such as lived in the provinces where this epoch must have been chiefly used. The distinct computation of Augustus's reign to the time of his death, and of Tiberius's after him, was undoubtedly most commodious; and for this reason, probably, the computation of Tiberius's reign, from the time of his proconsular empire, was soon dropped. Besides, Tiberius seems to have taken pains to obliterate this date of his government, inasmuch as he was unwilling to have it thought that he owed his greatness to the adoption of Augustus, or the intrigues of his mother Livia; but would have it ascribed solely to the free choice of the people after Augustus's death,[d] that is, to his own merit, as Dio expressly says.[e]

Tiberius then having had, for some time before the death of Augustus, equal power with him in all the provinces and armies, and having been made thereby partner with him in the empire, it is not impossible, but that St. Luke might compute the reign of Tiberius by this epoch.

We should now, if possible, settle the exact time when Tiberius was made partner with Augustus; it may be concluded that he was so, A. U. 765, two years before Augustus died, because in that year Piso was made præfect of Rome, Tiberius being prince: and Archbishop Usher and Prideaux place the beginning of this government of Tiberius in this year.

There is however a considerable difficulty attending this

Appollinarius Laodic. apud Hieron. Com. in Dan. cap. 9. Ὁ δε Ιωδας παρα τῳ Ιησυ ωδε τρια διετριψεν ετη. Orig. cont. Cels. l. ii. p. 67.

[b] Και ὁτι ενιαυτον μονον εδει αυτον κηρυξαι, και τουτο γεγραπται οὑτως—πεντεκαιδεκατῳ ὲν ετει Τιβεριω, και πεντεκαιδεκατῳ Αυγουστω· ουτω πληρουνται τα τριακοντα ετη ἑως ου επαθεν. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 340. A.

[c] Ενιαυτον γαρ πω και μηνας ολιγους εδιδαξεν· Orig. Phil. p. 4.

[d] Dabat et famæ, ut vocatus electusque potius a republicâ videretur, quam per uxorium ambitum et senilem adoptionem irrepsisse. Tacit. Ann. l. i c. 8.

[e] Ηδη μεν γαρ ηκουσα ὁτι επειδαν ἡ Λιβια ακοντος τε Αυγουστου την αρχην αυτῳ περιπεποιηκεναι ελεγετο, επλαττεν ὁπως μη παρ' εκεινης, αλλα παρα της βουλης αναγκαστος ὡς και κατα αρετην σφων προηκων, δοξειεν αυτην ειληφεναι. Dio. l. lvii. p. 603. D.

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matter, because Velleius and Suetonius differ about the time in which the law was passed by the senate, decreeing Tiberius equal power with Augustus in the provinces and armies. According to Suetonius this law was not passed till after Tiberius's triumph, which certainly happened A. U. 765, A. D. 12. But according to Velleius[f] this law was passed at the desire of Augustus, before Tiberius returned to Rome from Germany to make his triumph. Pagi[g] is inclined to prefer the testimony of Velleius Paterculus before that of Suetonius, because Velleius was contemporary with Tiberius; but yet he dares not be positive in this matter, because St. Clements's numbers are different from both. However, as Tiberius was consul in the 21st and 31st years of our Lord, he judges this piece of respect to the 10th and 20th years from the 11th year of our Lord, to[h] be a confirmation of the supposition, that Tiberius's proconsular power commenced, A. D. 11. He observes also marks of honour shown to the Quinquennals of this epoch, such as the dedication of temples by himself, or the people of provinces, the founding of cities by dependent princes, and such other the like things, with which the Quinquennals and Decennals, that is, the fifth and tenth years of remarkable events, were wont to be celebrated.

As he thinks it most probable, that Tiberius's proconsular empire began, A. U, 764, A. D. 11; so he is pretty well satisfied as to the month and day of the month, which he thinks was the 28th of August, or the fifth of the Kalends of September. One reason for it is, that from the 725th year of the city, Augustus seems to have had a particular respect for the 5th of the Kalends of months. Moreover according to the second computation, which Clemens Alexandrinus mentions of the reign of Tiberius, it must have begun on the 28th of August. St. Clement says, that Tiberius reigned twenty-six years, six months, and nineteen days. Now Tiberius died the 16th of March, A. D. 37, from the 28th of August, A. D. 10, to the 16th of March, A. D. 37, are exactly, (according to Dr. Pagi's reckoning,) so many years, months, and days, as St. Clement mentions. So that though St. Clement has been in

[f] Sueton. in Tiber. c. 21, 22. Velleius, Pat. l. ii. c. 121. Their words are transcribed above, p. 374.

[g] Vid. Crit. A. Ch. 11. n. 10.

[h] Quia tamen Tiberius anno Christi xxi. rursusque anno Christi xxxi. consul processit, existimandum, utrumque consulatum ob decennalia et vicennalia imperii proconsularis Tiberii gestum, ideoque et illum anno Christi xi. imperio proconsulari donatum: quamquam uterque consulatus anno Christi xii. quo rem actam narrat Suetonius, respondere etiam possit, etiamsi quinquennalia legitimo tempore celebrata fuerint. id. ib.

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the wrong as to the year, since he begins this computation of Tiberius's reign, A. D. 10, yet he has helped us to the month and day of the month on which it commenced.[i]

I have represented Pagi's sense of this matter, as well as I can, in a few words; but I cannot say, that this reasoning is altogether convincing. I must acknowledge, I see not how any argument can be drawn from St. Clement's testimony, either for the year or month of this epoch; if his numbers have been altered, as Pagi allows they have in many places, and particularly in this very passage.

There appears to me some weight in his observation upon the Quinquennals and Decennals of this epoch; but yet it is not fully conclusive: there might be some other reason, beside that here supposed, for Tiberius's taking the consulship, A. D. 21, and 31. The 22d and 26th years of the christian æra are as remarkable as any other for the founding of cities, dedicating temples, and erecting of monuments. Though indeed, if this epoch began in the middle of any year, it is obvious at first sight, that these honours may be divided betwixt two years.

And perhaps Velleius Paterculus and Suetonius may be reconciled by supposing only, that there was some time between Augustus's proposing Tiberius's partnership with him to the senate, and the passing of the act.

Upon the whole, I think there is good reason to believe, that Tiberius was colleague in the empire with Augustus; and that this epoch of Tiberius's empire was followed for some time by some persons, in the provinces at least; but it appears to me uncertain, when this proconsular empire began, whether about two years, or about three years before Augustus died.

Let us, however, adjust the numbers in St. Luke to this computation of the reign of Tiberius, which commenced either about two years, or about three years before his empire after the death of Augustus. And we will have an eye to the two dates of our Saviour's nativity above mentioned, namely, September or October, A. U. 748, and 749.

If Tiberius's proconsular empire began about three years before Augustus died, on the 28th of Aug. A. U. 764, A. D. 11, then this 15th of Tiberius's reign (according to this computation of it) began Aug. 28th, A. U. 778, A. D. 25. Supposing that John the Baptist began his ministry November following, in the same year, and that Jesus was bap-

[i] Quare Clemens Alexandrinus rei gestæ diem nobis conservavit: sed numeri annorum corrupti, quod in eo auctore non infrequens. Pagi, Critic. A. D. 11. n. ix.

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tized by him the 6th of January following, in A. U. 779, A. D. 26; then upon the supposition that Jesus was born in September, A. U. 748, he would be at his baptism thirty years of age and some months over.

If Tiberius's proconsular empire commenced about two years before the death of Augustus, in A. U. 765, A. D. 12, then the fifteenth of the reign of Tiberius began in A. U. 779, A. D. 26. And supposing that John the Baptist began his ministry in November of that year, and that Jesus was baptized by him the 6th of January following, A. U. 780, A. D. 27, then, upon the supposition that Jesus was born in September, A. U. 749, he would be at the time of his baptism thirty years of age and some months over; or, if born A. U. 748, he would be somewhat more than thirty-one years of age.

We will put this matter one way more. If John the Baptist began his ministry in the fifteenth of Tiberius, A. U. 778, A. D. 25, (as in the first stating of this question,) but did not baptize Jesus till the sixth of January, A. U. 780, A. D. 27, after he had preached somewhat above a year, then Jesus would be at his baptism thirty years of age and odd months, if he was born A. U. 749; thirty-one years of age and some odd months, if born the latter end of the year 748.

I see not, but that we have a very good right to take those dates of these events, which appear most favourable to St. Luke; since it is not absolutely certain, when Herod died, or when Tiberius's proconsular empire began: nor have any of the writers of harmonies determined, that I know of, beyond contradiction, the space of time between the commencement of John the Baptist's ministry and our Saviour's baptism. But if we allow on each hand the dates the least favourable to St. Luke's numbers, namely, that Jesus was born A. U. 748, and that he was not baptized till January, A. U. 780, A. D. 27; yet even then Jesus would be little more (as has been shown) than thirty-one years of age; at which time a person may be said very properly to be "*about* thirty years of age," as will appear by and by.

I imagine I have now showed, that there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that St. Luke computed the reign of Tiberius, not from his sole empire after the death of Augustus, but from the time of his proconsular empire, when he had equal power with Augustus given him in all the provinces and armies; and that upon this supposition, there lies no objection against the age ascribed to Jesus at his baptism.

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III. However, in order to complete this solution of this difficulty, it will be proper to consider some other notes of time, which we find in the evangelists; and to inquire, whether these likewise agree with this supposition.

St. Luke says, "Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, *Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea*,—the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias," Luke iii. 1, 2.

It has been the opinion of some learned men, that Pilate did not come into Judea so soon as the fifteenth year of Tiberius's proconsular empire, the 12th of his sole empire, A. U. 778, A. D. 25.

That every one may judge of this matter, I shall set down the account Josephus has given of Pilate's leaving Judea; from which we shall be able to conclude when he came into it.

The senate of the Samaritans sent complaints against Pilate to Vitellius, president of Syria. And Josephus says: 'Vitellius, sending his friend Marcellus to administer the 'affairs of Judea, commanded Pilate to go to Rome, to an- 'swer to the emperor for those things of which he was ac- 'cused by the Jews. And Pilate, having spent *ten years in* '*Judea*, hastened away to Rome, in obedience to the com- 'mands of Vitellius, not daring to refuse. But before he 'got to Rome, Tiberius was dead.

'Moreover Vitellius came into Judea, and went up to 'Jerusalem. It was then a feast time; the feast is called 'the *passover*. Vitellius being received there with great 'magnificence, abolished entirely the tax upon vendible 'fruits, and granted to the priests the right of keeping in the 'temple the vestment of the high-priest and all its orna- 'ments, as they had done formerly.—Having conferred 'these favours upon the nation, he also took away the 'priesthood from the high-priest Joseph, who is likewise 'called Caiaphas, and substituted in his room Jonathan, the 'son of Ananus the high-priest, and then returned to An- 'tioch.'[k]

[k] Και Ουιτελλιος, Μαρκελλον τον αὐτῳ φιλον εκπεμψας επιμελητην τοις Ιουδαιοις γενησομενον, Πιλατον εκελευσεν επι Ῥωμης απιεναι, προς ἁ κατηγοροιεν Ιουδαιοι διδαξαντα τον αυτοκρατορα· και Πιλατος, δικα ετεσιν διατριψας επι Ιουδαιας, εις Ῥωμην επειγετο, ταις Ουιτελλιυ πειθομενος εντολαις, ικ ον αντειπειν· πριν δε η τῃ Ῥωμῃ προσχειν αυτον, φθανει Τιβεριος μετατας. Ουιτελλιος δε εις την Ιουδαιαν αφικομενος, επι Ιεροσολυμων ανηει, και την αυτοις εορτη, Πασχα δε καλειται· δεχθεις δε μεγαλοπρεπως Ουιτελλιος, τα τελη των ωνουμενων καρπων ανηκεν εις το παν τοις ταυτην κατοικουσι, και την στολην τυ αρχιερεως, και τον παντα αυτυ κοσμον συνεχωρησεν εν τῳ ἱερῳ κειμενον ὑπο τοις ἱερευσιν εχειν την επιμελειαν, καθοτι και προτερον ην αυτοις εξουσια· ε. τ. λ. Joseph. Antiq. lib xviii. cap. 5. sect. 2, 3. p. 801, 802.

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Josephus immediately after this says, that Tiberius sent orders to Vitellius, to go and make a league with the king of the Parthians; that Vitellius having had a meeting with the king at the river Euphrates, and executed his commission, returned again to Antioch.'[l]

After this, Vitellius received orders from Tiberius to go and make war with Aretas king of Petra.

'Vitellius then, having got all things ready for the war 'with Aretas, hastened away for Petra with two legions, and 'other auxiliary forces, and was come as far as Ptolemais. 'But as he was about to march his army through Judea, the 'chief men met him, entreating him not to go through their 'country.——He complied with their request: and having 'ordered his army to take their route through the great 'plain, he himself, with Herod the tetrarch and their 'friends, went up to Jerusalem, to worship God, a feast of 'the Jews being at hand.[m] He was received by the peo- 'ple of the Jews with great respect. Having been there 'three days, he took away the high-priesthood from Jona- 'than, and gave it to his brother Theophilus: and on the 'fourth day after his arrival, receiving letters which brought 'him an account of the death of Tiberius, he took an oath 'of the people to Caius.'[n]

A few remarks on this account will suffice.

It is not expressly said, which feast of the Jews the last mentioned feast was; but there can be no doubt, but that it was the passover, A. D. 37. I think this is not contested by any one. Tiberius died the 16th of March, A. D. 37: the news of his death might easily reach Judea by the passover of that year, and could not be retarded to the feast of Pentecost.

The passover, first mentioned in this account, must have been the passover, A. D. 36. It is evident, that the summer following, Vitellius went as far as the river Euphrates, and returned to Antioch; and the next spring he was to go and make war with Aretas; but whilst his troops marched towards Petra, he went up to Jerusalem at the passover in the year thirty-seven, as has been observed. Nothing can be plainer, I think, then, that Pilate was removed before the passover in thirty-six; and must have been out some time before: Vitellius did not go to Jerusalem immediately after he had sent away Pilate, but first ordered his friend Marcellus to take care of affairs there.

It is not said here, how long Pilate had been out, before

[l] Id. ibid. p. 802, 803.

[m] Εορτης πατριω τοις Ιουδαιοις ενεστηκυιας.

[n] Id. ibid. cap. 6. sect. 3.

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Vitellius went up to Jerusalem; but it is probable, it was half a year. This may be concluded from hence; Josephus says, that Vitellius, when he was at Jerusalem, the first time here spoken of, put the high-priest's vestment into the priests' hands, to be kept by them in the temple. Josephus is very express, that this favour was conferred by Vitellius upon the nation at this time, and that having done so, he put out Caiaphas, and returned to Antioch. Now in another place Josephus says: 'This vestment king Herod[o] kept 'here [in the castle of Antonia]. And after his death it was 'kept in the same place by the Romans till the time of Ti-'berius Cæsar. In his reign Vitellius president of Syria, 'having come to Jerusalem, and the people receiving him 'in a very honourable manner, he being willing to make 'them a suitable return, since they had desired that the 'sacred vestment might be in their own custody, wrote to 'Tiberius Cæsar about it, and he granted their request.' From this passage it appears, that Vitellius did not put the high priest's vestment into the hands of the Jews without leave from Tiberius. If Vitellius actually made this grant when he was at Jerusalem at the passover, A. D. thirty-six, (as Josephus says expressly in the first passage,) it is likely the Jews had sent their request to him about the time that Pilate was removed. And considering the slowness of Tiberius in all his proceedings, it will not be thought strange, that we allow half a year between the Jews' presenting their request to Vitellius in Syria, and the return of an answer from the emperor; it is rather surprising it should have come back so soon.

It is possible, that some may except against this argument, and say, that the grant was not made by Vitellius when he was at Jerusalem; but that he there received the Jews' request, then wrote to Tiberius, and some time after this put the sacred vestment into their custody. But though Josephus does in this last passage seem to place things in this order, yet I should think, that since, in the passage first cited, he says Vitellius bestowed this favour upon the Jews whilst at Jerusalem at that time; it may be inferred, that the petition had been presented to him whilst in Syria, and that he brought Tiberius's grant to Jerusalem with him.

[o] *Ταυτην ὁ βασιλευς Ἡρωδης εφυλαξεν εν τῳ τοπῳ, και μετα την εκεινου τελευτην υπο Ῥωμαιοις ην, μεχρι των Τιβεριου Καισαρος χρονων· επι τουτου δε Ουιτελλιος ὁ της Συριας ἡγεμων, επιδημησας τοις Ἱεροσολυμοις, δεξαμενου τε πληθους αυτον λαμπροτατα πανυ, θελων αυτους της ευποιΐας αμειψασθαι, επει παρεκαλεσαν την ἱεραν στολην ὑπο την αυτων εξουσιαν εχειν, εγραψε περι τουτων Τιβεριῳ Καισαρι, κἀκεινος επετρεψε.* Ant. lib. xv. cap. 11. sect. 4.

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However, though this argument should not be allowed me, yet since upon Pilate's removal Marcellus was sent to govern in Judea, it is plain there was some time between Vitellius's issuing his orders to Pilate to go to Rome, and his own journey to Jerusalem. This time might be the space of five or six months; and I apprehend that the probability at least of my reasoning above, that Vitellius received the Jews' petition for keeping the high-priest's vestment in Syria, then wrote to Tiberius, and delivered it to them when he was at Jerusalem, may very much dispose us to admit the supposition of this space.

And though it should be thought, that at the passover next after Pilate's removal, Vitellius did not give the high-priest's vestment into the Jewish hands, but only received their petition for that favour: yet this does fully overthrow the opinion of those, who have thought, that Pilate was removed but a few weeks before the death of Tiberius. Vitellius, after the removal of Pilate, was at Jerusalem at a passover; and having been magnificently received by the Jews, in requital of their civilities wrote to Tiberius, (so we will suppose at present,) that they might have the keeping of the high-priest's garment, and Tiberius granted it. This passover then was not that passover at which Vitellius, being at Jerusalem, heard of the death of Tiberius. We are therefore fully assured, that the passover which followed the removal of Pilate, was not the passover, A. D, 37, before which Tiberius died, but the passover preceding, namely, that in A. D. 36.

It is certain then, that Pilate was removed before the passover, A. D. 36; and probable, that he was removed about five or six months before it; about September or October, A. D. 35, about a year and a half before the death of Tiberius.

Since Josephus says, that Pilate spent ten years in Judea, he came thither about October, A. D. 25, or at least before the passover, A. D. 26, in the twelfth year of Tiberius's sole empire, which twelfth year began the nineteenth of August, A. D. 25. This also is perfectly consistent with what Josephus says of Valerius Gratus, the first procurator of Judea under Tiberius; 'that he spent eleven years in Judea, and 'was then succeeded by Pontius Pilate.'[p]

So that though we should suppose that Tiberius's proconsular empire began three years before the death of

[p] Και Γρατος μεν ταυτα πραξας εις Ρωμην επαναχωρει ενδεκα ετη διατριψας εν Ιουδαιᾳ· Ποντιος δε Πιλατος διαδοχος αυτῳ ηκεν. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 2 sect. 2.

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Augustus, as Dr. Pagi is inclined to do, 28th August, A. U. 764, A. D. 11; yet Pontius Pilate would even then be in Judea in the fifteenth of that empire, which began Aug. 28th, A. U. 778, A. D. 25.

There is one difficulty, and but one in all this matter. Josephus says that 'Pilate—hastened away to Rome in 'obedience to the commands of Vitellius, not daring to 'refuse. But before he got to Rome, Tiberius was dead.'

It will be best to take the objection from Mr. Whiston. 'Now it is known from Josephus, that Pontius Pilate was 'procurator of Judea but ten years; and that he was put 'out so little before the death of Tiberius, that the emperor 'was actually dead, before Pilate arrived at Rome to an-'swer for himself. Tiberius died March 26th,[q] A. D. 37; 'and Pilate might be out of his office a month, or six weeks 'before, suppose it was February; from thence we must count 'ten years backward for the beginning of Pilate's govern-'ment, which will therefore fall into February, A. D. 27.'[r]

This is the difficulty: but I think it would be very wrong to be determined by one single sentence against all the evidence, which arises from the whole series of a narration. It is extremely evident, that the feast-time in which Vitellius, being at Jerusalem, heard of the death of Tiberius, is not the passover which followed next after Pilate's removal. I shall not repeat particulars, but content myself with referring the reader to Josephus's account, already transcribed.

And if this one sentence about the time of Pilate's arrival at Rome be inconsistent with the rest of the story, it is more reasonable to suppose, that Josephus was mistaken in this particular, than in every thing else. He might be misinformed about the time when Pilate got to Rome, but he could not well be ignorant of some of the most remarkable events in his own country; that is, when Pilate left Judea, when Caiaphas, and his successor Jonathan, were put out of the high-priest's office.

But there is no reason to suppose, this particular is inconsistent with the other circumstances mentioned in this relation. Mr. Whiston indeed can allow but a month or six weeks between the time of Pilate's removal out of his office, and his arrival at Rome: but it ought to be considered, that Pilate was not sent to Rome in order to take possession

[q] I suppose, that Mr. Whiston herein follows Dio, unless it be a fault of the press: but, according to Suetonius and Tacitus, Tiberius died the 16th of March. Vid. Pagi, Crit. in Baron. A. D. 37. n. ii.

[r] Whiston's Short View of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists, p. 139.

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of a kingdom, or some new ample province, but to answer for his conduct in his late government. Nor was he sent express; nor was he recalled by the emperor himself: but he was sent away by Vitellius, a fellow-subject, though a superior officer. Josephus says, that 'Pilate hastened away 'to Rome.' I have given his words the strongest sense in the translation; but I think, the meaning is no more than that he went away out of Judea. And Josephus intimates very plainly, the reluctance with which Pilate obeyed Vitellius, when he says, that he went, 'not daring to refuse.'

There was, if I mistake not, some law under the commonwealth, which required the governors of provinces to be at Rome in three months time after their term of government was expired; but whether that law was in force now, I cannot say. However, it is plain it was not observed: Piso's conduct is a proof of it. Germanicus died in November, or[s] sooner; as may be inferred from Suetonius, who says, 'that the public sorrow for his death at Rome con-'tinued even through the holy days of December:'[t] meaning, I suppose, the Saturnalia, which were celebrated in the middle of that month. And as Germanicus died in Syria, some time must be allowed for the carrying the news of his death from thence to Rome. Piso was gone from the province of Syria before the death of Germanicus; it is most probable, that he was turned out by Germanicus;[u] and yet he was not come to Rome at the time of the Megalensian games of the next year, which were kept on the fifth of April. It is true, the people of Rome were very uneasy at these delays of Piso; because they wanted to have him brought to his trial for the death of Germanicus, whom he was thought to have poisoned; but yet I do not perceive, that when[w] his trial came on, his long absence from Rome is reckoned up amongst his other crimes.

And to add no more, the slowness of Tiberius in all his

[s] Basnage [Ann. Pol. Ec. Vol. i. p. 221.] supposes he died in July. Decimo quinto Julii Germanicum vitam cum morte commutâsse ex Tacito conjecturam facimus. Equester ordo instituit, uti turmæ idibus Juliis imaginem ejus sequerentur. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 83.

[t] Sed ut demum fato functum palam factum est, non solatiis ullis, non edictis ullis inhiberi luctus publicus potuit, duravitque etiam per festos Decembris mensis dies. Suet. in Calig. cap. 6.

[u] Addunt plerique jussum [Pisonem] provinciâ decedere. Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 70.

[w] Et quia ludorum Megalensium spectaculum suberat, etiam voluptates resumerent. Tum exuto justitio, reditum ad munia; et Drusus Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est, erectis omnium animis petendæ a Pisone ultionis; et crebro questu, quod vagus interim per amœna Asiæ atque Achaiæ, adroganti et subdolâ morâ scelerum probationes subverteret. Tacit. Ann. l. iii. cap. 6, 7.

[w] Id. ibid. cap. 13

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proceedings may help us to account for Pilate's delays in going to Rome, though it be supposed that he made a year and a half of it.

Josephus says, that Tiberius was the most dilatory prince that ever lived.[x] His conduct toward Herod Agrippa affords a strong proof of it. A servant of Agrippa waited upon the prefect of Rome, assuring him he had some informations of great consequence to give the emperor relating to his master: the prefect sent him to Tiberius, but he, without making any particular inquiry into the matter, only keeps the man safe in custody. Agrippa lying under the emperor's displeasure, was forced to make interest to have his servant heard: and though he then informed the emperor of words spoken by Agrippa, which were little less than treason, and Agrippa was immediately thereupon confined; yet he was never called for again, though Tiberius lived six months[y] after. Tacitus has mentioned another instance well nigh, or quite as remarkable.[z] This slow way of thinking and acting was visible in Tiberius in his very youth;[a] and no historian of those times is silent about it. Pilate, who had served Tiberius ten years, could not be ignorant of what all the world knew; he might have many probable reasons to think, that if he did not come in the emperor's way, he should never be called for; if inquiry was made for him, an excuse might be found out that would serve for some time: sickness might be pretended, as a reason for his stay in Asia, Achaia, or some other place where he was got. Perhaps this was really the case. To be put out of his government by Vitellius, upon the complaints of the people of his province, must have been a very grievous mortification: Eusebius assures us, that not long after this, Pilate made away with himself, out of vexation for his many misfortunes.[b]

There is another note of time mentioned in St. John's gospel, which ought also to be considered. Chap. ii. 20,

[x] *Μελλητης ει και τις ἑτερων βασιλεων η τυραννων γενομενος.* Antiq. lib. xviii. p. 811. v. 3.

[y] Joseph. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 7.

[z] Consultusque Cæsar an sepeliri sineret, (De Asinio Gallo loquitur,) non erubuit permittere, ultroque incusare casus, qui reum abstulissent antequam coram convinceretur. Scilicet medio triennio defuerat tempus subeundi judicium consulari seni tot consularium parenti. Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 23.

[a] Sæva ac lenta natura ne in puero quidem latuit. Sueton. in Tiber. cap. 57. Sed mitigavit Sejanus, non Galli amore, verum ut cunctationes principis aperirentur; gnarus eum lentum in meditando. Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 71.

[b] *Ποντιος Πιλατος επι Γαΐῳ Καισαρος ποικιλαις περιπεσων συμφοραις, ὡς φασιν οἱ τα Ῥωμαιων συγγραψαμενοι, αυτοφονευτης ἑαυτῳ εγενετο.* Euseb. Chron. p. 78.

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" Then said the Jews, forty and six years was this temple in building: and wilt thou rear it up in three days?"

I suppose, that the objection to be formed upon this text is to this effect: these words were spoken by the Jews at the first passover of our Saviour's public ministry, and the next after his baptism by John. The temple which the Jews spoke of, was the temple then before their eyes, and which Herod had rebuilt or repaired. But Herod did not make the proposal for rebuilding it till the eighteenth year of his reign, reckoning from the death of Antigonus. Therefore, if the fifteenth of Tiberius's reign, mentioned by St. Luke, be the fifteenth of his proconsular empire, and not of his sole empire after the death of Augustus, this temple could not have been so long as forty-six years in building, at the time these words were spoken.

To this I might answer, that an objection taken from Josephus's account of the time when Herod repaired the temple can be of little moment; because in one place he says, that Herod repaired the temple in the fifteenth,[c] and in another the eighteenth year[d] of his reign. As the fifteenth year from the death of Antigonus is supposed to be coincident with the eighteenth year from the time in which Herod was declared king of Judea by the senate of Rome; some may be disposed to conclude, that when Josephus says, Herod's proposal to rebuild the temple was made to the Jews in the eighteenth year of his reign, he computes from the time in which Herod was declared king by the Roman senate.

But I do not insist upon this, and am willing to allow, that Herod made the proposal to the Jews of building their temple, in the eighteenth year of his reign from the death of Antigonus.

And I think it is as likely, that the Jews, in these words recorded by St. John, refer to the time of Herod's proposal, as to the time in which he began actually to repair the temple. It is most probable, that Herod made this offer to the Jewish people, when assembled together at one of their great feasts; this therefore would be the most solemn and remarkable epoch of rebuilding the temple, which work undoubtedly he set about as soon afterwards as he could.

And it is very common to say, that men do things, when they propose to do them, or begin to do them. Thus Josephus says in his War of the Jews: 'In the fifteenth year 'of his reign he [Herod] repaired the temple itself, and in-'closed a spot of ground about it, of double the compass

[c] De Bell. lib. i. cap. 21. init. [d] Ant. lib. xv. cap. 11. init.

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'with that which surrounded it before: this was done at a 'vast expence, and is a proof of his uncommon magnifi-'cence.'[e] We will allow, that the fifteenth year in this place ought to be corrected by his Antiquities, where he says, that 'in the eighteenth year of his reign Herod pro-'jected [or undertook] the rebuilding of the temple, which 'was the greatest of all his works.'[f] But then it appears from hence, that Herod is said by Josephus in one place to do, what in another he is only said at the same time to purpose or begin.

Supposing that the Jews, in this text of St. John, refer to the time in which Herod made the proposal of rebuilding the temple, we will see how this term of forty-six years will agree with the supposition, that St. Luke's fifteenth year of Tiberius is the fifteenth of his proconsular empire.

If the fifteenth of Tiberius's proconsular empire began the 28th of August, A. U. 778, A. D. 25, (according to Dr. Pagi's opinion,) and if John the Baptist began to preach in November that year, but did not baptize Jesus till after he had preached a year and some months, then the passover at which these words were spoken was the passover A. U. 780, A. D. 27.

Or if the fifteenth of Tiberius's reign began A. U. 779, A. D. 26, and John began then to preach, and Jesus was baptized by him some time before the passover next following, still these words would be spoke by the Jews at the passover A. U. 780, A. D. 27.

The eighteenth year of Herod's reign, from the death of Antigonus, is supposed to have begun some time in A. U. 734. Herod might make his offer to the Jews of rebuilding the temple at the feast of tabernacles in November that year; from November A. U. 734, to the passover, A. U. 780, A. D. 27, is almost forty-five years and a half: at this time therefore the Jews might not improperly say, the temple had been forty-six years in building. The forty-sixth year was then current, and it was to the purpose of the Jews, rather to add to than to diminish the time which had been spent in that work: so that there is no time more suitable to these words of the Jews than the passover A. D. 27, though there is no manner of inconsistence between under-

[e] Πεντεκαιδεκατῳ γεν ετει της βασιλειας, αυτον τε τον ναον επεσκευασε, και την περι αυτον ανετειχισατο χωραν, της ȣσης διπλασιαν, αμετροις μεν χρησαμενος τοις αναλωμασιν, ανυπερβλητῳ δε τῃ πολυτελειᾳ. De Bell. lib. i. cap. 21. init.

[f] Τοτε γεν οκτωκαιδεκατȣ της Ἡρωδȣ βασιλειας γεγονοτος ενιαυτȣ,——εργον ȣ το τυχον επεβαλετο, τον νεων τȣ Θεȣ δι' αυτȣ κατασκευασασθαι. Ant. lib. xv. cap. 11. init.

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standing the fifteenth of Tiberius, of his proconsular empire, and supposing that these words were spoken at the passover A. D. 28, and then the temple might have been above forty-six years in building.

What has been here said, may be sufficient to show, that St. Luke might compute the reign of Tiberius from the epoch of his proconsular empire; that if he did, Jesus might be said, with great exactness and propriety, to be about thirty years of age at his baptism; and that there is nothing in this supposition, inconsistent with any other notes of time mentioned in the gospels.

IV. Another way of solving this difficulty is this. These words of St. Luke, "And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age," may be understood with some latitude. Jesus might be thirty[g] two years of age or more at this time; the word about, ωσει, is often used where a precise exactness is not intended or expected, Matt. xiv. 21, "And they that had eaten were *about* five thousand, ωσει πεντακισχιλιοι, beside women and children." And the other evangelists, in speaking of this miracle, use the same phrase, Mark vi. 44; Luke ix. 14; John vi. 10; St. Luke says, Acts ii. 41, "And the same day there were added unto them about [ωσει] three thousand souls." And with a like latitude does this phrase seem to be used in many places, as Luke i. 56; xxii. 41; xxiii. 44; John i. 39; Acts v. 36.

It is Kepler's opinion, that round and decimal numbers may be used with great latitude; and that a person may be very truly said to be about thirty years of age, if he be above five and twenty, and under thirty-five; but that, if a person be said to be about eight and twenty, or about two and thirty years of age, it is to be supposed, he is exactly so old, or not above a month or two more or less.[h]

And indeed many examples of this use of round num-

[g] Ex nostrâ quidem Chronologiâ, sequitur Christum jam annum xxxii. evasisse cum ad baptismum accessit. Nil tamen in eâ vel absurdi, vel pugnæ aliquid cum Lucâ intelligimus, cum de viro annos duos et triginta nato, cujus ætas dubitanter profertur, non incongrue dici possit, est annorum circiter triginta.—Iterum iterumque monemus, ex phrasi Lucæ, Josephi de supremo Herodis anno chronologiâ damnari nequit. Basnage, Ann. Pol. Ec. Ante Dom. 3. n. vi. vid. etiam ad A. D. 30. num. iv.

[h] Hic receptus mos est linguis omnibus ut circiter 5000 dicamus quicquid est inter 4500 et 5500. Quare sic etiam in nostro exemplo quicquid est inter 25 et 35, id omne circiter 30 dici potest. Alia esset voculæ ratio, si præfixisset numero non rotundo. Ut si dixisset circiter 28 annos, vel circiter 32 annos. Quæ enim infra decem nominatim exprimuntur, iis apposita vocula *circiter* raro unum annum solidum in dubio ponat, sed fere menses tantum aut dies aliquot numero paucos et infra quantitatem anni solidi. Keplerus de Anno C. Natali. cap. 12. p. 140, 141.

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bers may be found in the[1] best writers, even without the particle ὡσει, about: which of itself seems to be a hint, that the writer does intend to be understood with some latitude.

If we may take St. Luke's words in this manner, there is scarce any need that I should trouble the reader with any calculation, to show the agreement of his numbers with the time of our Saviour's nativity.

The fifteenth of Tiberius's sole empire began A. U. 781, A. D. 28. If Jesus was baptized the 6th January, A. U. 782, A. D. 29, he would be but some months above thirty-three years of age, though he was born so soon as September A. U. 748. And if he was born A. U. 749, then, though his baptism be placed in the beginning of A. U. 783, A. D. 30, still he would be little more than thirty-three years of age.

All the other notes of time in the gospels are also very easily reconciled with the 15th of Tiberius's sole empire. Pontius Pilate came into Judea before the passover in the 12th year of Tiberius's sole empire, A. U. 779, A. D. 26, as has been shown, and continued there ten years: therefore he was undoubtedly governor of Judea at the commencement of John the Baptist's ministry, and till after our Saviour's crucifixion.

As for those words of the Jews spoken by them at the first passover of our Saviour's ministry, "Forty-six years has this temple been in building:" it is but to suppose that they referred not to the time when Herod made the proposal of repairing the temple in the eighteenth year of his reign, but to the time when in pursuance of that proposal he actually set about the work, after he had got all things in a readiness for it, and it will be easily perceived that these words are agreeable to truth.

I do not presume to determine which of these two solutions is the justest; or whether St. Luke intended the fif-

[1] Ab illo enim profectu viribus datis tantum valuit, ut in *quadraginta* deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Livius, l. i. cap. 15. n. 7. This refers to Numa's reign, of which afterwards Livy says:—Romulus, septem et triginta regnavit annos, Numa *tres et quadraginta.* Ibid. c. 21. When the city of Rome was taken by the Gauls, and the remnant of the people were entering into the Capitol, Livy uses these words: Versa inde adhortationes ad agmen juvenum: quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequebantur, commendantes virtuti eorum juventæque urbis per *trecentos sexaginta* annos omnibus bellis victricis,——fortunam. Id. liv. v. cap. 40. Camillus, not long after, in the very same year, in his speech to dissuade them from removing to Veii, says, *trecentesimus sexagesimus quintus* annus urbis, Quirites, agitur. Ibid. cap. 54 vid. eundem, lib. vi. cap. 28. n. 7. et Joan. Cleric. notas.

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teenth of Tiberius's proconsular empire, when he was made colleague with Augustus, or the fifteenth of his sole empire. In order to do this, it would be needful, as I apprehend, to consider the time allotted by the evangelists to the ministry of John the Baptist and our Saviour, the chronology of the Acts of the Apostles, compared with some passages in the epistles, and also the testimonies of the ancient christian writers. As I have not here room for all these premises, it may be best to wave the conclusion. All I shall say at present is, that the supposition that St. Luke intended the former of these two epochs, seems to be very much favoured by the first christians; who generally place the crucifixion of Jesus at the passover of the fifteenth of Tiberius's sole empire, when the two Gemini were consuls of Rome, A. D. 29: and that their testimonies are of great weight with me. I subjoin in the margin[k] a few of them, for the sake of those who may happen to be unacquainted with these matters.

I apprehend, that each of these is a very good solution of the objection stated at the beginning of this chapter, though I believe many will think, it is there stated by me in a manner very favourable to an objector. Nay, I imagine I have said what is sufficient to satisfy any reasonable person, that there does not lie any objection against any notes of time mentioned by the evangelists from the chronology of other ancient writers. This is sufficient to my present purpose.

I have nothing farther to add here beside this one observation.

It is no disparagement to the sacred historians, that we are somewhat at a loss to settle precisely the very year of some of those events which they have related. Many important facts related by the best historians are attended with chronological difficulties: I shall give but one instance, an instance, with which we are nearly concerned. Josephus was a man of a learned education, is a professed writer of

[k] Hujus [*Tiberii*] quinto decimo anno imperii passus est Christus.—Quæ passio hujus exterminii intra tempora LXX. hebdomadarum perfecta est sub Tiberio Cæsare, Coss. Rubellio Gemino et Rufio Gemino, mense Martio, temporibus Paschæ. Tertul. advers. Jud. cap. 8. Atque exinde usque ad annum quintum decimum Tiberii Cæsaris, quando passus est Christus, numerantur anni sexaginta. Africanus, apud Hieron. Dan. C. ix. Qui fuit sub imperio Tiberii Cæsaris; cujus anno quinto decimo, id est, duobus Geminis consulibus—Judæi Christum cruci affixerant. Lactant. Inst. lib. iv. cap. 10. Extremis temporibus Tiberii Cæsaris, ut scriptum legimus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus a Judæis cruciatus est,—duobus Geminis consulibus. De Mort. Persecut. cap. 2.

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history, of the civil and sacred history of his country, and is generally allowed to be an accurate writer. He has expressly mentioned two epochs of the commencement of Herod's reign, and has given us an account of his death, and the duration of his government: he has written the history of the whole reign of this prince: he has related the series of events, and the succession of the princes and governors of Judea before and after Herod: he has put down the years of the Olympiads, and the names of the consuls, when some of the most remarkable of these events happened. Nor have all Roman and Greek historians been silent about Herod or his descendants, and the Jewish affairs, near this time; not to mention Talmudical, or other Jewish authors. And yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, whether through prejudice, or want of sufficient light, it has happened, that learned men have differed widely about the time of Herod's death, and are not yet come to a full agreement.

CHAP. IV.

OF ANNAS AND CAIAPHAS.

I. *The difficulty relating to their being both high-priests at the same time considered.* II. *Of Caiaphas being high-priest that year, in which Jesus was crucified.*

I. WE have another objection against the account St. Luke gives of the government Judea was under, when John the Baptist began to preach. Ch. iii. 1, 2, "Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee;—*Annas and Caiaphas being the high-priests,* the word of God came unto John."

It is objected, that it appears from the books of the Old Testament, the writings of Josephus and other Jews, that there was but one high-priest among the Jews at a time: St. Luke therefore has been mistaken in saying, that Annas and Caiaphas were both high-priests.

Much has been written upon this subject, and learned

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men[a] have been of divers opinions. I hope I may be excused, if in this place I depart from the method I usually take in considering these objections, and do not set down all the sentiments of writers upon this point.

I shall here therefore do little more than deliver my own sentiments concerning this matter in a few particulars; which, I hope, will contain a sufficient answer to the objection.

1. It would be extremely unreasonable to impute to St. Luke so great a mistake, as the supposing, that there were properly two high-priests among the Jews at the same time. He appears in the rest of his history well acquainted with Jewish affairs. It is plain, that he knew very well there was one who was in the office of high-priest; ch. xxii. 50, "And one of them smote the servant of the *high-priest*."—54, "Then took they him and led him, and brought him to the *high-priest's* house."

2. It is likely, that the power which the Jewish people were possessed of under the Romans, was lodged chiefly in the hands of two persons; and it may be supposed the Jews chose to have it so. When they had resolved upon the war with the Romans, Josephus says: 'They assembled in the 'temple, and appointed several generals; and Joseph the 'son of Gorion, and the high-priest Ananus, were chosen 'to be supreme governors[b] of all things in the city.' I have not observed this passage quoted by any upon this occasion: whether it be material or not the reader will judge; but it has inclined me to suppose, that about this time there were usually among the Jews two persons, to whom the government was chiefly committed. I must however advertise the reader, that Ananus, here called high-priest, was not then in the office of the priesthood.

3. Since Caiaphas was now properly high-priest, and Annas had been so: if the latter was now in some post of authority, they might be both said very properly to be high-priests at this time. Josephus often calls Saturninus and Volumnius presidents or governors of Syria,[c] though Satur-

[a] Vid. Baron. Ann. A. D. 31. num. 8.——Casaubon in Baron. Exerc. xiii. num. 5. Selden. de Success. in Pontif. lib. i. cap. 12. Hammond. Annot. cum multis aliis.

[b] *Και συναθροισθεντες εις το ιερον, στρατηγους απεδειξαν τε πολεμε πλειονας· ηρεθη δε Ιωσηπος υιος Γωριωνος, και ὁ αρχιερευς Ανανος, των τε κατα την πολιν απαντων αυτοκρατορες, και μαλιστα τα τειχη της πολεως ανεγειρειν.* De Bell. lib. ii. c. 20. sect. 3.

[c] *Πολλακις μεν επι Σατερνινον ελθοντα και Ουολεμνιον τους Συριας ηγεμονας.* Ant. lib. xvi. cap. 10. p. 741. v. 1, 2. *Τοις Καισαρος ηγεμοσιν Σατερνινῳ τε και Ουολεμνιῳ,—επι τε Σατερνινε και Ουολεμνιῳ των Συριας επιστατευντων* ib. cap. 9. p. 734. v. 25, et 37.

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ninus only was president, and Volumnius the emperor's procurator, that is, the officer that took care of the revenue.

There happened a disturbance between the Jews and the Samaritans in the reign of Claudius: Cumanus the procurator of Judea was not able to compose it; appeals were made to Quadratus president of Syria. He having punished several, 'sent two others of the most powerful men of the 'Jews, as also *the high-priests* Jonathan and Ananias, and 'Ananus the son of this last-mentioned person, and some 'other considerable men, to Cæsar.'[d] I take this passage of Josephus (which has been often cited by learned men) to be very near parallel with St. Luke's.

Jonathan had been high-priest, but had been put out long before now by [e]Vitellius: Ananias was[f] now high-priest. In like manner, in the case in question, Annas had formerly been high-priest, but Caiaphas was now in that office.

I am the more inclined to think Josephus's style here parallel with St. Luke's, because it appears from another place, where Josephus mentions this affair, that Ananus, the third person named, was then captain of the temple.[g] From whence I conclude, that the three persons here mentioned, were then in the three chief posts of the Jewish civil and sacred government. He speaks indeed of two others, whom he calls the most powerful of the Jews; but I apprehend they were so only in respect of their influence: it is reasonable to suppose, that the persons named were in the most eminent stations.

There is another particular in which these two passages are parallel: Jonathan, who had been high-priest, is named before Ananias, then in office: the two names stand in the same order in St. Luke. I suppose, that these propositions may afford a clear solution of this difficulty.

The learned Selden conjectures, that Annas and Caiaphas are not mentioned in this place by St. Luke, on account of any sacred function they discharged, but as they were the two persons who had then the chief authority under the Romans in the civil administration of the Jewish affairs: that Annas was now prince of the sanhedrim, and Caiaphas the father of it; and that therefore Annas is first named, as being in the more honourable station in the civil govern-

[d] Δυο δε ἑτερους των δυνατωτατων, και τους αρχιερεις Ιωνάθην και Ανανιαν, τον τε τουτου παιδα Ανανον,—ανεπεμψεν επι Καισαρα. De Bell. lib. ii. cap. xii. sect. 6. [e] Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 6. sect. 3.

[f] Ib. lib. xx. cap. 4. p. 886. v. 41. [g] Ib. lib. xx. cap. 5. p. 889. v. 36.

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urent. He supposes, that these two posts might then be annual; that Annas was prince of the sanhedrim when John the Baptist began his ministry, and that Caiaphas was prince when our Saviour was crucified. And therefore St. John says particularly, ch. xi. 49, 51, that Caiaphas was high-priest "that same year:" but that afterwards, when Peter and John were called before the council, Annas, who is first named, [Acts iv. 6.] was prince, and Caiaphas father of the sanhedrim.[h]

Selden offers these thoughts as conjectures only. I hope, therefore, it will not be deemed presumption to be of another mind, or to offer some different thoughts upon this subject.

As Caiaphas was now in the office of the priesthood, when John the Baptist began his ministry, I suppose that Caiaphas is mentioned by St. Luke on account of the high-priesthood, and the civil authority joined with it; and that the Jewish government being at this time under the Romans aristocratical, Annas is mentioned, together with Caiaphas, as being the other chief person in the Jewish administration: but I am of opinion, that we have not sufficient light at present to determine what post of honour Annas was in, though that of prince of the sanhedrim be as likely as any. However, I cannot easily persuade myself, that during the Jews' subjection to the Romans, the prince of the sanhedrim, or any other Jew not in the high-priesthood, was equal, much less superior to him who enjoyed that office; unless when there was some Jewish prince appointed governor of the temple by the Roman emperor. If Josephus's authority be sufficient to decide this matter, it is plain the high-priest had the chief power in the Jewish nation under the Romans:

[h] Hinc, si conjecturæ venia detur, existimârim, Annam et Caiapham pontifices simul a D. Lucâ dictos, non quâ sacræ functionis dignitas illo nomine denotatur, sed quâ civilis eorum administratio, ut et cæterorum quibuscum conjunguntur, ad ipsum annum, de quo verba ibi fiunt, indicandum denotaretur. Scilicet Annam tunc fuisse synedrii principem, Caiapham vero ejusdem patrem. Ita demum cur Caiaphas, quem sacram dignitatem ipsam, velut Aharonis successorem, gessisse intervallo illo ex Josepho docemur, Annæ postponatur, ratio non inepta reddi potest. Etenim principi synedrii pater synedrii erat semper secundarius. Sed vero nec principis nec patris synedrii munus semper perpetuum erat, sed ab alio ad alium, pro re natâ translatum. Quod ex titulo Talmudico Horaijoth, cap. iii. aliisque magistrorum commentariis elicitur. Et forsan tunc temporis annuum erat. Atque illinc forsan altera illa quæstio de Caiaphæ pontificatu suo anno apud D. Joannem designato solvenda. Adeo ut anno Tiberii xv. seu in loco D. Lucæ, Annas esset princeps synedrii, Caiphas pater, anno vero passionis Annas pater, Caiaphas princeps; postmodum vero Annas, inter suos utpote eminentissimus, itidem princeps, et Caiaphas pater, ut in Actorum quarto. Selden, de Suc. in Pontif. lib. i. cap. 12.

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this may be concluded from hence, that he has preserved the succession of the high-priests, and of them only, to the destruction of the temple. But if there had been, after the removal of Archelaus, any persons in an office of superior authority to the high-priest, he would have also given us their names: we should also, in all probability, have met with some accounts, in his history, of the putting out of these officers by the Roman governors, when they did not behave to satisfaction. And indeed Josephus seems to me expressly to say, that the high-priest was the chief person in the Jewish nation under the Romans. Having at the conclusion of his Antiquities reckoned up the Jewish high-priests, he says: 'Some of these administered affairs under 'Herod the king, and his son Archelaus: after their death 'the administration was aristocratical, but the president-'ship of the nation was committed to the high-priests.'[i]

Farther, I apprehend no mystery at all in the order in which these two persons are named by St. Luke. Ancient writers seem not to be very solicitous about the order in which they name persons who are near equal.[k] I suppose that Caiaphas was at this time chief in dignitv and authority in the government: but that nevertheless, there is no absurdity or impropriety in naming Annas first, inasmuch as he was father-in-law to Caiaphas, and was past the priesthood.

II. It will perhaps be expected I should here say somewhat to a text of St. John, which has a relation to this matter, and which does appear at first to be a very difficult place. John xi. 49—52, "And one of them named Caiaphas, being *high-priest*[l] *that same year*, said unto them, ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the

[i] Και τινες μεν αυτων επολιτευσαντο επι τε Ἡρωδυ βασιλευοντος, και επι Αρχελαυ τυ παιδος αυτυ· μετα δε την τυτων τελευτην, αριστοκρατια μεν ην ἡ πολιτεια, την δε προσασιαν τυ εθνους οἱ αρχιερεις πεπιστευοντο. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 9. fin.

[k] Thus Herodotus says, that Cambyses was the son of Cyrus and Cassandana; and presently after, that he was son of this woman and Cyrus. Παρελαβε την βασιληϊην Καμβυσης, Κυρυ εων παις και Κασσανδανης·—ταυτης δε της γυναικος ων παις και Κυρυ Καμβυσης. Euterp. init. Josephus says, Herod had two sons by a Samaritan woman, namely, Antipas and Archelaus. Soon after Archelaus is mentioned first, την δε κἀκ τυ Σαμαρεων εθνους μια, και παιδες αυτῃ Αντιπας και Αρχελαος—Αρχελαος δε και Αντιπας επι Ῥωμης παρα τινι ιδιωτῃ τροφας ειχον. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 1. sect. 3. Josephus says again, that Herod called to the council at Berytus, Salome and Pheroras, De Bell. l. i. c. 27. sect. 3. Afterwards Tero the old soldier complains to Herod, that he hearkened to Pheroras and Salome against his own sons, ib. sect. 4.

[l] Αρχιερευς ων τυ ενιαυτυ εκεινυ.

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whole nation perish not. And this spake he, not of himself: but being[m] *high-priest that year, he prophesied*, that Jesus should die for that nation; and not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad."

There are here two things which need to be explained; first, why Caiaphas is said to be high-priest "that same year:" and secondly, what is meant by his "prophesying," being "high-priest."

Some have thought, that the phrase, "being high-priest that year," implies that St. John supposed the high-priesthood was annual; and upon this account they have been willing to charge him with a great mistake: for Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea ten years, and Caiaphas was put into the priesthood by Valerius Gratus, Pilate's predecessor, and continued in it till after Pilate's removal. Selden thought, that by high-priest, is meant the chief man of that nation, and particularly the prince of the sanhedrim, which post might be at that time annual. For my own part, I think, "that year" (as it ought to have been rendered, and as the same phrase is rendered, ver. 51, and not "that same year") denotes no more than "at that time." It is very common to put 'years' and 'days' in the plural number, for time. Ezek. xxxviii. 8, "After many *days* thou shalt be visited: in the latter *years* thou shalt come into the land that is brought back from the sword," &c. Mal. iii. 4, "Then shall the offerings of Judah be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the *days* of old, and as in the former *years*." There are other texts perhaps more apposite to our purpose. Deut. xxvi. 3, "And thou shalt go unto the priest that shall be in *those days*." Josh. xx. 6, "And he shall dwell in that city, until the death of the high-priest that shall be in *those days*." Philo uses the word day in the singular number, in the same manner: speaking of the trial of jealousy, he says, the man and the woman shall go up to the temple, 'and the man standing before the altar shall declare the 'cause of his jealousy in the presence of him who is priest 'at that[n] day.' All that St. John says therefore is, that Caiaphas was high-priest at that time, or the high-priest of that time. And if we ought to suppose any thing emphatical in the expression, [which yet I cannot see,] I apprehend it arises from the distance between the time of the event and the writing. St. John writing his gospel a con-

[m] Αλλα *αρχιερευς ων τυ ενιαυτυ εκεινυ, προεφητευσεν.*

[n] Και *ὁ μεν ανηρ τας αντιερυ τυ βωμυ, παροντος τυ και' εκεινην την ἡμεραν ἱερωμενυ, δηλυτω την ὑπονοιαν αμα. κ. λ.* De Legibus Special. p. 785. C.

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siderable time after the crucifixion of Jesus, when many might be supposed to be ignorant who was then high-priest; and there having been under the Romans frequent removals made in that office; it was natural enough for him to express this circumstance with some peculiar emphasis, or to mention it more than once.

The other difficulty to be considered lies in the words, "being high-priest that year he prophesied." Here I cannot perceive the sense of this observation, supposing, with Selden, high-priest to stand for prince of the sanhedrim. By prophesying I understand in this place, declaring the event; which it was in a peculiar manner the office of the priest to do, when he was inquired of, or when God was inquired of[o] by him, concerning any important matters under deliberation. Thus Josephus says: 'But the Philis-'tines, when they heard that the Hebrews had made David 'king, brought forth their army against him.—But the king[p] 'of the Jews (for he allowed not himself to do any thing 'without prophesy, and the command of God, and assurance 'of the event from him) required the high-priest to foretell 'him, what was the will of God, and what would be the 'issue of the battle. When he had prophesied victory and 'power, he led out his forces against the Philistines.' And presently after, 'The king[q] of the Israelites inquiring again 'of God, concerning the event of the battle, the high-priest 'prophesied,' that he should do so and so, and then would have a sure and easy victory; referring to the story told 2 Sam. v. 22—25.

Let us now apply these remarks in a general paraphrase of this text of St. John. Some of the council, of a different opinion from those whose words are recorded, ver. 48, having, as may be supposed, from considerations taken from the dispositions of the people, the temper of the Roman gover-

[o] "Then the king sent to call Abimelech the *priest* the son of Ahitub.—And Saul said unto him, Why have ye conspired against me, thou and the son of Jesse,—and hast *inquired* of God for him?" 1 Sam. xxii. 11—13. "And David said to Abiathar the *priest*, Bring hither the ephod. Then said David, O Lord God of Israel,—Will the men of Keilah deliver me into his hand? Will Saul come down, as thy servant hath heard? And the Lord said, he will come down," 1 Sam. xxiii. 9—11. "And when Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor *by Urim*, nor by prophets," ch. xxviii. 6.

[p] Ὁ δε των Ιουδαιων βασιλευς· ιδειν γαρ ανευ προφητειας, και τω κελευσαι τον Θεον, και περι των εσομενων λαβειν εγγυητην εκεινον, ἑαυτῳ ποιειν επετρεπεν, εκελευσε τον αρχιερεα, τι δοκει τῳ Θεῳ, και ποδαπον εσται το της μαχης τελος, προλεγειν αυτῳ· προφητευσαντος δε νικην και κρατος, εξαγει την δυναμιν επι τους Παλαιστινους. Ant. lib. vii. cap. 4. sect. 1.

[q] Παλιν δε τω βασιλεως των Ισραηλιτων ερομενω τον Θεον, περι την μαχην εξοδω, προφητευει ὁ αρχιερευς, κ. λ. ibid.

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nor, and other circumstances of their affairs, expressed some doubts about the success of a prosecution of Jesus, and the consequences of taking away his life: 'Caiaphas, who was 'the high-priest at that time, when it came to his turn to 'deliver his opinion, said, You have hitherto talked very 'weakly and ignorantly; you may proceed in the case be-'fore you without hesitation. The taking[r] away the life 'of this man will be so far from being ruinous to the whole 'nation in this country and in other parts, as some of you 'fear, that it will be much for the advantage of the people 'of God every where. This however he said, not merely 'of himself, but being then high-priest, he foretold the is-'sue and event of their counsels, and of the death of Jesus: 'and that it[s] would come to pass that Jesus would die for 'that nation, and not for that nation only, but that through 'his death, he would also gather together in one the chil-'dren of God which were scattered abroad.'

CHAP. V.

OF THE DIFFERENT NAMES GIVEN TO HERODIAS'S FIRST HUSBAND BY THE EVANGELISTS AND JOSEPHUS.

I COME now to consider the difficulty hinted above,[a] arising from the different names given by the evangelists and Josephus to the first husband of Herodias; whom they call Philip, Josephus, Herod. I need not transcribe here the passages of the gospels, Matt. xiv. 3; Mark vi. 17; Luke iii. 19, or of Josephus, relating to this affair. If the reader will be pleased to look back[b] he will find what is sufficient for the purpose.

As Josephus, speaking of this unlawful marriage of Herod the tetrarch and Herodias, calls her first husband Herod; so it is certain, that according to him, Philip, whom St. Luke, ch. iii. 1, styles "tetrarch of Iturea and the region of Trachonitis," could not be the person: for Josephus says, that Herodias's daughter Salome was married to Philip,

[r] Ὑμεις ουκ οιδατε ουδεν· ουδε διαλογιζεσθε ὁτι συμφερει ὑμιν, ἱνα εἱς ανθρωπος αποθανῃ ὑπερ του λαου, και μη ὁλον το εθνος απολητα.

[s] Προεφητευσεν ὁτι εμελλεν ὁ Ιησους αποθνησκειν ὑπερ του εθνους, κ. λ.

[a] P. 19. note (r). [b] P. 19—21.

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Herod's son, the tetrarch[c] of Trachonitis. Nor is there any mention made in Josephus of any other son of Herod the Great, who was called Philip, beside the fore-mentioned tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis.

I have no reason to say any thing more of Philip the tetrarch, than I have done already; having shown in another place,[d] that St. Luke has given a just account of him. But I will here give a brief history of Herod, to whom Josephus says Herodias was first married; because I apprehend it may be needful for some readers, and it will be of great use to us upon this occasion.

Herod was the son of Herod the Great by Mariamne, daughter of Simon the high-priest. After Herod the Great had killed his two sons Alexander and Aristobulus, he repented of what he had done, and resolved to take special care of their children. And in particular, he contracted Herodias, daughter of Aristobulus, to the above-mentioned Herod.[e] There happened indeed afterwards some alterations in the dispositions made by Herod the Great at this time; but, however, this[f] contract remained good, as may be concluded from hence; that this contract is not mentioned among those alterations, and because in the account Josephus gives of Herod the tetrarch's unlawful marriage with Herodias, her first husband, whom she left in his lifetime, is expressly said to be Herod son of Mariamne the high-priest's daughter.

Herod the Great in one of his wills, made after this contract, appointed the said Herod his successor, in case Antipater should die before him. But afterwards, in the inquiries concerning Antipater's design to poison his father, it appeared that Mariamne, mother of Herod, had been concerned in the same design: whereupon Herod the Great put away Mariamne, altered the clause of his will relating to her son, and took away the priesthood from her father[g] Simon. After this we hear no more of Herod, till we have the accounts of Herodias's leaving him.

Here then lies our difficulty. The evangelists call He-

[c] Ἡ δε θυγατηρ αυτης Σαλωμη Φιλιππῳ γαμειται, Ἡρωδε παιδι, τῳ τετραρχῃ της Τραχωνιτιδος. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 6. sect. 4.

[d] Page 18.

[e] Ενεγγυητο τε εις γαμον,—την δε ἑτεραν των Αριστοβυλε θυγατερων, Ηρωδῃ, παιδι τῳ αυτε· γινεται δε τῳ βασιλει εκ της τε αρχιερεως θυγατρος. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 1. p. 751. v. 1. vid. etiam p. 1027. v. 36.

[f] Vid. Joseph. p. 751. v. 20. p. 1028. v. 35.

[g] Και δια ταδε Ἡρωδης εκεινην τε εξεβαλε, και τον υἱον αυτης εξηλειψε των διαθηκων, εις το βασιλευσαι μεμνημενων εκεινυ και τον πενθερον την αρχιερωσυνην αφειλατο Σιμωνα, τον τε Βοηθε. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. iv. p. 757. v. 43. vid. etiam p. 1032. v. 33.

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rodias's first husband Philip. It is objected, that they must mean Philip the tetrarch. But it is plain from Josephus, that Philip the tetrarch was not her first husband, but Herod, son of Herod the Great, by Mariamne the high-priest's daughter.

In answer to this: 1. It has been said by some, that Josephus was mistaken. Basnage[h] of Flottemanville, whom I have often quoted, is fully persuaded, that Philip, tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis, was Herodias's first husband. Beside that the evangelists lived nearer the time of the event than Josephus, he says, they had more reason to be well informed in this matter than Josephus, and they are three to one. Mr. Basnage does not deny Herod's having had a son of his own name by the high-priest's daughter; but he says, this son died before his father. And he thinks, that Josephus says as much, and has assured us, that after Antipater was dead, Herod had no sons left, besides Archelaus, Herod Antipas, and Philip, betwixt whom he divided his kingdom. And therefore Josephus is guilty of a most flagrant self-contradiction, in making the son of the high-priest's daughter Herodias's husband. Besides, there is no mention of this son in Herod the Great's last will; which would be very strange, if he was then alive, especially considering that Herod left his sister Salome a very good estate in land.

This is Basnage's solution; but, in my opinion, a very poor one. I will not be positive, that Josephus has made no mistake in the accounts of Herod's family; because where a man has issue by seven or eight wives, as Herod had, perhaps a writer had need to have a head peculiarly turned for genealogy, to be secure from all errors, in giving an account of his children and all their marriages; especially,

[h] Nulla ergo excusatio Josepho parari potest. Cujus narrationi, illa evangelistarum, missâ vel eorum *αναμαρτησιᾳ*, dubio procul est anteponenda, cum testes et plures et antiquiores fuerint et rationes longe graviores habuerint diligentius inquirendi in causas mortis illatæ Joanni, quas ducunt ex Herodiadis, Philippo legitimo viro, contra jus et fas, ab Antipâ ereptæ odio, in Joannem, scelestas nuptias damnantem. Equidem Josephus tenetur *εκ' αυτοφωρῳ* deprehensus, cum ipse docuerit, Herodi Magno post mortem Antipatri, nil filiorum fuisse, præter Archelaüm, Herodem Antipam, et Philippum, quos inter, regnum diviserat suum. Nec vero simile est, in testamento, hujus Herodis, Herodiadi, ut ait Josephus, matrimonio conjuncti, parentem non meminisse, ne expers partis esset de bonis ejus; eo magis, quo multa Salomæ sorori suæ prædia moriendo dederat Herodes. Id faciles Josepho largiemur, ex Simonis pontificis filiâ procreatum Herodi regi filium fuisse, paterno nomine donatum. Parenti superstitem fuisse, negabimus, ex alto historiæ judaïcæ silentio, in quâ vir ille partes egisset suas.—Erravit igitur Josephus. Basn. Ann. Polit. Eccles. A. D. 29. n. 3.

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considering how much the[1] female descendants of Herod increased the task in a short time, by leaving or divorcing their husbands. But I can never persuade myself, that Josephus, a professed writer of Jewish history, could be guilty of so many mistakes, as are included in a mistake about Herodias's first husband. If he was not furnished with the events of all Herod's children, yet he must certainly know the marriages of the last princes in the land of Israel, his own country. Could he be ignorant who was Philip the tetrarch's wife? Who was the first husband of Herod the tetrarch's second wife, and of Agrippa the Great's sister? Was not Herodias's leaving her first husband in all respects a most notorious action? Was not Josephus well acquainted with her nephew, Agrippa the younger?

Basnage says, Josephus has assured us, Herod had but three sons left after the death of Antipater. I think Josephus has never said any such thing. If he had, he would be a writer of no weight; since he has afterwards expressly said, that Herodias's first husband was Herod, the son of the high-priest's daughter. And if Josephus had assured us, that Herod the Great had but three sons left after Antipater was dead, Basnage might have spared his arguments from the omission of Herod the high-priest's daughter's son,

[1] Beside Herodias, her three nieces, daughters of her brother Herod Agrippa, would employ the attention of an historian. Bernice, the eldest, after the death of her first husband, Herod king of Chalcis, married Polemon king of Cilicia, [or, as some read it, Lycia]. 'But this marriage lasted not long; for 'Bernice left Polemon.' *Ου μεν επι πολυ συνεμεινεν ὁ γαμος, αλλα Βερνικη, δι' ακολασιαν, ὡς εφασαν, καταλειπει τον Πολεμωνα.* Ant. lib. xx. cap. 6. sect. 3. 'Mariamne [the second daughter] about the same time, having divorced 'Archelaus, the son of Helchias, married Demetrius the Alabarch of the Jews 'at Alexandria.' *Τῳ αυτῳ δε καιρῳ και Μαριαμνη, παραιτησαμενη τον Αρχελαον, συνῳκησε τῳ Δημητριῳ·—τοτε δη και την αλαβαρχιαν αυτος ειχε·* ib. Drusilla, the youngest, left Azizus king of the Emesenes, and married Felix, as has been shown already, p. 27, 28. I have put down here all these instances for the sake of a remark. Our Saviour says: "Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery," Mark x. 11, 12. It may be inferred from hence that the Jewish women, as well as the men, did then practice divorces, and after that marry to others. These instances from Josephus confirm the inference. We may be assured these ladies were not singular: their examples would be followed by others; and, it is likely, were supported by many precedents. If the women took this licence, what would not the men do? Our historian Josephus affords us a double example of this practice. His first wife left him, vit. sect. 75. and he married another. Her he divorced, after he had had three children by her, because he was not pleased with her manners. And then he married a third, by whom also he had children: *καθ' ὁν δη καιρον και την γυναικα, μη αρεσκομενος αυτης τοις ηθεσιν, απεπεμψαμην, τριων παιδων γενομενην μητερα·* sect. 76.

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and the large estate left to Salome, in Herod the Great's last will.

Indeed, there is no reason to conclude that Herod, son of the high-priest's daughter, died before his father; but a great deal of reason to suppose he survived him, beside the express mention made of him long afterwards, as the husband of Herodias. For in the will his father made after the inquiries into Antipater's conspiracy, and therefore in the last year of his life, this said Herod's succession was struck out, as Josephus expressly says.[k] And though there be no mention made in the account of Herod's last will, of any other sons by name, beside those to whom he left a part of his territories; yet it is very likely, there were others to whom he left presents.[l] It is not strange, that Herod should leave no towns or lordships to this son (though living) in his last will, since his mother had been lately detected in a great crime. Nay, it is not strange, that three sons only of Herod had tetrarchies, and the rest, though never so many, only sums of money or revenues. As for the towns bequeathed by Herod to his sister Salome, she had been always faithful to him, and it was fit she should have some extraordinary testimony of his affection. Josephus himself[m] assigns this as the reason of that regard showed to her in Herod's wills.

And Philo says, that when Pilate dedicated shields, and placed them in Herod's palace at Jerusalem,[n] the Jews got[o] four of the king's sons, and other his descendants, to make use of their interest with Pilate to remove the shields. If Philo may be relied upon in this matter, and if we may understand the word sons in the most proper sense, (which it seems most reasonable to do,) and not for grandchildren, or other descendants; then Herod must have left behind him at least two sons, beside the three betwixt whom he divided his dominions; for Archelaus certainly was not one of the four sons whom Philo speaks of, because

[k] See before, p. 365.

[l] Josephus's account of Herod's last will is, that he gave to Herod Antipas, Galilee, &c. to Philip, Gaulonitis, &c. to Archelaus, the kingdom, to Salome his sister, Jamnia, &c. and that he took care of all the rest of his family, leaving them handsome legacies of money, or ample revenues. *Προνοησε δε και των λοιπων οποσοι συγγενεις ησαν αυτῳ, χρηματων τε δοσεσι και προσοδων αναφοραις, εκαστος εν ευποριᾳ καθισταμενος.* Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 8. sect. 1.

[m] *Σαλωμην τε επι μεγα επλουτιζεν την αδελφην, ενιους τε εν πασι προς αυτον διαμεμενηκυιαν, κ. τ. λ.* Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 6. sect. 1.

[n] *Ανατιθησιν εν τοις κατα την ιεροπολιν Ηρωδη βασιλειοις.* Philo, de Legat. in Cai. p. 1034. A.

[o] *Προτησαμενοι τως τε βασιλεως υιεις τετταρας,—και τως αλλως απογονους.* Id. ibid.

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he had been banished into Gaul long before Pilate's government. Supposing then, that Herod tetrarch of Galilee, and Philip tetrarch of Trachonitis, were two of the four, there must have been two other sons of Herod, beside them and Archelaus.

But however Philo ought to be understood, I can never think it a fair way of getting rid of this difficulty, to charge Josephus with a great many gross blunders.

2. I proceed therefore to lay before the reader another solution, which has been in the main approved of already by many learned men.

(1.) The evangelists and Josephus are in the right, and none of them have committed any mistake in this matter. I have just shown, that there is no reason to think Josephus was mistaken: and it is as unreasonable to suppose, that the evangelists are mistaken. They all agree in calling Herodias's first husband Philip; and they appear to be fully masters of the history of Herod the Great's family. One or other of them have told us, that Archelaus succeeded his father in Judea; that Herod (who was also called Antipas) was tetrarch of Galilee, Philip of Trachonitis. If they had not been well informed, some errors would have appeared here. St. Luke has given the proper titles and characters to all the other descendants of Herod, whom he has mentioned afterwards; Herod the king, Agrippa, Bernice, Drusilla.

They speak of this unlawful marriage of Herodias, as a matter they were well acquainted with, and Josephus concurs with them in the main.

(2.) The evangelists do not intend Philip the tetrarch, but the same person that Josephus does. If they had intended Philip the tetrarch, when they speak of Herodias's husband, they would have given him his title: this is their constant method. St. Matthew says, that Jesus was born "in the days of Herod the king," ch. ii. 1. St. Luke, that the vision of Zacharias was "in the days of Herod the king of Judea," ch. i. 5. In the account of our Saviour's return from Egypt, St. Matthew says, that Joseph heard that "Archelaus did reign in Judea, in the room of his father Herod," ch. ii. 22. St. Luke gives the proper titles to all the princes, whom he mentions at the beginning of John the Baptist's ministry. In the account of Pilate's sending our Saviour to Herod, it appears plainly, that he was the tetrarch of Galilee, to whom he was sent, Luke xxiii. 6—8. When St. Luke begins the history of Herod Agrippa, he calls him "the king," Acts xii. 1. He gives also the title of "king" to "Agrippa," Acts xxv. 13.

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Indeed, the church at Jerusalem in their prayer to God, give Herod and Pontius Pilate no titles, Acts iv. 27; and I believe, none would have them there at length. In the account of the death of John the Baptist, and of this marriage, all the evangelists do ever give Herod his title: Matt. xiv. 1; Mark vi. 14; Luke iii. 19, ix. 7. But not one of them has given the Philip, whom they mention, any title; but that "Herod had laid hold of John, and put him in prison for Herodias' sake, his brother Philip's wife," Matt. xiv. 3, or bound him in prison "for Herodias' sake, his brother Philip's wife," Mark vi. 17. Again, "Herod the tetrarch being reproved by him for Herodias his brother Philip's wife," Luke iii. 19. I make no doubt therefore, but that Philip, Herodias's first husband, was a private person, who lived, in all probability, at Jerusalem; and that Herod the tetrarch, in his way to Rome, there fell in love with her, and made the contract. Philip then, whom the evangelists speak of, as the first husband of Herodias, was a private person, invested with no titles or dignities: so is Josephus's Herod, as appears from the history I have given of him. And it is not unlikely, that this was one reason, among others, why Herod the tetrarch's proposal of marriage was so soon accepted by Herodias, an ambitious woman.

The only difficulty therefore concerning this matter, arises from the name. Josephus calls this person Herod, the evangelists Philip: moreover, Philip was the name of the tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis; therefore it may be thought strange, that Herod the Great should have another son called Philip.

This difficulty will be cleared by the following considerations. It is not at all strange, that Herod the Great should have two sons called by the same name, when he had children by seven or eight wives. Even according to Josephus, the eldest son was called Antipater, and another, who was the youngest, Antipas, or Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee. These are but one and the same name, only a different termination. Josephus mentions three of Herod's sons of the name of Herod, without any addition.[p] But yet it is highly probable, they had some other names, by which they were distinguished, though Josephus has not mentioned them. Grotius[q] thinks it very probable, there was a Philip among the ancestors of Herod the Great, after whom two of

[p] Vid. Jos. Ant. lib. cap. 1. lib. xviii. cap. 6. sect. 4. De Bell. lib. i. cap. 28. et Geneal. Herod. in Reland. Palest. Illustr.

[q] In Matt. xix. 3.

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his sons were named Philip; as there were two of them, who bore the name of Antipater or Antipas from his father.

Though there was another brother by the same father, namely, Philip the tetrarch, called by the same name with Herodias's husband; yet it was not necessary for the evangelists to take notice of it. When writers relate a well-known fact, near the time in which it happened, whilst there is no danger of persons making a mistake, this precaution is often neglected. Dio's account of Archelaus's removal is thus: 'Herod of Palestine being accused by his brothers, 'was banished to the other[r] side the Alps.' Herod was the name by which the tetrarch of Galilee was usually called; and he also was afterwards banished to the other side the Alps: yet I believe no one ever charged Dio with a mistake here, as to the person he speaks of, or suspected, that he thought the tetrarch of Galilee was banished from his dominions, A. U. 759. I will transcribe here an observation of the learned and judicious [s]Prideaux. 'He [Ptolemy 'Lathyrus] was succeeded by Cleopatra his daughter, and 'only legitimate child. Her proper name was Berenice, 'and so Pausanias calls her. For it is to be noted, that as 'all the males of this family had the common name of Pto-'lemy, so all the females of it had the name of Cleopatra, 'and besides had other proper names to distinguish them 'from each other. Thus Selene was called Cleopatra, and 'so were also two other of her sisters. And in like man-'ner, this daughter of Lathyrus, whose proper name was Bere-'nice, bore also that of Cleopatra, according to the usage 'of her family. The observing of this will remove many 'obscurities and difficulties in the Egyptian history.'

The evangelists do all agree in calling Herodias's first husband Philip, and they appear fully masters of their story: it is therefore highly reasonable to suppose, he was called Philip as well as Herod. I shall put a case resembling this: Josephus always calls Livia, Augustus's wife,[t] Julia, though that was the proper name of Augustus's daughter, without ever giving the least hint of his reason for it. It is true, that though the Roman historians do generally call her Livia, yet they have told us, that she had also the name of Julia, and have informed us of the reason for it: which was, that Augustus in his last will adopted his wife into the Julian family, and appointed that she should

[r] Ὁ τε Ἡρωδης ὁ Παλαιστηνος, αιτιαν τινα απο των αδελφων λαβων, ὑπο τας Αλπεις ὑπερωρισθη. Lib. lv. p. 767. B.

[s] Con. Part. II. year before Christ, 81. p. 396.

[t] Vid. Jos. p. 1028. not. [b].

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bear the name of Julia.[u] And there are medals on which she bears this name. But if nothing of this had appeared in any of the Roman authors or inscriptions that are extant, yet since Josephus appears to be well acquainted with the Roman affairs from Julius Cæsar down to his own time; I believe most men would have allowed, that he had some good reason for calling the wife of Augustus, Julia. For the same reason, a like supposition ought to be made in behalf of the evangelists, in the case before us.

It was exceeding common among the ancients, Jews and others, for persons to have two names, and to be called sometimes by the one and sometimes by the other. There are several instances in the New Testament: "Simon, who is called Peter; Lebbeus, whose surname was Thaddeus," Matt. x. 2, 3. "Thomas, which is called Didymus," John xi. 16. "Simeon, that was called Niger," Acts xiii. 1, "Saul, who was also called Paul."

Josephus calls Caiaphas, the high-priest, Joseph. He has indeed told us, that he was also called Caiaphas.[v] If mankind would have been as equitable to the writers of the New Testament, as they usually are to other authors, to some who are far from giving equal tokens of skill or probity with them; this would have created no difficulty, though Josephus had never subjoined the name of Caiaphas to that of Joseph. But if any had been disposed to give the evangelists unfair and unequal treatment, it is likely they would have pretended, that here was a notorious blunder: and that Caiaphas was so far from being high-priest when John Baptist began his ministry, and when Jesus was crucified, that there never was any such person high-priest among the Jews.

I hope what is already said may be sufficient to convince all reasonable men, there is no just ground to suspect the evangelists of any mistake in the name of Herodias's first husband. However, there is somewhat farther to be offered: there are other writings extant, in which he is called Philip. I shall transcribe here the account of it in Whitby's words: 'Gorionides saith, Herodias was first married to Philip, and 'then taken away from him by Herod Antipas. The old 'Hebrew chronicle saith, "Uxorem fratris sui Philippi ip-'so vivente junxit sibi matrimonio, quæ liberos ex fratre 'ejus susceperat, et tamen is eam duxit uxorem" (chap. '36). And an old chronicle of the second temple saith,

[u] Tiberium et Liviam hæredes habuit. Livia in familiam Juliam nomenque Augustæ adsumebatur. Tacit. lib. i. cap. 8. vid. etiam Suetou. Aug. cap. 101. Dion. p. 600. A.

[v] P. 795. v. 23. p. 802. v. 28.

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" Antipas Philippi fratris sui uxorem accepit, ex qua ille ' liberos ante genuerat." (F. 54. c. 4.) i. e. " Antipas ' married the wife of his brother Philip, he being yet living, ' and having had children by her." '[w]

CHAP. VI.

OF ZACHARIAS, THE SON OF BARACHIAS.

THERE are some difficulties attending the prophetical representation, given by our Lord, of those judgments, which he foresaw would soon befall the Jewish nation. This we have in two of the evangelists, in St. Matthew and St. Luke. One account will illustrate the other, and we may have some occasion to refer to each of them: therefore I shall set them both down here at once.

The account of this matter, as it stands in St. Matthew, is thus: ch. xxiii. 29—36, " Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous: and say, if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye be the children of them that killed the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell? Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes, and some of them ye shall kill and crucify, and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, unto the blood of *Zacharias, son of Barachias*, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily, I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation."

The parallel place in St. Luke, ch. xi. 47—51, is in these words: " Woe unto you, for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets, and your fathers killed them. Truly ye bear witness, that ye allow the deeds of your fathers; for they indeed killed them, and ye build their sepulchres. There-

[w] Whitby, on Matt. xiv. 3.

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fore also said the wisdom of God, I will send them prophets and apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute; that the blood of all the prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation; from the blood of Abel, unto the *blood of Zacharias*, which perished between the altar and the temple; verily, I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation."

Here the evangelists may be charged with a mistake several ways. They who would suppose, that Zacharias here referred to is Zacharias, one of the twelve lesser Jewish prophets, will say, they must have been mistaken, because in the time of this Zacharias, the temple is supposed to have been in ruins: and therefore it is impossible he should have been killed between the temple and the altar. And others, who suppose Zacharias, here intended, is Zacharias, whose death is related in 2 Chron. xxiv. may say, that St. Matthew mistook the name of his father; for his name was Jehoiada, and not Barachias.

There is another Zacharias, whose death is related by Josephus; but that happened not till long after the time in which our Saviour is supposed to have spoken these words. This seems to afford the most formidable objection: I shall therefore state and consider it particularly: and in answering this, I hope to answer also the other two.

Before I state this objection, I shall here transcribe the passage of Josephus on which it is founded. I must abridge it indeed, but I shall omit nothing that is material to the point before us.

'The zealots,' says Josephus, 'were exceedingly enraged 'against Zacharias,[a] the son of Baruch: for he was a man 'who detested all wickedness, was a lover of liberty, and 'moreover was very rich. They call[b] together therefore 'by a decree seventy of the chief of the people, and form a 'kind of council, destitute of all authority. They then 'brought Zacharias before them, and accused him of a con-'spiracy with the Romans: and in particular charged him 'with sending messengers to Vespasian, the better to con-'cert measures for betraying them into his hands.' But they had no witnesses. The facts were not proved. Zacharias, in a speech he delivered before the council, confuted all the calumnies of the zealots, and warmly reproved them for their wickedness. 'The seventy then acquitted him, 'choosing rather to die with him than to bring upon them-

[a] Ζαιχαριαν υἱον Βαρεχϐ. [b] Συγκαλεσιν εξ επιταγματος ἑβδομηκοντα των εν τελει δημοτων.

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'selves the imputation of his death. He being thus ab-
'solved, the zealots raised a loud clamour against those
'judges, as not understanding the design, for which they
'had been invested with authority. And two of the most
'daring of the zealots, falling upon Zacharias in the middle
'of the temple, slew him there.'[c]

It may be said then: from hence it appears, that the writers of these books were not acquainted with the affairs of those times: these writings therefore do not come from St. Matthew or St. Luke: at least the authors of them did not live at the time they are supposed to have lived; possibly not till long afterwards. How else could they have committed such a blunder, as to make Jesus tell the Jews of his time, in the reign of Tiberius, that they had killed Zacharias the son of Barachias, or Baruch? when Josephus informs us, that he was not killed till the latter end of Nero's reign, above thirty years after these words are said to have been spoken by Christ.

I. To this I answer, in the first place, that the fact related by Josephus does not suit the words of Christ in the evangelists.

For, (1.) the name of the father of Zacharias seems to be different. Whitby[d] observes, 'that as Baruch in Jeremiah,
'and the Apocrypha, is always called by the Septuagint
'Βαρυχ, Baruch, so ברכיה, Barachiah, is rendered by them
'Βαραχιας, Barachiah, Isa. viii. 2; Zech. i. 1, 7. And in
'Neh. iii. we find Βαραχιας, Barachias, v. 4, and Βαρυχ, Ba-
'ruch, v. 20, which shows they were not the same name.'

(2.) Their characters are not the same. The design of our Saviour's discourse obliges us to suppose, that Zacharias, whom he mentioned, was a prophet: whereas Zacharias in Josephus has not that character from him.

(3.) The place in which they are said to have been slain, is not the same. Zacharias, in the gospels, perished "between the temple and the altar, according to both St. Matthew and St. Luke: but there is no reason to suppose, that Josephus's Zacharias was slain in the inner court, in which the altar stood. The council was not held within that court: and Zacharias seems to have been slain immediately after his absolution by the council. If he was slain in any part of the ἱερον, temple, that is perfectly agreeable to the words of Josephus; for under that name were comprehended the temple, and all the courts and buildings belonging to it.

These several instances of disagreement, I should think,

[c] Δυο δε των τολμηροτατων, προσπεσοντες εν μεσῳ τῳ ἱερῳ, διαφθειρουσι τον Ζαχαριαν. De Bell. lib. iv. c. 5. sect. 4. [d] On Matt. xxiii. 35.

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must incline most persons to conclude, that the same Zacharias was not intended by the evangelists and Josephus.

But perhaps this is more than is reasonable to expect should be allowed by an objector. He can easily believe of writers, who are in little credit with him, that they may run far wide of the truth, and really intend a fact that has but a small resemblance with their relation. With such, what hath been said hitherto will have little weight.

I proceed therefore to some other considerations.

II. I say then, that our Lord, in the words we are now considering, instanceth in facts supposed to have been done a considerable time before. The whole tenor and design of his discourse assures us of it.

The Zacharias he mentions is not one, whom they of that age had themselves slain, but rather one of those prophets whose tombs they built.

The sum of what our Saviour says (if I mistake not) is this: Ye say, "If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets." This you say; but, as hereby you own, that you "are the children of them that killed the prophets;" so by your conduct, by your malice, your pride, your hypocrisy, your obstinate disobedience to God, you make it appear, that you allow the deeds of your fathers, and are their genuine offspring: you even exceed them in wickedness; you are now filling up, and will still go on to fill up the measure of their iniquity. I am come among you in my Father's name, and have done works, which no man ever did, but you do not hearken to me; my words you do not receive, and me you will crucify. God will send among you, as he did to your fathers, prophets and wise men, to instruct you in the most excellent doctrine, to admonish and reclaim you; but ye will kill and crucify them, scourge them in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city. Hereby you will make the wicked deeds of your fathers your own, and bring the guilt of them upon yourselves; you will hereby deserve, that all the righteous blood, shed from the foundation of the world, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zacharias, should be required of you: and verily I say unto you, "it shall be required of this generation."

Our Lord seems to me to remind them of instances of disobedience and cruelty, which they were well acquainted with, which they avowedly condemned, and pretended to see the evil of, but yet did, and would imitate in a most

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notorious manner; and hereby would bring the guilt of them upon themselves. And the conclusion of all obliges us to suppose, that the death of the Zacharias he had mentioned, was an act of cruelty committed by their fathers. This is the sense of the words in both the evangelists.

This appears to me so evident, that if there had been no event recorded in any of their ancient writings, which answered to the death of Zacharias here described; yet I should have supposed, that there was some such event that had happened some time before, and which they were then well acquainted with.

III. However, we have [e] a fact recorded in the Old Testament, which exactly answers the words of our Saviour. It is in 2 Chron. xxiv. 17—22. "Now after the death of Jehoiada—they left the house of the Lord God of their fathers, —and wrath came upon Judah and Jerusalem; yet he sent prophets unto them to bring them again unto the Lord, and they testified against them: but they would not give ear. And the Spirit of God came upon Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada the priest, which stood above the people, and said unto them, Thus saith God, Why transgress ye the commandment of the Lord? And they conspired against him, and stoned him with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house of the Lord. Thus Joash the king remembered not the kindness which Jehoiada his father had done to him, but slew his son; and when he died, he said, the Lord look upon it, and require it."

This fact is exactly parallel with that described by our Lord. (1.) This Zachariah spoke in the name of the Lord, 'the Spirit of God came upon him.' It was suitable to our Lord's design to instance in the death of a 'prophet.' "Ye say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the death of the *prophets*.—I send unto you *prophets*, and wise men, and scribes." Abel was a 'righteous man,' and this Zacharias a 'prophet.'

(2.) The place, in which this Zacharias is said to have been killed, answers the description in the evangelists; he was slain in the 'court of the house of the Lord,' that is, in the court of the priests, the inner court of the temple. In both the evangelists the same place is specified, 'between 'the temple and the altar.' This particular circumstance of so remarkable an event was, doubtless, handed down to them by tradition. According to the account in the Chro-

[e] See Whitby, Matt. xxiii. 36.

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nicles, he was in the inner court, when he delivered his message from God to them: 'He stood above the people.' The ground of the inner court was raised above the rest; he stood at the extremity of that, and spoke to the people standing in the next court below him: 'at the commandment 'of the king' they rushed in upon Zachariah: he retired, they pursued him, and 'stoned him with stones,' so that he fell down in the space between the altar of burnt-offerings and the temple.

(3.) Our Lord subjoins, 'whom *ye slew.*' The death of Zacharias, in the Chronicles, was the act of the nation, of king and people: this particular is added to this instance with the highest propriety. The death of Abel was the death of a 'righteous man,' but not committed by them: the death of Zacharias was the act of their ancestors, that is, of that people to whom our Lord was speaking; for a nation is in all ages reckoned the same people. "And he answered and said unto them, what did Moses command *you?*" Mark x. 3. "Verily I say unto you, Moses gave *you* not that bread from heaven," John vi. 32. "Did not Moses give *you* the law?" Ch. vii. 19. See 22.

(4.) Expressions made use of in the history of Zacharias in the Chronicles, and by our Saviour in his discourse to the Jews, put it past doubt, that he intended this fact, and alluded to this very account in that book. "Behold, I send unto you prophets and wise men and scribes." The history in the Chronicles begins thus: "Yet he sent unto them prophets to bring them again unto the Lord, and they testified against them," &c. It concludes: "And when he died, he said, The Lord look upon it, and require it." Our Saviour tells the Jews, 'that the blood of all the prophets 'would be required of that generation.'

(5.) As the fact related in the Chronicles does in all its circumstances answer that described by our Lord, so there is a suitableness in the order in which it stands in our Lord's discourse. Abel is the first 'righteous man' slain, and the death of Zacharias is the last act of cruelty to a 'prophet' related in the Jewish sacred writings.

IV. It ought to be observed, that there is an exact harmony between the evangelists, in the account they have given of this discourse of our Saviour, though there is no reason to think, that one has copied the other. This ought to satisfy us, that no mistake has been made.

In one particular indeed there is a difference. In St. Matthew Zacharias is styled the son of Barachias, whereas in St. Luke's account it is not said who was his father.

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And in this particular the person, whom our Saviour speaks of, seems not to answer to him mentioned in the Chronicles; for there he is called the son of Jehoiada.

There is therefore but one objection against supposing, that our Saviour meant the Zacharias in the Chronicles: but it is such an objection as deserves consideration.

It has been observed by [f] divers learned men, that many persons among the Jews were called by two names, especially when their true name happened to have some of the letters of the word Jehovah in it. For this reason Barachias may have been used for Jehoiada, since likewise these two names have much the same meaning.

Other learned men suppose, that Barachias was very early inserted into St. Matthew's gospel by some transcriber. There is the more reason for this supposition, because it is wanting in St. Luke. Or else Jehoiada might have been originally in St. Matthew, but some christian transcriber, not well acquainted with the Jewish history, nor knowing who Jehoiada was, and therefore suspecting that to be a mistake, might pretend to correct it by putting Barachias in the room of Jehoiada. Zachariah, the son of Barachias, whose prophecies form one of the books of the Old Testament, was certainly better known among the christians than Zacharias the son of Jehoiada. It is not at all unlikely therefore, that our not having this name in St. Matthew, may be owing to the ignorance and rashness of some transcriber. This supposition seems to be favoured by what St. Jerom says, who informs us, that in the gospel of the Nazarenes, Zachariah is called the son [g] of Jehoiada.

Some have thought, that there is a like instance in Matt. xiii. 35, where we have these words, "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in parables," &c. The words of this quotation are in Ps. lxxviii. 2, the title of which is 'Maschil of 'Asaph.' St. Jerom [h] says, that in some copies of St. Matthew it was written, 'That it might be fulfilled which 'was spoken by the prophet Esaias.' He thinks it was originally 'spoken by the prophet Asaph:' but some transcriber, not knowing Asaph to be a prophet, put Esaias in his room. Afterwards others, perceiving there were no such words as those which follow here, to be found in Esaias, left out his name; and from thenceforward in most

[f] Vid. Grot. et Whitb. in loc.

[g] In evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni, pro filio Barachiæ, filium Joiadæ reperimus scriptum. S. Hieron. Comment. Matt. xxiii. 36.

[h] In loc.

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copies it was written, " which was spoken by the prophet, saying," &c.

I crave leave to mention an observation, that may support the former of these two suppositions, viz. that originally 'the son of Barachias' was wanting in St. Matthew, as well as in St. Luke. The ancient christians seem to have been very much divided in their opinion, who was the Zacharias here spoken of. Many christians in St. Jerom's time thought he was Zacharias the father of John the Baptist; borrowing this notion (as he[i] adds) from some apocryphal books of no authority. In the copies of St. Matthew's gospel in his time, he was styled the son of Barachias, as in ours; but the Nazarene christians, being Jews by birth, and understanding the history of their own nation, had it in their gospel, 'Zacharias the son of Jehoiada.' This indeed was the truth, but it seems to have been an insertion.

But this is left to the reader, to judge of as he thinks fit. It is highly probable, that one of these may be the case; either that Jehoiada not being well known, Barachias was put in his room: or else, that 'the son of Barachias' was added.

There being so probable an account of this reading, I hope there remains no farther scruple about this text.

There is another interpretation of these words, which some have inclined to, namely, that Zacharias here mentioned is Zacharias, whose death Josephus has given us the history of, and that our Saviour spoke of him by way of prophecy. But as there can be no objection, which I am concerned with, formed against the evangelists from this sense of the words, I have taken no notice of it.

Besides, I think it is by no means the true sense of the place. Whitby observes very well 'that Christ speaks here 'of the prophets, whom they had slain, not of one who was 'to be slain a little before the destruction of Jerusalem; 'for then none of the people could have understood his 'meaning.

By the whole tenor of our Saviour's discourse, the Zacharias he speaks of is excluded from the number of those that were to be slain. If Zacharias, whom Josephus speaks of, was as good a man as he represents him, and did faithfully reprove the wickedness of the prevailing party of his nation, he might be one of those 'holy and wise men,' whom our Saviour foresaw would be slain by the Jews: but he can never be the Zacharias whom our Saviour mentioned

[i] Comm. in Matt. xxiii. 36.

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by name; for he is one of those prophets which had been slain before, and whose blood would be required of them.

CHAP. VII.

OF THEUDAS.

IT will be proper in the next place to consider the objection relating to Theudas. The apostles were brought before the council at Jerusalem, Acts v. 34—36. "And when they took counsel to slay them, Gamaliel commanded to put the apostles forth a little space; and said unto them, Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves, what ye intend to do as touching these men. *For before these days rose up Theudas*, boasting himself to be somebody, to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves: who was slain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered and brought to nought. *After this man* rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed."

This speech of Gamaliel was made not long after our Saviour's ascension: Ludovicus Cappellus places it in the beginning of Caligula's[a] reign; Whitby[b] and others, three or four years sooner, in the 20th of Tiberius, A. D. 34. And Gamaliel here speaks of Theudas, as having given disturbance before Judas of Galilee, who in the days of the taxing drew away much people. This refers doubtless to the assessment made by Cyrenius after Archelaus was deposed, when Judea was reduced to a Roman[c] province: which happened in the sixth or seventh year of the christian æra. It was at this time that Judas, whom Josephus calls Judas Gaulanites, and likewise Judas the Galilean, raised disturbances in that country.

But Josephus gives us an account of an impostor called Theudas, when Cuspius Fadus was procurator in Judea; and therefore not before the fourth year of Claudius the

[a] Spicileg. in Act. v. 36. [b] Whitby, Par. on this text.
[c] Jos. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. ult. l. xviii. cap. 1. De B. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 8. sect. 1.

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Roman emperor, A. D. 44, that is, seven years after Gamaliel's speech was made, according to Cappellus's computation, and ten years after it, according to Whitby's.

Josephus's words are these: 'Whilst Fadus was procurator of Judea, a certain impostor, called Theudas, persuaded 'a very great multitude, taking their effects along with 'them, to follow him to the river Jordan: for he said he 'was a prophet, and that, causing the river to divide at his 'command, he would give them an easy passage over. By 'these speeches he deceived many: but Fadus was far from 'suffering them to go on in their madness; for he sent out 'a troop of horse, who, coming upon them unexpectedly, 'slew many, and took many prisoners. Theudas himself 'was among the latter; they cut off his head, and brought 'it to Jerusalem. These things happened in Judea, while 'Cuspius Fadus was procurator.'[d]

It may therefore be pretended, that St. Luke has made a mistake. The Theudas whom Josephus mentions appeared not till several years after Gamaliel's speech was made: nor has Josephus said any thing of any other. The person Gamaliel speaks of, is of the same name; he likewise 'boasted himself to be somebody,' that is, a prophet: he was slain, and his followers were scattered. In these particulars Gamaliel and Josephus agree, therefore they mean the same person, but they differ most widely about the time; for which reason St. Luke must have been mistaken.

Divers solutions have been offered of this difficulty.

1. Some say, St. Luke might put the affair of Theudas into Gamaliel's speech by way of anticipation. He knew very well, that Theudas did not appear till after this time: but this being a very proper instance, and suitable to the main scope and design of the speech which Gamaliel made, he inserted it himself. But this is not at all agreeable to the simplicity of St. Luke's narration, especially considering how particular he is as to the number of Theudas's followers: "to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves." And one would think Valesius was at a loss for examples of anticipation, when the only one he pro-

[d] Φαδω δε της Ιωδαιας επιτροπευοντος, γοης τις ανηρ, Θευδας ονοματι, πειθει τον πλειστον οχλον, αναλαβοντα τας κτησεις επεσθαι προς τον Ιορδανην ποταμον αυτω· προφητης γαρ ελεγεν ειναι, και προσταγματι τον ποταμον σχισας, διοδον εφη παρεξειν αυτοις ραδιαν· και ταυτα λεγων πολλους ηπατησεν· ε μην ιασεν αυτους της αφροσυνης ονασθαι Φαδος, αλλ' εξεπεμψεν ελην ιππεων επ' αυτους, ητις, απροσδοκητος επιπεσουσα, πολλους μεν ανειλε, πολλους δε ζωντας ελαβεν· αυτον τε τον Θευδαν ζωγρησαντες αποτεμνουσι την κεφαλην, και κομιζουσιν εις Ιεροσολυμα· τα μεν ουν συμβαντα τοις Ιωδαιοις κατα τους Κυσπιω Φαδω της επιτροπης χρονους, ταυτα εγενετο. Ant. lib. xx. cap. 4. sect. 1.

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duces is out of a poet, and that has scarce any resemblance with this before us.[e]

2. Some think that Josephus has been mistaken, and has misplaced Theudas's insurrection. This solution Valesius prefers before the former, and it is approved likewise by [f]Le Clerc. They understand Gamaliel to say, 'Before 'these days,'[g] that is, a little while ago, 'rose up Theudas, 'boasting himself to be somebody.' And if you look farther back,[h] 'before this man (not "after this man," as we 'render it,) rose up Judas of Galilee.'——Thus, according to Valesius, Josephus has not misplaced this event of Theudas above twelve years; but according to Mr. Le Clerc, the error is greater, for he supposes he 'rose up' A. D. 28.

But this kind of solutions appears to me perfectly arbitrary, and not to be untying, but cutting the knot; and I freely own I have no right to them. It is very unlikely, that Josephus should have been mistaken about the time of that Theudas's insurrection which he gives an account of: he may have made mistakes in chronology; but Josephus is very express here, that this affair happened in the time of Fadus, when he himself must have been seven years of age.

And in my opinion these learned men give a wrong meaning to two expressions in Gamaliel's speech. It is not necessary to understand those words, 'Before these days rose 'up Theudas,' of a 'little while ago,' two or three years before: these common phrases are loose and undetermined in all languages, and signify sometimes a shorter, at others, a longer space of time; and the subject matter of the discourse, or the coherence of things, or some light from abroad, can alone determine what the space of time intended is. It

[e] Alia quoque conciliandi ratio excogitari potest; si dicamus B. Lucam in eo loco κατα προληψιν locutum esse. Quæ quidem figura occurrit interdum apud antiquos scriptores, exempli causâ apud Virgilium, cum dicit:

——portusque require Velinos.

Atqui, cum hæc dicerentur Æneæ, nondum condita erat Velia. Vales. Annot. in Euseb. H. E. l. ii. c. 11.

[f] Clerici Histor. Eccl. A. D. 23. n. 60.

[g] Προ γαρ τουτων των ἡμερων ανεστη Θευδας. Quæ verba rem nuper ac novissime factam demonstrant. Vales. ubi supra.

[h] Sed quoniam Casaubonus negat Græcos unquam ita locutos fuisse, producendus est testis omni exceptione major. Is est Clemens Alexandrinus, qui, in lib. vii. Stromat. sub finem, eodem prorsus modo locutus est quo B. Lucas. ——Nam Marcion iisdem quidem temporibus vixit quibus Basilides et Valentinus. Verum tanquam senior cum illis adhuc junioribus versatus est. Addit, deinde, μεθ' ὁν Σιμων επ' ολιγον κηρυσσοντος τω Πετρω ὑπηκουσεν. 'Post quem Simon prædicantem Petrum audivit aliquamdiu.' Quis non videt in hoc Clementis loco post hunc idem valere atque ante hunc,—sed et geographiæ scriptores, quoties terrarum situm et populorum nomina describunt, eodem loquuntur modo. Dicunt enim μετα τουτους εισιν εκεινοι. Id. ibid.

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is said, Acts ix. 22, 23, "But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which were at Damascus. —*And after that many days* were fulfilled, the Jews took council to kill him." By these "many days" can be meant but a short space of time, as appears from Gal. i. 17, 18. St. Paul tells Felix, Acts xxiv. 10, "Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do the more cheerfully answer for myself:" though it is likely, Felix had not then been in Judea above five years. And yet it might be said very properly, that he had been there 'many years;' since in five years time, a governor may be supposed to gain a good insight into the laws and customs of his province, and the temper of the people; as also, because very often governors were removed in a shorter space of time. When Pilate's soldiers had marched into Jerusalem with ensigns, the Jews went from thence in a great body to Pilate at Cæsarea, and there made 'supplica-'tions,' Josephus[i] says, 'many days.' But it appears presently afterwards, that on the[k] sixth day from their arrival, Pilate seated himself on his tribunal and granted their petition. So Josephus relates this in his Antiquities: in his War these earnest supplications continued 'five whole days[l] 'and nights.'

Thus these phrases, that seem to import a long duration, are much limited by the connexion of a discourse, or by the nature of the things spoken of: and other phrases, that denote ordinarily a shorter duration, must be understood sometimes with great latitude. There is an example in Jeremiah, chap. xxxi. 31, "Behold *the days come*, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel." Ver. 33, "*After those days*, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts." I suppose no one thinks these promises or predictions were to be accomplished presently. Porphyry says, 'that many of the ancients had been sup-'posed to understand the sounds of birds and other animals, 'and Apollonius[m] of Tyana not long ago.' Apollonius died before the end of the first century of the christian æra: Porphyry was not born till the 232d or 233d year[n] of the same æra. Every one must be sensible, with what latitude Porphyry's 'not long ago' is to be understood. I place another remarkable example from Cicero in the margin.[o]

[i] Ἱκετειαν ποιουμενοι επι πολλας ἡμερας. Ant. l. xviii. cap. 4. sect. 1.

[k] Κατα ἑκτην ἡμεραν———αυτος επι το βημα ηκε. ib.

[l] Επι πεντε ἡμερας και νυκτας ισας ακινητοι διεκαρτερουν. l. ii. c. 9. sect. 2.

[m] Ὡς επι μεν των παλαιων ὁ Μελαμπος,—και οἱ τοιουτοι, ου προ πολλου δε Απολλωνιος ὁ Τυανευς. Porphyr. de Abst. l. iii. c. 3.

[n] Vid. Luc. Holsten. de Vit. et Script. Porphyr. cap. 2.

[o] Quid ea, quæ *nuper*,

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I see no necessity therefore of restraining the sense of the phrase, 'before these days,' to two or three years; it may as well intend twenty or thirty years: it is plain it does so here, since it was not till after Theudas that Judas rose up.

Which brings me to the other phrase misunderstood by these learned men: After this man, *μετα τουτον*. The instances of the use of this preposition by geographers for a remoter distance are not to the point, because here it imports time: and as for Valesius's quotation from St. Clement, I think it not worth while to consider here, whether he understands it right or not. At the best, St. Clement's passage is very obscure and perplexed. St. Luke's phrase is one of the most common phrases in all the Greek language, and is ever understood as it is rendered in this place by our translators. It would be unreasonable to affix a new meaning to a very common phrase, upon the single authority of one obscure passage: this is said upon the supposition, that the phrase in St. Clement was the same with that in St. Luke, and that the sense assigned by Valesius to St. Clement's passage was the most likely sense of any. But indeed the phrase in St. Clement is not the same, and for that reason is of the less weight here.

I suppose then that our translation is just, and that the substance of this part of Gamaliel's speech is this: Not long since rose up Theudas. It might be thirty years or more. The persons he spoke to knew very well how long. And after this man, in the time of the celebrated assessment, when Judea was made a Roman province, rose up Judas of Galilee. But these men perished, and their adherents were scattered.

3. And the solution, already offered by divers learned[p] men, of the difficulty under consideration, appears to me perfectly just. There were two Theudas's in Judea that were impostors, one before Judas of Galilee, and another in the reign of Claudius. There is no mistake upon this head in Josephus, nor in St. Luke, who has given us an exact and true account of Gamaliel's speech.

It is not at all unlikely, that there should be two impostors in Judea of the same name Theudas in the space of forty[q] years, and that they should both come to the same

id est paucis ante seculis, medicorum ingeniis reperta sunt? De Nat. Deor. l. ii. c. 50.

[p] Casaub. Exerc. in Baron. ii. n. 18. Grot. & Hamm. in Act v. 36. Basnage Hist. des Juifs, l. vi. c. 9. sect. 7. edit. 1706.

[q] The interval cannot be shorter. Josephus's Theudas could not appear before the year 44. Gamaliel's Theudas rose up before Judas of Galilee, who made his disturbance in the 6th or 7th year of the christian æra.

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end. These are the two chief difficulties in this matter, and they may be both cleared up.

(1.) It is not at all strange, that there should be two impostors in Judea of the name Theudas in the space of forty years. There were several impostors named Simon. Beside Simon Magus, mentioned in the New Testament, and often spoken of by the first christian writers, there was one Simon a servant of Herod; who after his master's death, had the impudence to set himself up for king, and put[r] on a diadem. After a long and obstinate engagement with Gratus, he was defeated, and his men were dispersed; he was taken prisoner, and by Gratus's order his head was cut[s] off. There was another Simon, son of Judas of Galilee, who was crucified in the[t] reign of Claudius by Tiberius Alexander, governor of Judea after Fadus. There was in the time of Felix one Simon of Cyprus, who pretended to magic; I have already mentioned him in another place.[u]

There were likewise several Judas's who gave disturbance to this country in a very short time. Judas of Galilee was a noted person, mentioned here by Gamaliel, and oftentimes by Josephus; he rose up in the time of the taxing presently after the removal of Archelaus. There was[v] another Judas, [w] son of Ezechias, who soon after Herod's death affected regal authority, and did a great deal of mischief. There was one Judas, son of Sepphoræus, a man in great reputation for his skill in the law, who with some others raised a sedition during Herod's last sickness: he and some of his confederates[x] were burnt alive. So that there were three men of the same name, who in the space of about ten years raised commotions in Judea.

(2.) Nor is the agreement of character and circumstances mentioned by Gamaliel and Josephus, a proof they speak of one and the same person. There are but two particulars of this sort: that they pretended to be extraordinary persons, and that they were slain, and their followers scattered or brought to nought. But in this there is nothing extraordi-

[r] Ην δε και Σιμων δουλος μεν Ἡρωδου του βασιλεως—ανηρ, αρθεις τη ακρασια των πραγματων, διαδημα τε ετολμησε περιθεσθαι. Ant. l. xvii. c. 12. sect. 6.

[s] Γρατος εντυχων την κεφαλην αποτεμνει· Ibid.

[t] Ibid. l. xx. c. 4. sect. 2. [u] Book I. p. 26.

[v] Ιουδας δε ην Εζεκιου υιος, κ. λ. Antiq. l. xvii. cap. 12. sect. 5.

[w] Archbishop Usher thinks this Judas to be Gamaliel's Theudas. 'For 'whereas Jehudah of the Hebrews is the same with Theudah of the Syrians, 'from whence Judas and Thaddeus [compare Luke vi. 16. with Mark iii. 18.] 'and much rather Theudas, the same name plainly comes. This Judas 'seems to be no other than Theudas, of whom Gamaliel speaks, Acts v. 36.' Annals, p. 797.

[x] De Bell. l. i. c. 33. sect. 2—4.

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nary; though there had been yet more circumstances in which they had agreed, this would have been no proof that one and the same person is spoken of.

Gamaliel says, 'Theudas boasts himself to be somebody,' and he 'was slain;' Josephus, that 'Theudas said he was a 'prophet,' and 'his head was cut off.'

Josephus has informed us, concerning the Theudas he speaks of, that he got a good number of people to follow him to Jordan. Though Gamaliel and Josephus had concurred in so particular a circumstance as this, (which they do not,) yet it would not have been a sufficient reason for our supposing that they intended the same person.

I shall give an instance. Of Simon[y] above mentioned, servant of Herod, Josephus says, that he plundered and burnt the palace at Jericho; and that he burnt several royal houses in divers parts, having first given them to be plundered by his followers. He says also, that the people with Simon were chiefly[z] Perœans, or people that lived on the other side of Jordan. Afterwards, even while he is speaking of affairs that passed in Judea soon after the death of Herod, he says, that 'at Amatha near Jordan, a royal palace 'was burnt down, by a number of men very much like those 'who were with[a] Simon.'

If Josephus had omitted this last fact, and some other historian had related it, together with the name of the leader of this body of men, and given them their character; which, if true, must have resembled that of the men with Simon; unless the reputation of this historian had been very well established, it would have been thought that he was mistaken, and that the person he meant was Simon, though he called him by another name. A palace burnt down at Amatha by Jordan; who could these be but Simon's people, who, Josephus says, were mostly Perœans? Then the time agrees exactly; both facts in the absence of Archelaus from Judea after his father's death. This writer therefore must have been grossly mistaken, in the name of the person to whom he ascribes the conduct of this action.

Or, it is not unlikely, that critics might have been divided; some would have vindicated Josephus, and some the other writer; and yet they would have been all mistaken, unless they had allowed two different bodies of men, and two dif-

[y] *Το εν Ιεριχουντι βασιλειον πιμπρησι δι' ἁρπαγης αγων τα εγκαταλελειμμενα.* Ant. l. xvii. c. 12. sect. 6. [z] *Το τε πολυ των Περαιων·* ibid.

[a] *Κατεπρησθη δε και τα επι τῳ Ιορδανῃ ποταμῳ εν Αμαθοις βασιλεια ὑπο τινων συταντων ανδρων Σιμωνι παραπλησιων·* ibid.

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ferent matters to be spoken of, and that both the historians were in the right.

It is certain, that these impostors about this time had a resemblance in their pretensions, and their fates: one boasted he would give his followers a passage over Jordan, as Josephus's Theudas; another promised his people they should see the walls of Jerusalem fall down before them, as the Egyptian impostor. The great scene of expectation was the[b] wilderness. But in this they agreed universally, the company was routed and dispersed, and usually the leaders executed. This, we may be certain, was the case, or else the government had been overturned.

These few circumstances then, in which Gamaliel's Theudas resembles him mentioned by Josephus, are no good argument, that one and the same person is intended.

Besides, there is one material circumstance in which they differ. Gamaliel says; "Before these days rose up Theudas—to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves." But Josephus says of his Theudas, that he 'persuaded a very great multitude to follow him:' and that 'many were slain, and many taken prisoners.' Josephus's Theudas must have had with him a much larger company than the former.

(3.) It has been very well observed by Whitby,[c] that the ancients generally agreed, there was a Theudas before the coming of our Lord, though Josephus has taken no notice of him. Beza[d] was of opinion, that the Theudas of whom Gamaliel speaks, did not arise before our Saviour's nativity, but soon after Herod's death, in that sort of interregnum, which there was in Judea whilst Archelaus was at Rome. Which was also archbishop Usher's opinion, as I have shown before.

It is certain, that this was a time of the utmost confusion. Josephus has mentioned several by name, who then gave disturbance in that country; and hinted at mischiefs done by others, whose names he has not put down. It is plain, he has past by many more than he has mentioned; for he says, 'At that time[e] there were innumerable disturbances in Judea.'

Considering all these things, that there had been before

[b] Matt. xxiv. 26. Jos. Ant. l. xx. c. 7. sect. 6, 10. et alibi.

[c] Ερεμεν ὁτι Θευδας προ της γενισεως Ιησυ γεγονε τις παρα Ιυδαιοις, μεγαν τινα ἑαυτον λεγων. Orig. cont. Cels. p. 44. See more citations in Whitby upon the place.

[d] In loc.

[e] Εν τωτῳ δε και ἑτερα μυρια θορυβων εχομενα την Ιυδαιαν κατελαμβανε. Ant. l. xvii. c. 12. sect. 4. vid. et de B. l. ii. c. 4.

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this many pretenders in Judea; that Josephus has been far from mentioning all that rose up in the latter end of Herod's reign, and in that remarkable time of confusion which succeeded his death; since there had been in this country, in a very short time, divers adventurers for power and authority of one and the same name; and since Theudas[f] was no uncommon name among the Jews: and since these leaders of parties and factions very much resembled each other, and that sometimes in more particulars than those specified by Gamaliel; it is not at all unlikely, that there were two Theudases who were impostors. We may depend upon it there were; Gamaliel speaks of one who was before Judas of Galilee, and Josephus of another in the time of Claudius.

Indeed I am somewhat surprised, that any learned man should find it hard to believe, that there were two impostors in Judea of the name of Theudas in the compass of forty years.[g]

Batricides, patriarch of Alexandria, about the middle of the eighth century, supposed that the high-priest Simon, surnamed the Just, and who according to other historians[h] died about 290 years before the christian æra, and Simeon, who took our Saviour into his arms when he was presented at the temple, were one and the same person, and that he was then 350 years of age.[i] I do not say that these two mistakes are equal, but the pretence for thus confounding two persons is just the same in both these cases, which is the agreement in name and character. For the high-priest's name is sometimes written Simeon: he was called the Just; and the evangelist says, that Simeon was "*Just* and devout."

[f] Frequens erat id nomen apud Hebræos. Itaque non mirum est diversis temporibus plures extitisse factiosos homines ejusdem nominis. Grot. in loc.

[g] Duos enim Theudas fuisse, qui se prophetas esse mentiti, alter post alterum Judæos ad spem rerum novarum concitaverint, nunquam adduci possim ut credam. Vales. ubi supra.

[h] See Prideaux Conn. Part. i. Book 8. year before Christ 292.

[i] In septuaginta autem fuit vir, qui nuncupatus est Simeon Justus; is qui excepit ulnis Dominum nostrum Christum e templo.——Produxit autem Deus ei vitæ terminum, adeo ut viveret cccl. annos, et videret Dominum nostrum Christum. Quem cum vidisset, dixit, Nunc dimitte servum tuum, O Domine, &c. apud Selden. De Succ. Pontif. l. i. c. vii.

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CHAP. VIII.

OF THE EGYPTIAN IMPOSTOR.

THERE is yet another particular, in which it has been thought by some that Josephus contradicts St. Luke. In ch. xxi. of the Acts of the Apostles, is the account of the uproar at Jerusalem, when the Jews apprehended Paul, and would have "killed him." When the chief captain had taken him from the Jews, and had got him in his own custody, it is said, he put this question to him; "Art not thou that Egyptian, which before these days madest an uproar, and leddest out into the wilderness *four thousand* men that were murderers?" Acts xxi. 38.

The objection lies against the number here mentioned. For Josephus, speaking of this same Egyptian, says, 'He 'gathered together thirty thousand men.'

We have the story twice told in Josephus, in his Antiquities, and in his History of the Jewish War. I shall set down Josephus's words, and leave it to the reader to judge, whether an objection of any weight can be formed against St. Luke from the account we have of this affair in Josephus. I shall in the first place transcribe the account in the Jewish War, because that was first written.

'But the Egyptian false prophet brought a yet heavier 'disaster upon the Jews. For this impostor coming into 'the country, and gaining the reputation of a prophet, 'gathered together thirty thousand men, who were deceived '[a] by him. Having brought them round out of the wilder-'ness up to the mount of Olives, he intended from thence to 'make his attack upon Jerusalem, and having beaten the 'Roman guard, to bring the people into subjection to him, 'and govern them by the help of his armed associates. But

[a] Μειζονι δε ταυτης πληγη Ιουδαιους εκακωσεν ὁ Αιγυπτιος ψευδοπροφητης· παραγενομενος γαρ εις την χωραν, ανθρωπος γοης, και προφητης πιστιν επιθεις ἑαυτῳ, περι τρισμυριους μεν αθροιζει των ηπατημενων· περαγαγων δε αυτους εκ της ερημιας εις το Ελαιων καλουμενον ορος, εκειθεν οιος τε ην εις Ἱεροσολυμα παρελθειν βιαζεσθαι, και κρατησας της τε Ῥωμαϊκης φρουρας και του δημου τυραννειν, χρωμενος τοις συνεισπεσουσι δορυφοροις· φθανει δε αυτου την ὁρμην Φηλιξ ὑπαντιασας μετα των Ῥωμαϊκων ὁπλιτων, και πας ὁ δημος συνεψηφισατο της αμυνης· ὡστε συμβολης γενομενης, τον μεν Αιγυπτιον φυγειν μετ' ολιγων, διαφθαρηναι δε και ζωργηθηναι πλειους των συν αυτῳ· το δε λοιπον πληθος σκεδασθεν επι την ἑαυτων ἑκαστον διαλαθειν· De Bell. l. ii. c. 13. sect. 5.

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'Felix coming suddenly upon him with the Roman soldiers, 'prevented the attack; and all the people joined with him 'in their own defence, so that when they came to engage, 'the Egyptian fled, followed by a few only. A great num- 'ber [or, the greatest part] of those that were with him were 'either slain, or taken prisoners. The rest of the multitude, 'being scattered, shifted for themselves as they could.'

The account he gives of this affair in the Antiquities is thus: 'About the same time [he had been speaking of 'some other events in the beginning of Nero's reign] there 'came[b] a person out of Egypt to Jerusalem, who pretended 'to be a prophet, and having persuaded a good number of 'the meaner sort of people to follow him to the mount of 'Olives, he told them, that from thence he would let them 'see the walls of Jerusalem fall down at his command, and 'promised through them to give them entrance into the city. 'But Felix, being informed of these things, ordered his sol- 'diers to their arms, and marching out of Jerusalem with a 'large body of horse and foot, fell upon those who were 'with the Egyptian, killed four hundred of them, and took 'two hundred prisoners; but the Egyptian getting out of 'the fight, escaped.'

The reader, if he thinks it needful, may consult the commentators, and other writers, who[c] have considered this difficulty. Grotius supposes, that they were at first four thousand, but that at length they increased to the number of thirty thousand. Valesius reckons there were four thousand only that were murderers, or sicarii; though the whole company amounted to the number which Josephus mentions. Whitby thinks, that it is likely the number in Josephus was originally three thousand. And certainly none of these solutions are contemptible. But, for my own part, I think there is more need of reconciling Josephus with himself, or at least one of these accounts with the other, than to reconcile St. Luke with Josephus.

If indeed we had any good reason to think, that the num-

[b] Αφικνειται δε τις εξ Αιγυπτου κατα τουτον τον καιρον εις τα Ιεροσολυμα, προφητης ειναι λεγων, και συμβουλευων τω δημοτικω πληθει συν αυτω προς ορος το προσαγορευομενον Ελαιων ερχεσθαι—Θελειν γαρ, εφασκεν, αυτους εκειθεν επιδειξαι, ως, κελευσαντος αυτου, πιπτοι τα των Ιεροσολυμων τειχη, δι' ων την εισοδον αυτοις παρεξειν επηγγελλετο· Φηλιξ δε, ως επυθετο ταυτα, κελευει τους στρατιωτας αναλαβειν τα οπλα, και μετα πολλων ιππεων τε και πεζων ορμησας απο των Ιεροσολυμων προσβαλλει τοις περι τον Αιγυπτιον· και τετρακοσιους μεν αυτων ανειλε, διακοσιους δε ζωντας ελαβεν· ο δε Αιγυπτιος αυτος διαδρασας εκ της μαχης αφανης εγενετο. Ant. l. xx. c. 7. sect. 6.

[c] Grot. Whitby in loc. Joseph. p 1075. not. p. Vales. Euseb. Hist. l. ii. c. 21.

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ber in Josephus was originally three thousand, the disagreement would be small. The number of a multitude got together in a short time, and soon dispersed, might not be exactly known: the chief captain at Jerusalem might compute them at four thousand, and Josephus think they were but three thousand.

Aldrich has proposed another very ingenious conjecture; that originally the number of the whole company in Josephus's War of the Jews was four thousand; and that the number of two hundred, said in the Antiquities to be taken prisoners, was originally two thousand: both which errors might happen only by a very small alteration.[d]

But I choose not to insist upon any of these solutions, which rely on emendations, made without the authority of any manuscripts. The numbers in Josephus are at present plainly faulty. In the first account, he says, they were thirty thousand in all, and that a great number of these were either slain or taken prisoners. I might have rendered the words, the most of them, or, the greatest part of them. But though I have not given them that sense, yet certainly the four hundred slain, and two hundred taken prisoners, in the other account, cannot be reckoned a great number, or a large part of thirty thousand.

But then, as I do not insist on these conjectural emendations for reconciling Josephus with St. Luke; so, on the other hand, it would be very unfair, first to take it for granted, that the number of thirty thousand in Josephus is right, and then arbitrarily to reform all the other numbers in him, in order to form an objection against the New Testament.

I think, therefore, there can be no objection brought against the numbers in St. Luke, from what Josephus has said of this affair, because his two accounts are not consistent one with another in this point; and that is sufficient.

These were my thoughts concerning this difficulty formerly. But I have now an observation to offer to the reader, which I think will not only reconcile St. Luke with Josephus, but likewise Josephus with himself; and that, without making any alterations in his numbers. This observation has been communicated to me by the truly learned and accurate Mr. John Ward, professor of rhetoric at Gresham college.

The history of this impostor seems to lie thus. He came first to Jerusalem, went from thence into the country, and

[d] Suspicamur interim pro διακοσιους scriptum olim δισχιλους, permutatis λ & δ, vel etiam Λ et Δ. ex τετρακισχιλιους factum esse τρισμυριους ne dubitamus quidem. Aldr. in Joseph. p. 1075. not. p.

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taking a circuit by the wilderness, returned again to mount Olivet. In the Antiquities, (which contain the shorter account of this affair,) Josephus mentions only the beginning and end of the story, that is, the impostor's coming at first to Jerusalem, and at last to the mount of Olives; and drops the middle part, of which he had given a sufficient account in the books of the War. The chief captain's 'four thousand,' therefore, were the men carried out of Jerusalem, who were afterwards [e] joined by others in the country to the number of thirty thousand, as related by Josephus. It is likely also, that before he left the city, he had so concerted matters with some friends whom he left behind him, as to entertain hopes, that upon his return his design would be favoured by great numbers of Jews in Jerusalem, and that he should have no opposition from any but the Romans. But upon his arrival at mount Olivet, finding the Romans drawn out to attack him, and the citizens in general prepared to oppose him, he did not dare to venture an engagement, but presently fled with a body of his most trusty friends, as is usual in such cases. With these in particular the Roman soldiers were ordered to engage, neglecting the rest who were only a confused multitude, and immediately made off as they could by different ways. When therefore, Josephus says, the Egyptian fled, accompanied by a few [f] only, he is to be understood of that body which at first fled away with the impostor, and were but a few, with respect to the whole thirty thousand. When he says, the greatest [g] part, or most of those that were with him were slain, or taken prisoners, which in the Antiquities are said to be four hundred killed, and two hundred taken, he means the greatest part of those few that fled with him. Nor need it be thought strange, that the number of the slain and the prisoners is no greater; since, as it seems, Josephus speaks only of that body of men who fled with the impostor. It is possible, some of the rest of the multitude might be killed likewise, though Josephus takes no notice of them; but it is most likely not many. For it seems by Josephus, as if only the Roman soldiers marched out against them, while the Jewish people in Jerusalem stood upon their own defence, if any onset had been made upon them.

Thus then, though there were but four thousand of these men at first, they might be joined by others afterwards to the number of thirty thousand. So St. Luke is reconciled

[e] The words εξαγαγων in St. Luke, and αθροιζει in Josephus, seem very well adapted to this distinction. [f] Τον μεν Αιγυπτιον φυγειν μετ' ολιγων.
[g] Διαφθαρηναι τε και ζωγρηθηναι πλειστους των συν αυτῳ.

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with Josephus. And the number, said by Josephus to be slain, or taken prisoners, might be a great number, or the greatest part, of that body which fled with the Egyptian upon the attack made by Felix and his soldiers. Thus Josephus is reconciled with himself.

But yet I cannot leave the history Josephus has given us of this Egyptian, without making two or three observations.

1. The chief captain here asks St. Paul, "Art not thou that Egyptian, which[h] *leddest out* into the wilderness?"—which seems to imply, since the question was asked in Jerusalem, that these men, or a good number of them at least, were drawn out of Jerusalem: and Josephus says expressly in the latter account, that this impostor came 'out of 'Egypt to Jerusalem; and persuaded a good number of the 'meaner sort of people, (i. e. who were there,) to follow 'him.'

2. The chief captain speaks of their being "led out into the *wilderness.*" This circumstance Josephus has mentioned in the first account, where he more particularly relates their march, and the compass they took, than in the other.

3. This Egyptian escaped. Josephus has put down this in both places, and undoubtedly this is supposed in the question put to St. Paul by the chief captain. The agreement in this particular deserves to be taken notice of, because it was the common fate of these impostors to perish themselves, with a good number of their followers.

4. This Egyptian caused this disturbance, according to Josephus, when Felix was governor of Judea. This impostor therefore did not arise any long time before the seizure of St. Paul at Jerusalem. He might be still living therefore; in this respect there was no absurdity in this question of the chief captain.

5. Another particular, which we are obliged to Josephus for, is, that all the people (at Jerusalem) favoured, or joined with Felix, upon this occasion, in their own defence; that is, all but some very mean people. If Josephus had not mentioned this, perhaps it would have been said, since considerable numbers usually joined these impostors, and it is likely more favoured them, how was it possible, that the chief captain should ask Paul, when he saw the whole city was in an uproar, and the people were ready to tear him to pieces, "Art not thou that Egyptian?" that pretended prophet, that "before these days madest an up-

[h] Ο εξαγαγων.

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roar?" a man of a favourite character at this time among the Jews!

I think, indeed, that if Josephus had omitted this circumstance, it would have been a very good reply, to say, that the chief captain did not yet know what was the matter; and though there was a loud cry in the multitude, of "away with him;" yet the confusion was such, "some saying one thing," and "some another," that the chief captain had yet no notion what the case was. However, we have no occasion to have recourse to this reply. Josephus has told us, that all the people favoured Felix in his enterprize against this man; whether it was because he came from Egypt, or what was the reason, is of no importance.

6. There is a remarkable agreement between the chief captain in the Acts and Josephus, in the description they give of this man. The chief captain says, "Art not thou that Egyptian?" And it is observable, that Josephus has not mentioned this man's name in either of the accounts. In the first he calls him the Egyptian false prophet, and the Egyptian: in the other he says, there came one (or a certain person) out of Egypt: and again, Felix fell upon those who were with the Egyptian; but the Egyptian escaped.

We have then in the Acts the exact manner in which the Jews about this time spoke of this impostor. This is with me a proof, that St. Luke lived and wrote about this time: that is, at the time he is supposed to write. We have here undoubtedly the chief captain's question in the very words in which it was put. St. Luke must have received this account from St. Paul, or some one else who was present, if he was not by himself.

I hope, therefore, that the account which Josephus has given of this impostor, will be no longer reckoned an objection against St. Luke, but a confirmation of his history.

THE CONCLUSION.

I HAVE now performed what I undertook, and have shown that the account given by the sacred writers, of persons and things, is confirmed by other ancient authors of the best note. There is nothing in the books of the New Testament unsuitable to the age in which they are supposed to have been written. There appears in these writers a knowledge

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of the affairs of those times not to be found in authors of later ages. We are hereby assured, that the books of the New Testament are genuine, and that they were written by persons who lived at or near the time of those events, of which they have given the history.

Any one may be sensible, how hard it is for the most learned, acute, and cautious man, to write a book in the character of some person of an earlier age, and not betray his own time by some mistake about the affairs of the age in which he pretends to place himself, or by allusions to customs or principles since sprung up, or by some phrase or expression not then in use. It is no easy thing to escape all these dangers in the smallest performance, though it be a treatise of theory or speculation: these hazards are greatly increased when the work is of any length, and especially if it be historical, and be concerned with characters and customs. It is yet more difficult to carry on such a design in a work consisting of several pieces, written to all appearance by several persons. Many indeed are desirous to deceive, but all hate to be deceived: and therefore, though attempts have been made to impose upon the world in this way, they have never or very rarely succeeded, but have been detected and exposed by the skill and vigilance of those who have been concerned for the truth.

The volume of the New Testament consists of several pieces; these are ascribed to eight several persons; and there are the strongest appearances, that they were not all written by any one hand, but by as many persons as they are ascribed to. There are lesser differences in the relations of some facts, and such seeming contradictions, as would never have happened, if these books had been all the work of one person, or of several who wrote in concert. There are as many peculiarities of temper and style, as there are names of writers; divers of which show no depth of genius or compass of knowledge. Here are representations of titles, posts, behaviour of persons of higher and lower rank in many parts of the world; persons are introduced, and their characters are set in a full light; here is a history of things done in several cities and countries; and there are allusions to a vast variety of customs and tenets of persons of several nations, sects, and religions. The whole is written without affectation, with the greatest simplicity and plainness, and is confirmed by other ancient writers of unquestioned authority.

If it be difficult for a person of learning and experience, to compose a small treatise concerning matters of specula-

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tion, with the characters of a more early age than that in which he writes; it is next to impossible, that such a work of considerable length, consisting of several pieces, with a great variety of historical facts, representations of characters, principles, and customs of several nations, and distant countries, of persons of all ranks and degrees, of many interests and parties, should be performed by eight several persons, the most of them unlearned, without any appearance of concert.

I might perhaps have called this argument a demonstration, if that term had not been often misapplied by men of warm imaginations, and been bestowed upon reasonings that have but a small degree of probability. But though it should not be a strict demonstration that these writings are genuine; or though it be not absolutely impossible in the nature of the thing, that the books of the New Testament should have been composed in a later age than that to which they are assigned, and of which they have innumerable characters; yet, I think, it is in the highest degree improbable, and altogether incredible.

If the books of the New Testament were written by persons who lived before the destruction of Jerusalem; that is, if they were written at the time, in which they are said to have been written, the things related in them are true. If they had not been matter of fact, they would not have been credited by any persons near that time, and in those parts of the world in which they are said to have been done, but would have been treated as the most notorious lies and falsehoods. Suppose three or four books should now appear amongst us in the language most generally understood, giving an account of many remarkable and extraordinary events, which had happened in some kingdom of Europe, and in the most noted cities of the countries next adjoining to it; some of them said to have happened between sixty and seventy years ago, others between twenty and thirty, others nearer our own time: would not they be looked upon as the most manifest and ridiculous forgeries and impostures that ever were contrived? Would great numbers of persons, in those very places, change their religious principles and practices upon the credit of things reported to be publicly done, which no man had ever heard of before? Or rather, is it possible, that such a design as this should be conceived by any sober and serious persons, or even the most wild and extravagant?

If the history of the New Testament be credible, the christian religion is true. If the things here related to have

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been done by Jesus, and by his followers, by virtue of powers derived from him, do not prove a person to come from God, and that his doctrine is true and divine, nothing can. And as Jesus does here in the circumstances of his birth, life, sufferings, and after exaltation, and in the success of his doctrine, answer the description of the great person promised and foretold in the Old Testament, he is at the same time showed to be the Messiah.

From the agreement of the writers of the New Testament with other ancient writers, we are not only assured that these books are genuine, but also that they are come down to us pure and uncorrupted, without any considerable interpolations or alterations. If such had been made in them, there would have appeared some smaller differences at least between them and other ancient writings.

There has been in all ages a wicked propensity in mankind, to advance their own notions and fancies by deceits and forgeries: they have been practised by heathens, Jews, and christians, in support of imaginary historical facts, religious schemes and practices, and political interests. With these views some whole books have been forged, and passages inserted into others of undoubted authority. Many of the christian writers of the second and third centuries, and of the following ages, appear to have had false notions, concerning the state of Judea between the nativity of Jesus and the destruction of Jerusalem, and concerning many other things occasionally mentioned in the New Testament. The consent of the best ancient writers with those of the New Testament is a proof, that these books are still untouched, and that they have not been new-modelled and altered by christians of later times, in conformity to their own peculiar sentiments.

This may be reckoned an argument, that the generality of christians have had a very high veneration for these books; or else, that the several sects among them have had an eye upon each other, that no alterations might be made in those writings, to which they have all appealed. It is also an argument, that the Divine Providence has all along watched over and guarded these best of books, (a very fit object of an especial care,) which contain the best of principles, were apparently written with the best views, and have in them inimitable characters of truth and simplicity.

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AN

APPENDIX

CONCERNING THE TIME OF HEROD'S DEATH.

IN all inquiries concerning the chronology of the New Testament, and particularly concerning the true time of our Saviour's nativity, and the commencement of his ministry, it is very needful to take into consideration the time of Herod the Great's death. Indeed it is very desirable, in the first place, to settle exactly the date of this event, but to do this is a very hard task: nor has any one yet been so happy, as to remove all difficulties, and give universal satisfaction upon this head.

That none may be quite at a loss in judging of the difficulty considered in the third chapter of this book, I shall here give a brief account of this matter.

The chief opinions at present concerning the time of Herod's death are these three. Some think he died a little before the passover of A. U. 750, Julian year 42; others, on November 25 that same year; others, a short time before the passover, A. U. 751.

I. The English reader may see all, in a manner, that can be said for the second opinion, in Mr. Whiston's 'Short 'View of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists,' Prop. 12. But, though several very learned men have embraced this opinion, it appears to me a mere hypothesis, without foundation: the only ground of it is a Jewish account of their feasts and fasts, in which that day is noted as a feast, because on it Herod died; but that[a] book appears to be of no authority.

II. That Herod died but a short time before some one of the Jewish passovers, is evident from Josephus.[b] If we reject entirely his authority, it is in vain to talk about the time of Herod's death. Archelaus kept a passover in Judea after his father's death, before he went to Rome; which he would not have done if it had not been near. He had good reason to hasten to Rome; he had many enemies: Herod Antipas had been appointed his father's successor in a former

[a] See Whitby, Annotat. Matt. ii. 23. Lamy, Apparat. Chronol. Par. i. cap. 9. sect. 5.

[b] De Bell. lib. ii. c. 1. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 9.

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will, and he pretended that will ought to take place. When the Jews at the temple made their demands of Archelaus, he gave them fair words, that they might not make any disturbance and retard his journey,[c] he being in haste to go to Rome; this haste is expressed by Josephus in the War, and in the Antiquities, in very strong terms. Archelaus, in his way to Rome, at Cæsarea met Sabinus, the emperor's procurator in Syria, who was going[d] in all haste to Jerusalem to secure Herod's treasure for Augustus. By help of the intercessions of Varus, president of Syria, (who was then likewise at Cæsarea,) Archelaus prevailed upon Sabinus to promise, that he would not proceed any farther. But notwithstanding that, when Archelaus was gone away he went up to Jerusalem, and there ordered all things according to his own will and pleasure. This was all managed without any orders from Rome. If Herod had been dead two or three months, they would have had directions from thence upon this matter; nay, if Herod had been dead one month, this vigilant procurator would have been at Jerusalem, before now. I take this to be a kind of demonstration, that, according to Josephus, Herod's death happened but a very short space before some passover.

III. That Herod died a little before the passover, A. U. 750, Julian year 42, is argued in this manner. His distemper had made great progress before the pulling down the golden eagle at the temple. The Jewish rabbies excited their scholars to this action, 'news being brought that 'Herod[e] was *dying*,' as it is in the War; '*dead*, as it is in the Antiquities. These rabbies were taken up, and carried to Jericho, where Herod was; a council was called, and they were tried. Herod was so ill that he could not stand, and notwithstanding the new strength[g] which rage gave him upon the occasion, he was carried[h] to the council in a chair.

[c] Προς ἁ παρωξυνετο μεν Αρχελαος, απειχετο δε την αμυναν ὑπο της περι την εξοδον επειξεως, κ. λ. De Bell. l. ii. c. 1. sect. 3. Τυτοις Αρχελαος, καιπερ δεινως φερων την ὁρμην αυτων, επενυε, εχων την επι Ρωμης ὁδον ανυεσθαι προκειμενην αυτῳ ταχος, επι περισκοπησει των δοξαντων τῳ Καισαρι. Ant. l. xvii. c. 9. sect. 1.

[d] Ὑπαντιαζει δ' εν Καισαρειᾳ Αρχελαον Σαβινος, Καισαρος επιτροπος των εν Συριᾳ πραγματων, εις Ιυδαιαν ὡρμημενος επι φυλακῃ των Ἡρωδυ χρηματων. Antiq. ibid. sect. 3. vid. etiam De Bell. ibid. c. 2. sect. 2.

[e] Διηφημισθη και Θνησκειν ὁ βασιλευς. De Bell. l. i. c. 33. sect. 1.

[f] Και οἱ μεν τοιυτοις λογοις εξηραν τυς νευς· αφικνειται και λογος εις αυτυς τεθναναι φραζων τον βασιλεα, και συνεπραττε τοις σοφισαις. Ant. l. xvii. c. 6. sect. 3.

[g] Επι τυτοις ὁ βασιλευς, δι' ὑπερβολην της οργης κρειττων της νοσυ γενομενος, προεισιν εις εκκλησιαν, κ. λ. De Bell. l. i. c. 33. sect. 4.

[h] Και παραγενομενων, εξεκκλησιασας εις το αυτο Θεατρον επι κλινιδιυ κειμενος αδυναμιᾳ τυ στηναι. Antiq. ibid.

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Soon after this these rabbies were burnt to death, and that very night[l] there was an eclipse of the moon; this eclipse, according to astronomical computations, happened[k] the 13th of March, A. U. 750. After this, Herod grew worse and worse: it is plain, he could not live long. The passover[l] of this year happened the 11th of April. From the 13th of March to the 11th of April, is a sufficient space of time for all that Josephus has related concerning Herod's illness, his settling his affairs, the execution of Antipater, Herod's death and funeral; which are the things placed between the eclipse and Archelaus's coming to Jerusalem at the passover.

In the War,[m] Josephus says, that Archelaus was banished in the ninth year of his reign: in the Antiquities, that he was accused before Augustus by the Jews and Samaritans in the[n] tenth year of his government. In his own Life, Josephus says, that his father was born in the[o] tenth year of Archelaus's reign. From whence one would be apt to conclude, that Archelaus reigned nine years complete, and that the tenth year was current when he was banished. Dio[p] places Archelaus's banishment in the 759th year of Rome. If Herod did not die till the beginning of A. U. 751, the ninth year of Archelaus's reign could not be completed in the 759th year of Rome. But if Herod be supposed to have died the beginning of A. U. 750, Josephus and Dio agree. Moreover, Josephus says, that Cyrenius[q] seized Archelaus's estate, and finished the assessment in Judea in the thirty-seventh year after the defeat of Antony at Actium by Cæsar Augustus. The victory at Actium was obtained on September 2, A. U. 723; therefore the 37th year from it begins Sept. 2, A. U. 759. and ends Sept. 2, 760. Supposing, then, that Herod died the beginning of A. U. 750, there is in this particular also a very good harmony between Josephus and Dio.

There is, however, one great difficulty attending this opinion. For Josephus has said in two places, that Herod

[l] Και ἡ σεληνη δε τῃ αυτῃ νυκτι εξελιπεν. ibid. sect. 4.

[k] Petav. Doctrin. Temp. l. xi. c. 1. [l] Vid. Lamy, App. Chron. p. 58.

[m] Ετει της αρχης εννατῳ φυγαδευεται μεν εις Βιενναν. De Bell. l. ii. c. 7. sect. 3. [n] Δεκατῳ δε ετει της αρχης Αρχελαε, οἱ πρωτοι—κατηγορουσιν αυτου επι Καισαρος. L. xvii. c. 15. sect. 2.

[o] Και [γινεται] Ματθιας βασιλευοντος Αρχελαε το δεκατον. sect. 1.

[p] Ὁ τε Ἡρωδης ὁ Παλαιστινος,—ὑπο τας Αλπεις ὑπερωρισθη· και το μερος της αρχης αυτου εδημοσιωθη· l. lv. p. 567. B.

[q] Κυρηνιος δε τα Αρχελαου χρηματα αποδομενος ηδη, και των αποτιμητεων περας εχοντων, αἱ εγενοντο τριακοστῳ και εβδομῳ ετει μετα την Αντωνιου εν Ακτιῳ ἡτταν ὑπο Καισαρος. Ant. l. xviii. c. 2. sect. 1.

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reigned thirty-four years after the death of[r] Antigonus, and thirty-seven years after he was declared king by the Roman senate. And he placeth this declaration[s] of the senate in A. U. 714, the death of[t] Antigonus in the year 717. If indeed at the beginning of A. U. 750, Herod had reigned thirty-six years complete from the first date of his reign, and thirty-three from the latter; so that the 37th of the one epoch, and the 34th of the other, were to be current at the time of his death; then Herod might be said not improperly to have reigned, with respect to the one, thirty-seven years, and to the other thirty-four. It is supposed by some learned men, that Herod was declared king by the senate,[u] toward the very end of the year 714: by others[v] at the latter end of October, or beginning of November; by others[w] in September or October: by others[x] about the middle of July that year. But then, at the beginning of the year 750, Herod could not have reigned from this date thirty-six years complete, nor was the 37th year current. Herod took Jerusalem, as some[y] think, in September, A. U. 717; others, about[z] the end of June; archbishop Usher,[a] on the first of January this year. If the archbishop's supposition could be allowed, we should have here no difficulty. But if any of the others are followed, then from this date, of Herod's reign, the taking of Jerusalem, or the death of Antigonus, (which are all one,) to the beginning of the year 750, we have not quite thirty-three years complete, nor is the thirty-fourth current.

In answer to this difficulty it is said[b] by learned men, that the years of the Jewish kings were computed from the beginning of the month Nisan, which usually answers pretty near to our March. Insomuch, that if a king began to reign in any part of the year before, even in February, another year of his reign would begin with Nisan, that is, March. So Josephus relates, that Jerusalem was taken[c] by Pompey, when Antony and Cicero were consuls; by Herod, when M.

[r] —Τελευτα βασιλευσας αφ' ᾧ μεν αποκτεινας Αντιγονον εκρατησε των πραγματων, ετη τεσσαρα και τριακοντα, αφ' ᾧ δε ὑπο Ῥωμαιων απεδειχθη βασιλευς, ἑπτα και τριακοντα· de B. J. l. i. c. ult. sect. 8. Vid. etiam Ant. l. xvii. c. 8. sect. 1.

[s] Ant. l. xiv. c. 14. sect. 5. De B. l. i. c. 14. sect. 4.

[t] Ant. l. xiv. c. ult. sect. 4.

[u] Alix. de J. C. Anno et Mense natali. p. 75.

[v] Basnage, ann. Polit. E. Vol. i. p. 17. n. 16.

[w] Noris. Cenot. Pis. p. 139. Pagi Appar. p. 80.

[x] Whiston's Short View, p. 150.

[y] Alix. ubi supra, p. 117.

[z] Whiston, ibid. p. 152. Basnage, ibid. p. 30. n. 9.

[a] Annals, P. J. 4677.

[b] Inde etiam anni regum Hebræorum supputabantur, ita ut si quis rex m Adar regnaret, a Nisam alter annus imperii ejus inciperet. Reland. Antiq. Heb. de Temporib. Sacris, c. 1. init. vid. etiam Kepler. de Ann. natal. J. C. cap. 7. p. 46.

[c] Ant. l. xiv. c. 4. sect. 3.

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Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls, 'on the very 'anniversary of the same calamity from Pompey, it having 'been taken by him on the same[d] day, twenty-seven years 'before:' though there were but twenty-six years complete between these two events. And from the taking of Jerusalem by Herod to its destruction by Titus, Josephus computes[e] one hundred and seven years, though it was but one hundred and six complete. But, in my opinion, these instances are not home to the point. For in them the year named is current, whereas, in the case before us, it is not so. If Herod died in the beginning of the year 750, the thirty-third and thirty-sixth years of his reign were not complete.

IV. Other[f] learned men suppose, that Herod died a short time before the passover, A. U. 751. This they argue from the number of years assigned to Herod's reign in the places above mentioned. They do not allow the truth of the Talmudical account of computing the reigns of the Jewish kings from the beginning of Nisan, or from the passover. If Josephus had followed such a kind of computation, he would have given some hint of it, in his books written in the Greek language, and for the instruction of strangers. They say also, that Herod's was a slow, lingering distemper, and that it is not likely he should die so soon after the execution of the rabbies and their accomplices, as is supposed by the patrons of the former opinion. Lastly, they observe the[g] agreement of all the other numbers in Josephus, concerning the dates of the reign of Archelaus and other sons of Herod.

This opinion, however, labours under several very great difficulties. Dio's account of the removal of Archelaus is entirely rejected. But to do this[h] is not very reasonable. Farther, the supporters of this opinion must allow of the eclipse above mentioned; or they must say, it was no real eclipse, but only some obscurity that was taken for an eclipse. If they allow the eclipse, then Herod must have lived a year after the execution of the rabbies, provided he[i] died but a few days before the passover, A. U. 751. But

[d] Ibid. c. 16. sect. 4. [e] Ibid. l. xx. c. 9. vid. Kepler, ibid.

[f] Vid. Lamy, Appar. Chron. Par. i. c. 9. Basnage, annal. Pol. Eccl. Vol. i. p. 156. n. v. [g] Note; the learned men, who espouse the former opinion, suppose also that Josephus's numbers in all other places agree with them. [h] Vid. Noris. Cenot. Pis. p. 147.

[i] Quæ aptis temporibus tribui non possunt, nisi hæc mors contigerit jam aliquibus mensibus promoto anno U. C. 751, in quo comprobavimus mortuum fuisse Herodem. Quoquo autem anno mortuus sit, *non multis ante pascha diebus* mors illa obtigit, ut testatur Josephus, cui fidem adhibemus. Lamy, ubi supra, sect.

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it is incredible that Herod should live so long, considering the description Josephus gives of his distemper. Besides, it is evident, that the mourning of the Jewish people for the rabbies, at the passover next after Herod's death, was [k] very fresh, which it could not have been, if the rabbies had been dead above a year before. Moreover, it is evident, that Herod's ambassadors were sent away to Rome, to know Augustus's pleasure concerning Antipater, some [l] time before the disturbance at the temple, when the golden eagle was taken down. And it is very plain, that Herod lived not [m] many days after the arrival of the ambassadors. So that, according to this opinion, these ambassadors must have spent above a year in their journey from Judea to Rome and back again, though they were sent upon very pressing business, which is also incredible. Or they must reject the account of the eclipse, and say, as Lamy [n] does, that it was only a paleness or obscurity, which was no real eclipse of the moon; which, I believe, will appear very unreasonable to all astronomers.

These are the three principal opinions concerning the time of Herod's death: and these the main arguments for, and objections against them. I presume it appears to the reader, from particulars alleged from Josephus and Dio, that Herod did not die before the year 750, nor survive the year 751: and that he died a short time before the Jewish passover of one of these years. It follows, that if Herod died in 750, he died three years and nine months before the vulgar christian æra, which commences January 1, A. U. 754: if at the time above mentioned, in the year 751, then he died about two years and nine months before the said æra. Which is the truth, I am not able to determine.

[k] Ην δε το πενθος ουκ υπεσταλμενον, αλλ' οιμωγαι διαπρυσιοι, και θρηνος εγκελευστος, κοπετοι τε περιηχουντες ὁλην την πολιν. De B. l. ii. c. 1. sect. 2. Vid. et Ant. l. xvii. c. 9. sect. 1.

[l] De B. l. i. c. 32. fin. Ant. l. xvii. c. 5. fin.

[m] De B. ibid. c. 33. sect. 7, 8. Ant. ibid. c. 7. &c. 8. sect. 1.

[n] Ubi supra, sect. 6.

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THE

CASE OF THE DÆMONIACS

MENTIONED IN THE

NEW TESTAMENT:

FOUR DISCOURSES UPON MARK V. 19.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

FOR FARTHER ILLUSTRATING THE SUBJECT.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCLVIII.]

PREFACE.

THESE discourses were preached to a small but attentive audience, in 1742. In the year 1737, were published by a learned author, 'An Enquiry, and a Further Enquiry, into 'the meaning of Dæmoniacs in the New Testament.' But as the subject had much employed my thoughts, and the plan had been drawn up a good while before, I did not discern any sufficient reason for laying it aside.

The publication of these discourses has been often desired by divers of those that heard them, and by others. They who know how I have been engaged, need not be told the reason of the delay. They might have been put into one continued dissertation, but then the practical observations must have been struck out; which I was unwilling to have done. And in their present form they must remain, for a while at least, a monument, that any subject, tending to illustrate the scriptures, may be treated in christian assemblies, if it be done with modesty and discretion.

These Discourses, with the Appendix, may be reckoned a Supplement to the first part of the Credibility of the Gospel History.

MARCH 15th, 1758.

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DISCOURSE I.

MARK v. 19.

Howbeit Jesus suffered him not, but saith unto him, Go home to thy friends, and tell them, how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee.

IT is now some years since I explained and improved, as I was able, the history of our Lord's miracles, recorded in the gospels. I think that very few were entirely omitted, which are particularly related, except this in the country of the Gadarenes. And I always intended to consider this likewise, though it has been long deferred. As life, through the Divine goodness, is still preserved, I propose now to consider this history, which, with some few differences only, is found in three several evangelists, Matt. viii. 28—34; Mark v. 1—20; Luke viii. 26—39.

I. In the first place, I shall consider distinctly this whole narration, comparing together the several evangelists as we go along.

II. After which I intend to make some remarks upon this miracle, and the history of it.

I. In the first place, I shall distinctly consider the whole of this narration, comparing the several evangelists as we go along.

The time of this miracle may be in some measure perceived by the connexion: in all the three evangelists, it is preceded by an account of our Lord's crossing the sea of Galilee, with his disciples, and laying a tempest, which they had met with in their passage.

St. Luke had before given an account of divers of our Lord's discourses, ch. viii. 19, 22, 26, "Then came unto him his mother, and his brethren, and could not come at him for the press.—Now it came to pass on a certain day, that he went into a ship with the disciples. And he said unto them, Let us go unto the other side of the lake.—And they arrived at the country of the Gadarenes, which is over against Galilee."

St. Mark also, having related divers of our Lord's discourses, says, "And the same day, when even was come, he saith unto them, Let us pass over unto the other side.

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And when they had sent away the multitude, they took him even as he was in the ship. And there were also with him other little ships. And there arose a great storm of wind, and the waves beat into the ship, so that it was now full. And he was in the hinder part of the ship asleep on a pillow; and they awoke him,—And he arose and rebuked the wind. And the wind ceased, and there was a great calm. —And they feared exceedingly, and said one to another, What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him? And they came over unto the other side of the sea, into the country of the Gadarenes." That is, our Lord passed from the western to the eastern side of the sea of Galilee, or of Tiberias, as it is called at other times.

St. Matthew calls the place where our Lord arrived, "the country of the Gergesenes:" whereas the two other evangelists, as we have just seen, call it "the country of the Gadarenes." Some learned men think, that this last is the right reading in St. Matthew's gospel also.

It follows in St. Mark, whose history we shall for the most part take for our text, and cite in the first place: "And when he was come out of the ship, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit." From which words, I think, it may be concluded, that this man's abode, and the burial-place, where he chiefly was, lay near the shore, or upon the sea-side. St. Luke's words confirm this supposition, which are these: "And when he went forth to land, there met him out of the city a certain man, which had devils long time."

But here is a difference between St. Matthew and the two other evangelists. St. Mark says, "Immediately there met him a man with an unclean spirit." St. Luke, "A certain man, which had devils." But St. Matthew says, "There met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs." Of this difficulty several solutions have been offered by learned interpreters of scripture. The most likely seems to be this, that one of these men was upon divers accounts more remarkable than the other: he, especially, may have been "exceeding fierce," and his distemper of the longest standing. Perhaps he was best known in those parts, being an inhabitant of the city not far off. He likewise was the person with whom our Lord discoursed chiefly, asking him his name, and receiving for answer, that he was called Legion. It is likely, that one only desired to accompany the Lord Jesus when cured: and, possibly, he only of the two had a grateful sense of the benefit conferred, and afterwards declared, "how great things the

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Lord had done for him." There being therefore several things peculiar to one, two of the evangelists speak of him only, omitting the other, for the sake of brevity: but there is no contradiction between them and the third evangelist. There were two, as St. Matthew says: which is not denied by St. Mark or St. Luke, though they confine their relation to one only.

Says St. Mark, "Immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling among the tombs." St. Luke, "Neither abode in any house, but in the tombs." St. Matthew, "There met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs.

This circumstance therefore is mentioned by all the three evangelists; that this man, or these two men, had their abode in tombs, or among tombs. It was not then usual to bury within the walls of cities, but at some distance without them, more or less. By tombs may be meant in general a burying-place, where were many sepulchres; or by tombs may be meant sepulchres. And indeed many of the sepulchres of the eastern countries at that time were large, capable of containing divers persons. And to this day, travellers, when overtaken by storms and bad weather, take shelter in them.

These men then being fierce and melancholy, shunning company and being shunned, abode at a distance from all cities, and particularly 'among' or 'in sepulchres.' This place suited their gloomy apprehensions, and here in the night season and in bad weather they had shelter. Moreover, there might be another reason of this. For some are of opinion that the dæmons, or unclean spirits, by which these persons were possessed, were not supposed to be fallen angels, but the souls or departed spirits of bad men. If so, a lunatic, acted by such spirits, or thinking himself acted by them, might be much disposed to be chiefly among the dead, or in burial-places. But whether there be any ground for that opinion or not, it is likely, the two reasons before mentioned ought not to be disregarded: these places suited their melancholy apprehensions, and here at some seasons they had shelter and relief from rain and cold.

There follows in the evangelists a description of the unhappy circumstances of one or both these persons. Says St. Mark, who is most particular: "And no man could bind him, no not with chains: because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces. And always night and day he was on the mountains, and in

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the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones." St. Luke's account is: "There met him out of the city a certain man, which had devils long time, and wore no clothes, neither abode in any house, but in the tombs." And afterwards: "For oftentimes it had caught him. And he was kept, bound with chains, and in fetters. And he brake the bands, and was driven of the devil into the wilderness," or the desert, mountainous country, where the tombs were situated. St. Matthew more briefly says, "There met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass that way."

The sum is, that this was a deplorable case. One of these men, especially, had been in this condition, of a discomposed mind, for a long season. He was exceeding fierce and dangerous at some times. He had been fast bound, but he had broken his bands, escaped out of his confinement, and had been for some while in desert, mountainous places, lodging in sepulchres only, not in any house. All which are evident symptoms of lunacy or distraction. That is the unhappy case before us.

Possibly it may be here inquired by some, how came the evangelists, especially Mark and Luke, who are most particular, to be so well acquainted with the history of this man's case in time past, to be able to say, "he had been so long time," and that he had been "often bound with chains, and that they had been broken asunder by him?" His present circumstances and actions, his nakedness, his fierceness, his cutting himself with flints, his crying, or raving, as he did, were discerned immediately. These things the disciples were eye or ear-witnesses of, upon the man's approaching them, when they came out of the ship. But how came they to know the circumstances of his indisposition in time past, and the treatment that had been given him?

To which I answer, that it is easy to suppose divers things, which are not mentioned in relations of this kind: which therefore are omitted, because all intelligent and attentive persons are able to supply them. It is not unlikely, that the man himself, when cured by our Lord, gave some account of his former condition. Moreover, here were the keepers of the swine, who might be able to relate several things concerning him. Possibly too it was a well known case, and the people who came over with Jesus from the other side of the lake, might be able to give the disciples some information concerning him.

Finally, before our Lord went away, great multitudes of that country had come to the place where Jesus was. And

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it is reasonable for us to conclude, that some of those persons were able and disposed to give an account of both these men, especially of one of them; which indeed, as before hinted, I take to be a main reason, why the evangelists Mark and Luke confined their history to one, though there were two of these men, as said by St. Matthew: even because they had received more particular intelligence concerning one than the other.

It follows in St. Mark: "But when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran and worshipped him. And cried with a loud voice, and said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the most high God. I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not. (For he had said unto him, Come out of the man, thou unclean spirit.) And he asked him, What is thy name? And he answered, saying, My name is Legion, for we are many. And he besought him much, that he would not send them away out of the country." St. Luke likewise says: "When he saw Jesus he cried out, and fell down before him, and with a loud voice said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus thou Son of God most high. I beseech thee, torment me not. (For he had commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man.) And Jesus asked him, saying, What is thy name? And he said, Legion, because many devils were entered into him. And they besought him, that he would not command them to go out into the deep." St. Matthew, though briefer than the others, says: "And behold, they cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?"

By all the evangelists we are assured, that one, or both these men, either they, or the evil spirits in them, owned our Lord's character, as the Messiah, or the Son of God; and they entreat him not to send them away. But I think it appears, both from St. Mark and St. Luke, that these things are not said by them until our Lord had signified his will that the man, or men, should be delivered from this unhappy circumstance: then they own the character of Jesus, that he was the Christ, and his power, as such, to command and send them whither he pleased. But they entreat him, not to punish them for having taken possession of these persons, and made them miserable. Yea, they are represented complaining of his command as unreasonable: "What have we to do with thee?" Why should you concern yourself with us? Leave us to act as we think fit, until the last day, the time of the full punishment allotted to us.

The unclean spirits speaking in this manner, Jesus asked

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one of the men, what was his name, and he answered, Legion, because there were in him many unclean spirits.

As these spirits desired, that they might not be "tormented before the time;" so in particular, they petitioned our Lord, that he would "not send them away out of the country," as it is expressed in St. Mark: or, that he would "not command them to go out into the deep," as in St. Luke.

Evil spirits delight in mischief, and are afraid of punishment. They therefore make it their request to Jesus, if he would be obeyed with regard to the commandment he had given them, to come out of the men whom they had so long tormented, that yet he would not require them quite to leave that country, but permit them to act as they pleased toward some other persons in those parts. At least they entreat him, however, that he would not order them away into the deep, or the abyss, that is, the place of torment.

As the full punishment[a] of fallen angels, as well as of bad men, was deferred to the great day of the general judgment; it was the opinion of many at that time, that some of those evil angels and spirits were allowed (though subject to control) to visit the region of our air, and this earth, and to inflict diseases and other calamities upon men. Of this number are these unclean spirits, and they earnestly entreat not to be sent back to their prison and confined in the abyss, or place of torment, as yet.

I proceed to what remains, now first reading St. Matthew: "And there was a good way off from them an herd of many swine feeding. So the devils besought him, saying, If thou cast us out, suffer us to go into the herd of swine. And he said unto them, Go. And when they were come out, they went into the herd of swine. And behold, the whole herd of swine ran violently down a steep place into the sea, and perished in the waters. And they that kept them fled, and went their ways into the city, and told every thing, and what was befallen to the possessed of the devils. And behold, the whole city came out to meet Jesus. And when they saw him, they besought him, that he would depart out of their coasts. And he entered into a ship, and passed over, and came into his own city."

Here I would observe, that this great work of our Lord was performed with deliberation. There was some time between his intimation, that these evil spirits should remove, and their actual departure; or, in other words, the men were not healed at once, immediately upon his command-

[a] See 2 Pet. ii. 4. and Jude ver. 6.

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ing the evil spirits to come out of the men: but he allowed a petition to be presented to him, which was in part granted.

St. Mark's account is after this manner: "Now there was there nigh unto the mountains a great herd of swine feeding. And all the devils besought him, saying, Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them. And forthwith Jesus gave them leave. And the unclean spirits went out and entered into the swine. And the herd ran violently down a steep place into the sea, (they were about two thousand,) and were choaked in the sea. And they that fed the swine fled, and told it in the city, and in the country. And they went out to see what it was that was done. And they came to Jesus, and see him that was possessed with the devil, and had the legion, sitting, and clothed, and in his right mind, and they were afraid. And they that saw it, told them, how it befell to him that was possessed with the devils, and also concerning the swine. And they began to pray him to depart out of their coasts."

St. Luke's relation is to the like purpose: "And there was there an herd of many swine feeding on the mountain. And they besought him, that he would suffer them to enter into them. And he suffered them. Then went the devils out of the men and entered into the swine. And the herd ran violently down a steep place into the lake, and were choaked. When they that fed them saw what was done, they fled, and went and told it in the city, and in the country. Then they went out to see what was done, and came to Jesus, and found the man, out of whom the devils departed, sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed, and in his right mind; and they were afraid. They also which saw it, told them by what means he that was possessed of the devils was healed. Then the whole multitude of the country of the Gadarenes round about besought him to depart from them, for they were taken with great fear. And he went up into the ship, and returned back again."

As this country was a part of the land of Israel, and the Jews were forbidden by the law of Moses to eat swine's flesh; it may seem strange to some, that there should have been in this place so large a number of those animals. But there is reason to think, that this country was then chiefly inhabited by Gentiles, though there were Jews likewise; and it may be supposed, that the herd belonged to the Gentile inhabitants. However, possibly some Jews might have a property in them, and might trade in those creatures, selling them to heathens, without partaking of them as food.

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The evangelists do all agree in this part of the history. But two inquiries may be here put. 1. By what means was this herd of swine hurried down the precipice, and drowned in the waters? 2. For what reasons did our Lord suffer this to be done?

First, How, or by what means was this herd hurried down the precipice, and drowned in the waters? And there are several ways of accounting for this. They who suppose that there was here only a distemper, and are unwilling to admit the agency of any bad spirits in this case, say, these men, or one of them, might, with the permission of Jesus, go and drive the swine off the precipice into the sea, where they were drowned. Or else, our Lord was pleased to transfer the lunacy, or distraction, from this man, or these men, to the swine; and the distemper having seized them, they took their way down a steep road, and perished in the sea.

Others, who readily admit the agency of evil spirits in this affair, say, that with our Lord's permission, when these spirits were removed out of the men, they took possession of the swine, and hurried them into the waters, where they were drowned.

Every one is at liberty to judge for himself. But I readily own, that I do not approve of that solution, which supposeth, that the lunacy was transferred from the men to the swine; for this implies, that the drowning of the swine was owing to our Lord's agency or interposition: whereas I do not perceive, that our Lord wrought any miracles that were hurtful. The only instance of this kind which I recollect, is the withering a barren, useless fig-tree in the way between Bethany and Jerusalem. As then there is no clear evidence of our Lord's interposing in this matter, I presume it ought not to be admitted.

Secondly, it is inquired: Why, or for what reasons did our Lord suffer this to be done? by the men themselves before they were quite cured; or by the evil spirits when they were departed from the men? For according to the accounts given by the evangelists, it was not, and could not be done without his permission: his leave was asked and granted.

Some think, that our Lord permitted this to be done, as a proof of the real agency of evil spirits, in this case.

But whether that was a reason or not, there are, I think, other uses which this event would answer, and therefore probably were intended herein. For the loss of the swine tended to make the cure of the man public. It had this

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effect: "They that fed the swine fled, and told it in the city, and in the country;" that is, they hasted to noise it abroad every where: and many were brought to Jesus, and came to see the man who was healed, and stayed with him, sitting at his feet. Hereby, therefore, and by means of the immediate publication of the miracle, the people of the neighbouring town and country were [b] proved. Jesus, by his presence with them, and by the great miracle performed among them, with which they were presently acquainted, made them a tender of divine knowledge, and other spiritual blessings. But though a great and evident miracle had been wrought among them, one of the most desirable works that can be thought of, delivering a man from distraction, restoring him to the use of reason and understanding; these people were so carnal, and so apprehensive of suffering in their worldly interests, that instead of entreating Jesus to stay with them, a while at least, that they might partake in some other like benefits of his great power, and be instructed by him in things of religion, that they joined together with much unanimity in beseeching him to depart out of their coasts: which he did, and went back again to the other side of the lake.

There remains yet one article in this history, omitted indeed by St. Matthew, but related by both the other evangelists. Says St. Mark: "And when he was come into the ship, he that had been possessed with the devils, prayed him, that he might be with him; Howbeit, Jesus suffered him not, but saith unto him, Go home to thy friends, and tell them, how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee. And he departed, and began to publish in Decapolis, how great things Jesus had done for him, and all men did marvel." St. Luke's words are these: "Now the man out of whom the devils were departed, besought him, that he might be with him. But Jesus sent him away, saying, Return to thy own house, and show how great things God hath done unto thee. And he went his way, and published throughout the whole city, how great things Jesus had done unto him."

It is likely, that this person requested to be with Jesus for his own security, fearing that those evil spirits would again take possession of him and torment him. But Jesus suffered him not to be with him. For our Lord to have

[b] Non quod concesserit Salvator dæmonibus quod petebant, dixit, Ite: sed ut per interfectionem porcorum hominibus salutis occasio præberetur. Pastores enim, ista cernentes, statim nuntiant civitati. Hieron. in Matt. Tom. 4. p. 29. m.

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allowed the man to accompany him in his journeys would have looked like ostentation, and might have been esteemed vain-glorious; besides, the power of Jesus was more conspicuous in the man's safety at a distance. And it was fit, likewise, that this person should now increase in faith, and live without fear, trusting in God every where, and at all times.

His request not being granted, "he went his way, and published throughout the whole city, how great things Jesus had done unto him." He was an honest and grateful man; and in the place where he dwelt, and every where, and to all men, as he had opportunity, he declared the great work which Jesus had done for him.

Perhaps some may here inquire; How shall we reconcile the direction given by Christ upon this occasion with what we find elsewhere? Sometimes he commanded silence, and charged men not to speak of the miracles he had wrought. Here he directs this man to tell others what "God had done for him." To which I answer: Our Lord never desired, that any miracles wrought by him should be denied or disowned by any; nor did he intend that men, on whom they were performed, should conceal them from their friends and relatives, or their own family; though he did forbid a general and open publication of some of his mighty works. And what he says to this man is no more than this: "Return to thy own house; or, go home to thy friends; and tell them, how great things the Lord has done for thee, and has had compassion on thee."

II. Having gone over this history, I would now add some remarks and observations.

1. We hence perceive that St. Mark's gospel is not an abridgment of St. Matthew's, as some have thought. St. Mark entirely omits divers things recorded by St. Matthew, and he has some histories quite wanting in that other evangelist. This history, which we have now considered, affords a good argument against that opinion: St. Matthew speaks of two in this country of the Gergesenes possessed with devils, St. Mark mentions one only. If he had seen St. Matthew's gospel, he would not have so written this history, without assigning some reason for the difference, or inserting a hint for reconciling it. St. Mark says, "the number of the swine was about two thousand," which is not mentioned by either of the other evangelists. St. Mark is, besides, in several parts of his relation of this miracle, more full and copious than St. Matthew, who has nothing of the discourse which our Lord held with the man called

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Legion; and also entirely omits the man's request, when cured, to be with Jesus, and our Lord's refusal, and the publication which the man afterwards made every where, of the great cure which had been wrought upon him.

In a word, the first three evangelists are all distinct and independent witnesses of our Lord's life and miracles; they did not write by concert: nor had any one of them, when he wrote, seen either of the other two gospels. The case however is somewhat different with regard to St. John: he perused the other three gospels before he wrote, and he has both confirmed their history, and made additions of his own.

2. The distemper, with which these men were afflicted, was lunacy or distraction: I say, the distemper of this man, or these two men, (whatever influence evil spirits might have,) was lunacy or distraction. This is evident from particulars mentioned by all the evangelists. St. Matthew says, that the two men which met Jesus upon his coming on shore, were "exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass that way." The particulars related by the other evangelists, concerning one of these men, are indications of the same thing: his having been bound and fettered, and his breaking his bands, living in the tombs, without clothing, cutting himself with flints; as also the whimsical answer which he made, when our Lord asked what was his name. And the cure is represented by his recovering his reason and understanding, and a composed temper and behaviour: for it is observed, that when the people came out of the city, they saw him "sitting, and clothed, and in his right mind."

3. This is the only miracle of this kind which is particularly recorded in the gospels. There might be many others; but I do not recollect any other particularly related by the evangelists. There are divers instances of persons who had evil spirits, and were lunatic; but their distemper was not the same with that of these men. The young man brought to the disciples, when our Lord was in the mount, was lunatic and sore vexed; but his distemper was the epilepsy, or falling sickness: "Oft-times," it is said, Matt. xvii. 15, "he falleth into the fire, and oft into the water:" and other symptoms of that distemper are to be found in the history of his case.

Of Mary Magdalene it is said, that "out of her went seven devils," Mark xvi. 9; and I am not unwilling to allow her case to have been much the same with that of the two men at the tombs: though it is not quite certain. But her cure, or the miracle wrought upon her, is no where particularly related: all that is said of her case is no more than

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this, Luke viii. 1, 2; "And the twelve were with him, and certain women which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities: Mary Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils, Joanna, and many others."

4. The miracle, which we have now considered, was the effect of our Lord's benevolence. It does not appear, that he had any invitation to come into the country of the Gadarenes; but he went thither of his own accord, with a view of healing the two men at the tombs: knowing their sad case from some occasional informations that had been given him, or by the perfect comprehensive knowledge which he had of things remote, as well as near at hand.

The context which was read before assures us, that compassion and benevolence, without any particular invitation, brought our Lord hither: his words therefore are extremely proper, when he says to the man: Go home to thy friends, and tell them, how great things the Lord has done for thee, and has had compassion on thee." Unasked, unsought by friends or any one else, he crossed the sea, and came on shore, conversed with these unhappy persons, relieved them in their deplorable and disconsolate condition, and then went back again to the other side.

How conspicuous is the benevolence, how great and amiable is the benignity, of the Lord Jesus! He is entitled to the esteem and love of all. He came to seek and to save those who were lost. And by mighty works of goodness on the bodies of men, or for rectifying and putting in order the human frame, as constituted of soul and body, he demonstrated the truth of his prophetical character and mission, and invited men to embrace and obey that doctrine which directs them in the way to the possession of eternal life.

"That word ye know," says St. Peter at the house of Cornelius, "how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good," Acts x. 37. They who were afflicted, as these men were, could not be easily brought to Jesus: and it is likely, that few had faith enough to ask such a cure of him, especially at a distance. Our Lord therefore, as when Lazarus was dead, now also of his own good-will left the place where he was, took shipping, and went over the sea of Galilee, for the sake of these men in the country of the Gadarenes, whose case was extremely deplorable, and above all human relief.

5. I would observe, that this miracle was very public, at least well known. Our Lord went to this place attended

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by his disciples; as he came out of the ship the two men met him. Some of the mariners therefore belonging to that ship, in all probability, were present at the miracle, for the appearance of such miserable objects could not but excite their curiosity. It is probable that divers others were spectators of this great cure. St. Mark proceeding to this matter says, ch. iv. 35, 36, "And the same day, when the even was come, he saith unto them, Let us pass over unto the other side. And when they had sent away the multitude, they took him, as he was, in the ship. And there were also with him several other little ships." All these, it is likely, followed Jesus, and came on shore with him on the other side. Moreover, as before observed, our Lord performed this miracle deliberately: he discoursed with one of the men, who, by the answer he made, as well as by his outward form, manifested the great disorder of his mind. And this part of that country must have been extremely desolate and unpeopled, if some passing by, and others, did not in this space of time join our Lord's company. There is therefore reason to conclude, that a good number of persons were gathered together from the ships, and from elsewhere, and were spectators of this great work. So much is intimated in those words of St. Mark: "And they that saw it told them, how it had befallen him that was possessed with the devils."

Then indeed it was very public: for upon the cure, and the loss of the swine, they who fed them went into the neighbouring city: and the people came out to Jesus, and beheld the man calm and composed. And as St. Mark says in the words just cited, they who saw it, then related to them particularly how the thing had been done. And as the case of one of these men was well known, he having been often bound ineffectually, and a long time afflicted with this disorder, and having been often terrible to such as passed that way: many, who afterwards saw him enjoying a composed mind, and the right exercise of reason, must have been fully apprised of his miraculous cure, if they were attentive.

As our Lord performed this miracle with deliberation, so I think he stayed in the same place some time afterwards: by which means many had an opportunity of seeing him with the man at his feet. We do not know exactly how long our Saviour was here: but we may form a conjecture. It was even, when he took shipping: in the passage there was a storm. It is very likely, he did not arrive at the other side until morning: and probably he stayed there the greatest part of that day before he embarked again.

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6. We learn by this history to trust in Divine Providence, and not to live in fear of evil spirits, and their influence, or any accident whatever. They are under strict confinement; or, if they are permitted at all to visit our region and orb, they are under constraint and control. They shall not be allowed to inflict on us any evil, nor shall any accident whatever befall us, but what shall be overruled and sanctified for our benefit, if we choose the thing that is good, and cast our care upon God.

7. We learn the reasonableness of gratitude for benefits bestowed upon us, especially if we receive any signal deliverance from great and uncommon afflictions. Our blessed Lord did not choose that this person should attend him: however, he "bid him go home, and tell his friends there, how great things God had done for him, and had compassion on him." Though our Lord was meek and humble, and was far from seeking honour from men; he could not but be pleased with a thankful mind, sensible of benefits. Once, as he was travelling, and preaching the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven, "he met ten lepers, and they lifted up their voices, and said: Jesus, master, have mercy upon us," Luke xvii. 13. He had mercy upon them, and bade them go and show themselves to the priest. "As they went they were cleansed. And one of them, when he saw that he was healed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God, and fell down on his face at his feet, giving him thanks; and he was a Samaritan. And Jesus answering said, Were there not ten cleansed? But where are the nine? There are not found that returned to give glory to God, save this stranger. And he said unto him, Arise, go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole."

8. Finally, from this history we may learn to bear meekly rebukes and discouragements in the prosecution of good designs. Jesus came into this country with a good intention; he here wrought a miracle, a work of the greatest kindness, restoring a man, who had been long under the sorest of afflictions, whose cure was beyond all human skill, to the full use of reason and understanding. Nor was the neighbourhood altogether unconcerned in this benefit: the man, who before was disagreeable and terrible, was composed, and might be useful among them. But because this happy event was attended with temporal loss to some of them, they entreat the compassionate author of that great benefit, in whom was so much wisdom, and so much goodness, and so much power, "to depart out of their coasts." And he acquiesced, not choosing to obtrude himself upon them, as

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the evangelists inform us; "And he went up into the ship, and returned back again." However it is added; "And it came to pass, that when Jesus was returned, the people gladly received him, for they were all waiting for him." These things are written for the direction and support of wise and good men.

DISCOURSE II.

MARK v. 19.

Howbeit Jesus suffered him not, but saith unto him, Go home to thy friends, and tell them, how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee.

HAVING formerly explained and improved the history of most of our Lord's miracles, and lately that of the cure of the two men at the tombs, in the country of the Gadarenes; I have thought it not improper, to consider in general the case of those, who in the New Testament are spoken of as having evil or unclean spirits.

The subject is not immediately practical; and it is most agreeable to insist upon the general principles of true religion, which are universally acknowledged, or are controverted by a few only; together with the virtues of a good life, which are of the greatest importance, and of absolute necessity, without which no man shall see the Lord; and those helps and means, which, in their own nature, or by divine appointment, are fitted to promote faith in God, good works, and an heavenly frame of mind. These are the most excellent, the most delightful subjects of meditation and discourse. Upon no considerations, by no means whatever, would one be called off from these points, or cease to make them the usual topics of discourse in christian assemblies.

Nevertheless, it may not be altogether unprofitable, to treat on the subject I am now entering upon; it being what frequently occurs in the history of our Saviour's miracles, as recorded in the gospels. It is likely, therefore, that by considering the several texts, wherein these unhappy cases and their cure are mentioned, some light may be cast upon

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the holy scriptures, and some parts of the evangelical history may be better read with understanding.

In treating this subject I propose to observe the following method.

I. I would show what are the opinions of men of the present, and late times, concerning this matter.

II. I would observe, what was the general opinion in the time of our Saviour, and his apostles, and what notions men then formed of these cases.

III. I will endeavour to discover the truth, and what idea we ought to have of those unhappy persons, who are spoken of as possessed of devils.

IV. I intend to consider objections and difficulties, relating to that opinion, which may appear to be most probable.

I. In the first place I would show, what are the opinions of men of the present, or late times, concerning this matter. For there are two different opinions: one general and common, the other less general, and somewhat uncommon.

The opinion which I take to be most common, is this; that these persons were possessed, and inhabited, acted, governed, and influenced by some spirit, or spirits; there having been in some of these persons one, in others many of these evil spirits.

And I reckon, that most in our times suppose these evil spirits to have been bad, or fallen angels, some of the companions, instruments, and agents of him, who is the chief of fallen angels, and called Satan, or Beelzebub, or the Devil, by way of eminence.

This I take to be the opinion of the vulgar: it obtains also very much among the learned. We have these words of a great and eminent writer, in a late defence and vindication of our blessed Saviour's miracles against modern cavils and objections. He is speaking of the two men at the tombs, and the drowning of the herd of swine. 'So[a] 'that even this permission of Jesus to the evil spirits was 'amply compensated, by casting a whole legion of devils 'out of one person, that is, by suffering about three of them 'to enter into each hog, instead of about six thousand of 'them keeping possession of one man. And this dispossession of those evil spirits, and permission given them in 'consequence of it, were arguments of great force, to show 'the power of Jesus over so numerous a regiment.' So that great author.

The number of the spirits that had taken possession of the unhappy man, is here inferred and concluded from his call-

[a] See Bp. Smallbrook's Vindication of our Saviour's Miracles, Vol. I. p. 203

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ing himself Legion. A Roman legion at that time usually consisted of six thousand soldiers or more. That learned writer therefore supposeth, that there were about so many evil spirits in that man. And when those spirits were cast out of the man, there being about two thousand swine that were drowned in the sea, the same writer supposeth, that each swine became possessed, and was hurried down the precipice by three devils.

Every one, perhaps, does not judge it needful to conclude, that there were exactly such a number of spirits in the man, because he called himself Legion: but it is generally supposed, that there were in him very many evil [b] spirits.

It being thought, that these persons were possessed and tormented by one or more evil spirits, whereas such cases are now very uncommon among us, if there are any at all: it has been supposed, that [c] it might be wisely allowed of and suffered by the Divine Being at that time. Satan and his instruments were then loosed, and permitted to possess and torment many persons in the land of Judea, and the adjoining countries. Hereby the power of Jesus, the Messiah, was rendered the more conspicuous, by delivering men from those possessions, and all the infirmities consequent upon them. Since which time, and especially since the power of miracles has ceased in the church, Satan has not been permitted to torment men in this world in that extraordinary and remarkable manner.

This I take to be the prevailing sentiment of learned and unlearned, and the scheme that has been formed concerning this point.

The other opinion, less common, is, that these cases were distempers only, which the human frame is subject to in this state of mortality, through its weakness and imperfection, and the accidents it is exposed to, and the temper of particular constitutions, and the influences of diet, and the circumambient air, and other natural causes.

[b] Jesus asked him saying, What is thy name? Which question was not asked to gratify his own, or others' curiosity; but for this good end, that the Gadarenes might see what a miserable condition their countryman was in, and be more sensible of the mercy of his cure, and their own great danger amidst such vast numbers of evil spirits as then swarmed amongst them: since so many had taken possession of that one unhappy man, as to deserve the name of Legion, (above six thousand,) as one of them told our Lord in the name of the rest, in answer to his question: My name is Legion, for we are many. Fr. Bragge on our Saviour's Miracles. Vol. I. p. 75.

[c] He cast out evil spirits, who by the Divine Providence were permitted to exert themselves at that time, and to possess many persons. Dr. Jortin's Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 17. See the same, Vol. I. p. 14.

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These are the two principal sentiments of moderns upon this head.

II. In the second place I am to show, what was the general opinion in the time of our Saviour and his apostles, and what notions men then formed of those cases, which are so frequently mentioned in the gospels.

I shall endeavour to show the ancient sentiment in several propositions and observations.

1. In the first place it is fit to observe the style, or the several phrases and expressions made use of in the New Testament in speaking of this matter. For there can be no doubt, but the evangelists have used the expressions which obtained at that time.

One expression, which frequently occurs, is, "possessed with devils." So in St. Matthew, chap. iv. 24, "And his fame went throughout all Syria. And they brought unto him all sick people, that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils." Again, ch. viii. 16, "When the even was come, they brought unto him many that were possessed with devils. And he cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick." The same evangelist, speaking of the men in the country of the Gadarenes, says, ver. 28, "There met him two possessed with devils."

Another phrase very frequent in speaking of this matter is that of persons having "unclean spirits." When our Lord sent forth the disciples, "he gave them power against unclean spirits, and to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness," Matt. x. 1. And St. Mark, v. 13, in the account of the man called Legion, says: "And forthwith Jesus gave them leave, and the unclean spirits went out, and entered into the swine." It is in the Acts likewise, v. 16, "There came also a multitude out of the cities round about unto Jerusalem, bringing sick folks, and them which were vexed with unclean spirits." And at Samaria, Acts viii. 7, when Philip, the deacon and évangelist, was there, "unclean spirits, crying with a loud voice, came out of many."

Sometimes the phrase is unclean spirit in the singular number; Mark i. 23, "And there was in the synagogue a man with an unclean spirit." And St. Mark useth also this same expression, ver. 2 of this chapter, speaking of the man called Legion; "When he was come out of the ship, there met him a man with an unclean spirit." And at ver. 8, our Lord says, "Come out of the man, thou unclean spirit."

There is another form of expression somewhat different

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from this in Luke iv. 33. "And in the synagogue there was a man which had a spirit of an unclean devil."

Sometimes they are called 'evil' or wicked spirits; Luke vii. 21, "In that same hour he cured many of their infirmities, and plagues, and of evil spirits." See also viii. 2, and elsewhere.

2. Give me leave to observe in the second place, that in speaking of this matter, particularly of persons possessed with devils, our translation is not exact; and instead of devils, the word dæmons would be much more proper: for that is the word which we have in the Greek original, and in the ancient Latin version, and in many modern translations.

If any will be pleased to observe carefully, I believe they will find, that throughout the New Testament there is but one evil spirit called devil: who is supposed to be the chief or prince of the fallen angels, and is often called Satan and Beelzebub. Nor is that word once used in the plural number, in the New Testament, where Satan, or the fallen angels, are spoken of.

That the scripture supposes but one evil being, or spirit, called the devil, may be easily perceived by every one from some plain texts. Matt. xxv. 41, "Then shall he say unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." Rev. xii. 9, "The great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the devil and Satan." Again, Acts xiii. 10, St. Paul says to Elymas, the sorcerer: "Thou child of the devil," or of Satan, that wicked one, prince of evil spirits. James iv. 7, "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you." 1 Pet. v. 8, "Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." Here the original word is rightly rendered. And every one may perceive, that hereby is meant, that one great tempter and seducer of mankind called Satan, and the prince of evil spirits. This is that evil being, by whom our Lord is said to have been tempted in the wilderness; Matt. iv. 1, "Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit to be tempted of the devil." Mark i. 13, "And he was there in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan."

There is therefore but one evil spirit, meant by that word in scripture; and wherever we have it in our translation in the plural number, the original word is dæmons. For instance, 1 Cor. x. 20, "Now I say, that the things, which the gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, not to God."

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The original word is dæmons [Δαιμονιοις]. And so throughout that context the word dæmons should be put in the translation, in the room of that which we have. "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of dæmons. Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and the table of dæmons." This is the exact and literal version of that place.

For settling this matter, and for giving full satisfaction to such as are not able to consult the original language of the New Testament, I would take notice of a few more places. Matt. x. 8, Our Lord said to the disciples, when he sent them forth from him: "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils." In the Greek it is, "Cast out dæmons." Matt. xii. 27, "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out?" It should be rendered dæmons. As also ver. 28, "But if I cast out devils," rather dæmons, "by the finger of God, then is the kingdom of God come unto you." And what is said of Mary Magdalen, Luke viii. should be thus rendered: "Out of whom went seven dæmons." And James ii. 19, "Thou believest that there is one God. The devils also believe and tremble." In the original it is dæmons.

It is somewhat difficult to determine, what ought to be understood by the word dæmon, as used in the New Testament.

It is likely, that many now by dæmons understand fallen angels. But at present our inquiry is, what was the meaning of the evangelical writers; in what sense this word was used by them, and was used and understood by their contemporaries, or those who lived in the times of Christ and his apostles. And though it may be difficult to determine this point with full and absolute certainty; yet there are some reasons, which may dispose us to think, that thereby they meant the souls of bad men.

The word dæmon, used in the gospels, and in other parts of the New Testament, is very frequent in Greek authors. And in those profane authors, as we call them, the word has various senses. It sometimes denotes[d] God him-

[d] Επει δε ἡ τυ δαιμονιε προνοια, ὑφ' ἡς αει σωζομεθα, κ. λ. Ap. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Roman. l. x. cap. 10. p. 607. ed. Hudson. And see Cudworth's Intellectual System, B. i. ch. 4. p. 26—263. edit. 1678.

I shall transcribe here an article of an ancient lexicographer; whereby it appears, that, in ancient heathen writers, god and dæmon are often used as equivalent: and that Plato, once at least, called the supreme governor of the world, the chief dæmon. Θεος, και θεοι, και δαιμονες· ουτω γαρ Ομηρῳ δυκει, δαιμονας καλειν θευς. Και Πλατων δε τον τυ παντος κυβερνητην, μεγιστον δαιμονα ωνομασεν. Εχει δη της αυτης χρειας το θειον, και το δαιμονιον. J. Polluc. Onom. l. i. sect. 1. Conf. Platon. Politic. T. 2. p. 272. E. Serran.

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self, or the supreme deity; sometimes an inferior deity, and sometimes those genii, or lower orders of spirits, of which some were reputed good, others bad.

In the New Testament the word is almost always used in a bad sense, to denote an evil or impure spirit. Nevertheless in one place we may allow it to be taken in a good sense. Acts xvii. 18, when St. Paul was at Athens, some said of him, "He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods;" in the original, 'strange dæmons;' *ξενων διαμονιων*. Those persons imagined, that St. Paul designed to recommend to them, and introduce among them, the worship of some foreign dæmons, or gods of another city and country, not received in their city. As they were heathens, they may be supposed to have used the word in a good sense. But generally, for certain, in the New Testament, and ever since, among all christian writers, the word has been used to denote an evil spirit.

And there are remaining some passages of ancient authors, which may be of no small service for assuring us, what was meant by this word among Jewish people, and by the writers of the New Testament. One is a passage of Josephus, the celebrated Jewish historian, who was contemporary with Christ's apostles. He says, 'that[e] dæmons are 'the spirits of wicked men, who enter into living men, and 'destroy them, unless they are so happy as to meet with 'speedy relief.' Another is a passage of Justin Martyr, a christian writer, born of Greek parents, in the country of Samaria, who flourished about the middle of the second century. He is arguing for a future state, and among other things he there speaks 'of[f] those who are seized and tor-'mented by the souls of the dead, whom all call dæmoniacs 'and madmen.' And there are many other[g] authors, to whom I might refer as countenancing this opinion.

And what is sometimes called the dæmon, is at other times called the god of Socrates. *Μανθανω, ω Σωκρατης, ὁτι δη συ το δαιμονιον φης σαυτῳ ἑκαστοτε γιγνεσθαι.* Platon. Euthyph. T. i. p. 3. β. Vid. et Apol. Socr. p. 40. et alibi. Maximus Tyrius has two chapters, entitled in this manner: *Τι το δαιμονιον Σωκρατους. Ετι περι του Σωκρατους δαιμονιου.* The chapter of Apuleius upon the same subject is entitled, De Deo Socratis.

[e] *Τα γαρ καλουμενα δαιμονια, ταυτα δε πονηρων εστιν ανθρωπων πνευματα τοις ζωσιν εισδυομενα, και κτεινοντα τους βοηθειας μη τυγχανοντας.* De Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 25. al. cap. 6. sect. 3.

[f] *Και οἱ ψυχαις αποβανοντων λαμβανομενοι και ῥιπτουμενοι ανθρωποι, οὐς δαιμονοληπτους και μαινομενους καλουσι παντες.* Justin. Ap. l. i. [al. 2.] p. 65. Par. 1620. p. 54. ed. Bened.

[g] *——ειναι τε παντα τον αερα ψυχων εμπλεων· και τυτους δαιμονας τε και ἡρωας νομιζεσθαι· και ὑπο τυτων πεμπεσθαι ανθρωπους τους τε ονειρους, και τα*

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This sense of the word may also be argued from divers texts of the New Testament, some of which have been already quoted. 1 Cor. x. 20, "The things which the gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to dæmons, not to God." Now the heathen deities, or dæmons, to whom they offered sacrifices, were not angels good or bad; of whom it does not appear that the ancient Greeks and Romans had any notion; but departed heroes, or the souls of men whom they respected, but whom the Jews, the worshippers and servants of the one God, always considered as evil beings.

Moreover, heathen deities are often spoken of in the Old Testament, as dead men, or dæmons. Among directions given to the Israelites, it is said, Levit. xvii. 7, "And they shall no more offer their sacrifices to devils," or dæmons; which is the word in the ancient Greek translation, made from the Hebrew before the time of our Saviour. And Psal. xcvi. 5, "For all the gods of the nations are idols." The same ancient Greek version, called that of the Seventy Jewish elders, render it, "All the gods of the nations are dæmons," meaning dead men, or the souls of such. Psal. cvi. 37. Among the offences of the people of Israel this is reckoned up, when they forsook God, and turned idolaters, in imitation of the heathens, "They sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils." It should rather be rendered dæmons. And that thereby is meant dead men, or their departed spirits, is manifest from the same Psalm, ver. 28: "They joined themselves to Baal-Peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead." And herein is shown the absurdity of the Jewish people, when, instead of inquiring of God, they applied to heathen idols, who were dead men, and incapable of giving any counsel. Isa viii. 19, "Should not a people

σημεια νοσε τε και ὑγιειας, ε. λ. Pythagoras, Ap. Diog. Laert. in Vitâ Pythagoræ, n. 32. p. 514.

Plerique tamen, ex Platonis magisterio, dæmones putant animas corporeo munere liberatas; laudabilium quoque virorum æthereos dæmones, improborum vero nocentes. Chalcid. in Platon. Tim. cap. 135. p. 330.

In Chrysostom's time, some dæmoniacs would say, that they were possessed by the soul of such or such a monk; which must have been owing to a common opinion, that dæmons were the souls of dead men. Τι ων, ὁτι οἱ δαιμονες λεγουσι, τυ μοναχυ τυ δεινος ἡ ψυχη ειμι, φησι. Chrys. de Lazaro, Conc. 2. Tom. i. p. 728.

Αυτοι, φησιν, οἱ δαιμονωντες βοασιν, ὁτι ψυχη τυ δεινος εγω. In Matt. hom. 28. [al. 29.] Tom. 7. p. 336. C.

He mentions it as the common opinion of meaner people in his time, that the souls of all who died a violent death became dæmons. Και γαρ πολλοι των αφελεστερων νομιζουσι τας ψυχας των βιαιω θανατω τελευτωντων δαιμονας γινεσθαι. De Laz. Serm. 2. Tom. i. p. 727. E. Vid. et Tertullian. De Animâ. cap. 57. p. 355.

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seek unto their God! For the living to the dead!" How strange is that conduct! what infatuation! Deut. xxxii. 15, "But Jeshurun waxed fat, and provoked the Lord to anger. They sacrificed to dæmons, not to God."

The word dæmon, therefore, being used not only by heathens themselves, for their deities, but also, and that not seldom, in the sacred scriptures: and heathen deities being generally supposed to be dead men, or departed spirits; there is some reason to think this is what is meant, when any are spoken of as under their influence.

However, notwithstanding the speciousness of this argument, I choose to leave the point undecided, and to submit it to every one's judgment, to think as he pleaseth.

4. I would observe, that among the Jews it was a general opinion, that neither the punishment of fallen angels, nor of bad men, was to be completed, till the great day of the general judgment.

Concerning the fallen angels, I before referred [h] to places in the second epistle of St. Peter, and the epistle of St. Jude: where they are spoken of, as "reserved unto judgment," or "unto the judgment of the great day." It is the same with regard to men. Therefore St. Peter says, 2 ep. iii. 7, "The heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men."

Their punishment therefore not being yet full and complete, it was the opinion of many, that for serving the wise ends of Providence, some of these beings, both fallen angels and the departed souls of men, were permitted to come abroad, out of Hades, the receptacle of spirits.

It was certainly the common opinion, (whether there was any ground for it or not,) that [i] the region of our air was filled with invisible beings. Chrysostom reckons it among the favours of Providence, that [k] when the air is full of dæmons and adverse powers, we do not discern them; for the sight of them might frighten us out of our wits, if not to death. Cassian [l] speaks to the like purpose. The great Eusebius

[h] P. 455.

[i] Οὗτοι τοινυν οἱ αγγελοι οἱ εκπεσοντες των ὡρανων, περι τον αερα εχοντες και την γην, ὡκετι εις τα ὑπερὡρανια ὑπερκυψαι δυναμενοι, και αἱ των γιγαντων ψυχαι, οἱ περι τον κοσμον εισι πλανωμενοι δαιμονες. Athenag. Apol. p. 28. B.

[k] Ποσοι δαιμονες εις τον αερα φερονται τουτον; ποσαι εναντιαι δυναμεις; ει μονον επετρεψεν αυτοις την οψιν την ἑαυτων δειξαι την φοβεραν εκεινην και ατερπη, ουκ αν εξεστημεν; ουκ αν απολωμεθα; ουκ αν διεφθαρημεν. Chr. in. Ps. xli. Tom. v. p. 137.

[l] Tantâ vero spirituum densitate constipatus est aër iste, qui inter cœlum terramque diffunditur, in quo non quieti, non otiosi pervolitant: ut satis uti-

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of Cæsarea supposed these spirits, or at least many of them, to be fallen angels. 'He says, that [m] when they had sinned, 'and for their transgression were expelled the heavenly 'abodes, a large part of them were thrust into hell, called 'the abyss, and confined there; others of them were suf-'fered to dwell near the moon, and in the region of the air, 'below the moon, and near our earth.'

This also was a common opinion of the heathen people concerning their inferior deities, that they were in the air near the earth. And [n] they were supposed by many to subsist in part by fumes of incense, and the steams of slain beasts offered to them in sacrifice.

To these, whether fallen angels, or spirits of another kind, St. Paul [o] is thought to refer, when he says, Eph. vi. 11, 12, "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood:" we contend not with men only, "but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places:" that is, against wicked spirits, that are in the upper regions above, or in the air, as he plainly expresseth it, ch. ii. 2, "Wherein, in time past, ye walked, according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air."

5. All these evil spirits, in general, (whether fallen angels, or others,) were supposed to be in subjection to Satan, or the Devil, who is their head and prince: at least this was

liter humanis aspectibus eos providentia divina absconderit, et subtraxerit, &c. Cassian. Coll. 8. cap. xii. Ap. Bib. PP. Tom. 7. Vid. et Euseb. Dem. Ev. l. x. p. 502. C. D.

[m] ——*τον εφαρμοζοντα τοις δυσσεβεσι χωρον, κρισει δικαιᾳ, και αποφασει τῳ μεγαλῳ Θεου ταρταρον οικειν, ὀν αβυσσον οἱ Θειοι λογοι προσαγορευουσι, και σκοτος* ——*ὀν βραχυ τι και μικρον αποσπασμα, γυμνασιῳ χαριν των ευσεβιας αθλητων, αμφι γην, και ὑπο σεληνην αερα καταλειφθεν.* Euseb. Pr. Ev. l. vii. c. 16. p. 329.

[n] *Οι δε γων περιγειοι τινες οντες και καταχθονιοι—ταφοις νεκρων και μνημασι—αἱμασι τε και λυθροις, και παντοιων ζωων σωμασι, τῃ τε εκ των αναθυμιωμενων, και απο της γης εξατμιζομενων αναδυσει χαιροντες.* Præp. Ev. l. v. p. 181. B.

Τοιουτος γαρ ὁ των δαιμονων τροπος, ὁτ' αν μεν τῃ κνισσῃ, και τῳ καπνῳ, και τοις αἱμασιν αυτως Θεραπευωσι, καθαπερ κυνες αἱμοβοροι και λιχνοι παραγινονται λαψοντες· ὁτ' αν δε μηδεις ὁ ταυτα παρεχων ᾖ, καθαπερ τινι λιμῳ διαφθειρονται. Chr. de S. Babyla. Contr. Julian. et Gentiles. Tom. 2. p. 558.

Nisi forte hostiarum deus animas devorat, aut ex aris ardentibus nidorem consectatur et fumos, &c. Arnob. l. vii. in. p. 212.

Ὁρω δε ὑμας μαλιστα χαιροντας τῳ καπνῳ, και την ενωχιαν ταυτην ἡδιστην οιομενους, ὁταν εις τον ὡρανον ἡ κνισσα γινηται ἐλισσομενη περι καπνῳ. Lucian. Prometh. T. i. p. 183. ed. Græv.

Vid. et idem de Sacrificiis. ib. p. 366. et Porphyr. de Abst. l. ii. cap. 42. p. 86. ed. Cantabr. et Aristoph. Aves. ver. 183. et seqq. et ver. 1515. et seqq. ed. Kust.

[o] Vid. Euseb. Pr. Ev. l. vii. p. 329. D.

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the opinion of the Jewish people, as will be shown presently. However, it was fit to be mentioned here; and it appears from the texts of St. Paul just cited. He desires, that the Ephesians might be "able to stand against the wiles of the devil:" and then adds, "For we wrestle against principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places." They therefore were under him. And in the other place he speaks expressly of "the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience:" undoubtedly meaning Satan, even him, who is the evil one by way of distinction, and the great tempter and seducer of mankind.

6. These evil spirits, or dæmons, (whether fallen angels or souls of bad men,) were supposed to be, under Satan their head, the instruments of many afflictions and inconveniences to men in this mortal frame.

This is evident from many places in the gospels, where those unhappy persons are mentioned, who are said to have "an unclean spirit," or to be "possessed of devils," as we sometimes render the word, but who would be more properly said to be 'dæmoniacs,' that is, affected by one or more dæmons. I shall remind you of several instances.

Madness, or distraction, is one evil often ascribed to them. This was the case of the two men at the tombs, who were exceeding fierce, and one of them at least had been thus afflicted for a long season, and when confined and chained, had broken his bands. This was one of the opprobrious reflections cast upon our Saviour. John x. 20, 21, "Many[p] of them said, He has a dæmon, and is mad. Why hear ye him? Others said, These are not the words of a dæmoniac. Can a dæmon open the eyes of the blind?"

There are several other indispositions which are ascribed to them, Matt. ix. 32, 33, "And as they went out, they brought unto him a dumb man possessed with a devil:" literally, 'a dumb man, a dæmoniac;' *ανθρωπον κωφον δαιμονιζομενον*. "And when the dæmon was gone out, the dumb man spake, and the multitude marvelled."

In the xiith chapter of the same gospel, ver. 22, and therefore certainly another case: "Then was brought unto him one possessed with a devil, or a dæmoniac," *δαιμονιζομενος*, "blind and dumb. And he healed him: insomuch that the blind and dumb both spake and saw." In St. Luke xi. 14, the same miracle is thus related: "And he was casting out a dæmon. And it came to pass, when the dæmon was gone out, the dumb spake, and the people wondered."

[p] Ελεγον δε πολλοι εξ αυτων· Δαιμονιον εχει, και μαινεται, κ. λ.

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Mark ix. 25, "When Jesus saw that the people came running together, he rebuked the unclean spirit, saying unto him, Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him." That is the young man who was brought to the disciples when our Lord was on the mount, and they could not cure him: he was plainly epileptical; and besides, either constantly, or at least under the paroxysms of his distemper, was deaf and dumb.

Mark i. 23, 26, "And there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit. And he cried out, saying, Let us alone, what have we to do with thee thou Jesus of Nazareth? And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the unclean spirit had torn him, and cried with a loud voice, he came out of him." This person, as I suppose every one may allow, had the epilepsy, or falling sickness, and it is ascribed to an unclean spirit. The same history is in Luke iv. 33—35.

Once more, Luke xiii. 11—16, "And behold, there was a woman, which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed down, and could in no wise lift up herself. And when Jesus saw her, he called her to him, and said unto her, Woman, thou art loosed from thy infirmity." The ruler of the synagogue pretending to take offence, because it was the sabbath-day, our Lord, beside other things, said: "Ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan has bound, lo, these eighteen years, to be loosed from this bond on the sabbath-day?"

Here Satan himself is considered as the cause of this infirmity; though very frequently these cases are spoken of as effects of the malicious influences of dæmons. The reason is, that Satan is their prince and ruler, and what is done by instruments, or subjects, with the approbation of a ruler, or principal agent, is fitly ascribed to him.

And, not to mention any more particular instances, it seems, that the Jewish people supposed Satan and his instruments, that is, dæmons, evil spirits, to be capable of inflicting almost all sorts of diseases. St. Peter therefore, at the house of Cornelius, as his discourse is summarily rehearsed, Acts x. 38, says: "You know, how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost, and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil. For God was with him."

7. I must proceed to observe farther, for showing the sentiment of the Jewish people in our Saviour's time, that they supposed the distempers or torments inflicted by evil spirits might be removed or cured.

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So Josephus said in a passage cited above, that these evils were mortal, unless speedy relief was obtained.

Doubtless the Jews believed, that these inconveniences might be removed by the divine disposal, and by a prophet, speaking in the name of God, who had power of working miracles. Therefore many, who believed Jesus to be a prophet, and the Messiah, brought such cases to him for cure.

They likewise supposed, that dæmons might be exorcised or adjured out of the bodies of men, of which they had taken possession. St. Luke informs us, that at Ephesus, "certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them to call over them that had evil spirits in the name of the Lord Jesus, saying: We adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth," Acts xix. 13.

It is likely, that from the miracles which they had seen wrought by Paul, those exorcists hoped for better success by making use of the name of Jesus, than by their common forms and methods of exorcism.

That exorcisms were used by the Jews, we are expressly assured[q] by Josephus. He speaks as if Solomon had left some prescriptions for these cases, and directed to the use of herbs and roots, that would be of great advantage.

I have now shown, what were the Jewish sentiments upon this head in the time of our Saviour and his apostles, and when the books of the New Testament were written.

8. It is fit I should add, that there were dæmoniacs likewise among the heathens about the same time; that is, there were many among them who had indispositions, which were reputed to be owing to the influence of dæmons.

Some learned men have denied, or overlooked this: they have gone upon a supposition, that such cases were to be found among the Jews only, and in their own country; but that is manifestly a mistake, as may be shown from the New Testament itself. Matt. xv. 21, 22, "Then Jesus went thence, and departed into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. And behold, a woman of Canaan came out of the same coasts, and cried unto him, saying, Have mercy on me, O Lord, thou son of David. My daughter is grievously vexed with a dæmon:" St. Mark has the same history, ch. vii. 24—26, "And thence he arose, and went into the borders of Tyre and Sidon. And a certain woman, whose daughter had an unclean spirit, heard of him, and came, and fell at his feet: [the woman was a Greek, a Syrophenician by nation:] and she besought him, that he would cast forth the dæmon out of her daughter." And ver. 29, 30, "And he said unto her, The

[q] Antiq. Jud. l. viii. cap. 2. section 5.

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dæmon is gone out of thy daughter. And when she was come to her house, she found the dæmon was gone out, and her daughter laid upon the bed."

The affair at Ephesus, just taken notice of, is another proof. The young maiden at Philippi, who had a "spirit of divination," is a third instance, Acts xvi. 16, 18.

Many proofs of this might be alleged from heathen[r] writers. But I forbear to take notice of them.

Undoubtedly there was a difference between the Jews and them in some respects. The Jews thought all dæmons in general to be evil and unclean: but the heathens esteemed many dæmons to be good, for they were among their deities: and therefore in some cases they might the more respect some people for having a dæmon, though the patient himself was unhappy. However, it is certain, that there were among the heathens at this time many people, who had indispositions which are ascribed to dæmons.

We have now made good progress in this argument. The next thing to be inquired into is, what is the most reasonable opinion concerning these cases. But that must be reserved for another season.

In the mean time we may hence take occasion, as some of old did who were witnesses of our Saviour's miracles, "to praise God, who had given such power unto men." Matt. ix. 8, says the evangelist: "When the even was come, they brought unto him many dæmoniacs: and he cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick. That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying: Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses," Matt. viii. 16, 17.

The like gift did Jesus confer upon his disciples. "He gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease," Matt. x. 1. Which power they displayed in the most honourable manner after his ascension; and it was a great benefit to the men of that age to have their diseases so cured. But the principal use, and the greatest benefit of these wonderful works, both to the men of that time and to us, is, that they ascertained and confirmed the excellent and important doctrine of the gospel; which is so suited to improve and exalt our minds, and cure evil affections, and deliver us from the malignant influence of all the snares and temptations of Satan, and this evil world. Which if we overcome, we

[r] See an Enquiry, and a Farther Enquiry, into the meaning of Dæmoniacs in the New Testament. See likewise Mr. W. Weston's Enquiry into the Rejection of the Christian Miracles by the Heathens, p. 231, 233, and elsewhere.

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shall in the end attain to a world, where there are no sicknesses nor sorrows: where no evil men nor evil spirits shall enter: where good men of all ages shall be united in one happy and glorious society, and shall be for ever with the Lord.

DISCOURSE III.

MARK v. 19.

Howbeit Jesus suffered him not, but saith unto him, Go home to thy friends, and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee.

WE now proceed to the third head of discourse, under which we are to consider what is really the truth, or what idea we ought to form of those unhappy persons, who in the New Testament are spoken of as having "an unclean spirit."

Here I certainly intend to speak my mind freely, and to show plainly what appears to me to be the truth. Nevertheless, I am under little or no apprehension of giving offence; partly, because I think I can rely upon the candour of those who hear me; partly, because I do not desire to impose a particular sentiment upon any. All are at liberty to judge for themselves, when they have heard and considered what may be said on one side or another. For no one opinion concerning these cases is like those articles of faith: that Jesus is the Christ, that he lived and died in Judea, and rose again, and ascended into heaven, and will come again to judge men according to their works: or, that he and his apostles wrought many wonderful works of an extraordinary nature.

Whether the indispositions that these persons laboured under were owing to the influence of evil spirits or not, the cure of them was miraculous. Nor is the miracle at all lessened, by supposing them to be only grievous and long continued bodily distempers. The[a] rectifying the human

[a] 'Now which is an instance of the greatest power, to command an inferior 'to depart one's presence, which if he refuses to do, one can turn him out, 'whether he will or not? or to correct the juices and solids of a disordered

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frame, all on a sudden, which had been before greatly disordered, is at least as great a work, as commanding an evil spirit to leave the body, or any other particular place.

Were I to attempt to represent the displays of the divine perfections in the works of nature, and the more conspicuous parts of the visible creation, and to observe the greatness, the number, the wonderful disposition, and regular order and motions of the heavenly bodies, should I do this upon the ground of the now prevailing scheme of modern philosophy, it is likely, it would give no offence to any; though the present scheme is very different from the sentiment of the ancients; and though there are divers texts of scripture which suppose, or countenance, the opinion that prevailed in ancient times.

"The sun," says the Psalmist, "is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race. His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it," Psal. xix. 5, 6. Again; "He appointeth the moon for seasons; the sun knoweth his going down," Psal. civ. 19. And in ver. 5 of the same Psalm, it is spoken of as one of the wonderful works of God, "that he has laid the foundations of the earth so that it should not be removed for ever."

Yet it is now generally supposed, that the sun is the fixed centre of our grand system, and that the earth, beside its diurnal rotation upon its own axis, makes an annual revolution about the sun.

The ancient christians, and others, almost universally supposed, that our earth is flat, with here and there rising hills and mountains: and could by no means allow, that there were any inhabitants in that part of the earth which was opposite to themselves. We think the earth to be globose, and find no difficulty to believe, that it is inhabited all round, on every side.

Nor do we judge those to have been enemies to mankind, or to the sacred scriptures, who have taken pains to confute

'body, and regulate its motions by a word? There seems to be no comparison 'in the instances of power. And therefore I think it more to the credit of 'the miracle, and more to our Saviour's glory, to have cured the unhappy 'people in the manner by me contended for, than in the other.' Further Enquiry into the meaning of Dæmoniacs in the N. T. p. 107.

Ils penchent à croire, que leurs maladies étoient naturelles, mais que les causes en étoient inconnues. Cette opinion ne me scandaliseroit point. La raison en est, que les miracles de N. S. qui les guérissoit n'en sont que plus grands. Car que des êtres intelligens obéissent au commandement de J. C. cela n'est pas si miraculeuse que de commander à des maladies et de les faire cesser par un simple ordre. Beausobre, Remarques sur le N. T. p. 14.

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and overthrow the once established opinions; and to show, that the scriptures, without deciding any thing in those points, only use the common way of speaking.

If the like should be attempted by any, with regard to some ancient opinions concerning the supposed agency of evil spirits, I presume there would be no reason to be offended, provided their sentiment be modestly proposed, and with a view to promote knowledge among christians.

The opinions of modern interpreters, and other christians, concerning the case of those who are spoken of as having unclean spirits, you may remember were these two; one more generally received, which allows that they were real possessions: the other less common, that they were mere bodily diseases and indispositions; though it was then the prevailing opinion, that those disorders were caused by evil spirits. And those persons, and their friends, attributing these disorders to Satan, and dæmons under him, our Saviour often adapts his expressions to that opinion, without countenancing or approving it.

That this last mentioned is the more just and probable account of these cases, may appear from several considerations, which I shall now propound to you.

1. It having been in those times a very common opinion, that there were many evil spirits in the region of the air, it is not at all strange, that many people should live under apprehensions of suffering from them.

And many might be induced to ascribe to such spirits, and to their power and influence, several indispositions, and other calamities that befell them. Moreover, some persons of a speculative and philosophical temper might think it best to cherish this opinion among the people, with a view to subserve divers ends and purposes which they deemed innocent and useful: one of which might be promoting the belief of the existence of spirits or invisible beings. Some there were, as the sadducees among the Jews, who denied the existence of angels, and the souls of men after death. The pharisees therefore, and some others, might lay hold of and encourage the notion, that many bodily disorders were owing to evil spirits, the better to secure the persuasion of their real existence. For effects cannot be without causes. If such affecting disorders proceeded from spirits, they have a being, though they are not visible.

This therefore may in some measure help us to account for the prevalence of this opinion, though it had no good foundation.

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2. I observe, secondly, that the chief foundation of the opinion of real possessions may be called in question.

By the principal foundation of this opinion, I mean the supposition of the liberty of evil spirits, either bad angels, or others, to rove about near this earth, in the region of the air.

The Jewish people might be in the right, in supposing, that neither the punishment of the fallen angels, nor bad men, was completed before the day of general judgment. But does it thence follow, that till that time they were at liberty to go where they thought fit, and to do all the mischief they pleased, or were able to execute? St. Jude speaks indeed of the fallen angels being 'reserved unto judgment." But how? It is under confinement. His words are, ver. 6, "And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he has reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day." And St. Peter, "God spared not the angels that sinned, but delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment," 2 ep. ii. 4.

However, possibly, this argument may not be reckoned conclusive. For though many of the fallen angels are so confined, yet the expressions of St. Jude and St. Peter need not to be understood absolutely and universally. For Satan is spoken of as "our adversary, like a roaring lion walking about, seeking whom he may devour."

That, therefore, is all which I have chosen to say; that the principal foundation of this opinion may be called in question; not intending to deny the liberty of Satan, and some other evil angels, to tempt and annoy men, with the divine permission. At the same time I perceive not any clear evidence of the permission of such numbers of evil angels to act upon this earth, as the common opinion supposes.

But if by dæmons be meant other evil spirits, different from fallen angels, then the supposition of their liberty seems to be altogether without foundation. In Isa. lxiii. 16, the Jewish people are introduced by the prophet, owning, that "Abraham was ignorant of them, and that Israel did not acknowledge them." If good men are not allowed after death to concern themselves in the affairs of this world, not so much as of their own descendants; how can it be reasonable to think, that bad men are permitted after death to concern themselves in our affairs, for injuring and tormenting us?

3. Allowing evil spirits the liberty just mentioned, and

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also the power of inflicting some evils on men; it does not follow, that ever there were any possessions, in the strict and gross sense of the word; that is, evil spirits, actuating and inhabiting the bodies of living men upon this earth.

4. It does not appear, that the common opinion of possessions has any support and countenance in the Old Testament.

Satan, it is true, is there represented as the great enemy and seducer of mankind. He tempted Job, and was permitted to bring upon him divers losses and calamities. Still his power received farther enlargement. And then "Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils, from the sole of his foot unto his crown," Job ii. 7. Here is a particular case, and it is very affecting. But yet it comes not up to possession: seizing the body of a man, discomposing his mind, and acting him at will and pleasure.

1 Sam. xvi. 14, It is said of Saul, "that an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him; that is, he contracted a melancholic habit and disposition; for it was often soothed by music. Said his attendants; "Let our lord now command his servants to seek out a man, who is a skilful player on a harp. And it shall come to pass, that when the evil spirit from God is upon thee, that he shall play with his hand, and thou shalt be well." David was sent for; "And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took an harp, and played with his hand. So Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him."

Neither this, then, nor any thing else mentioned in the Old Testament, that I can recollect, countenanceth the supposition of that terrible case, which seems to be implied in the real possession of evil spirits.

And it is not unreasonable to conclude hence, that [b] the notion of possessions was received by the Jews from the Chaldæan or Greek philosophers, after the shutting up of the canon of the Old Testament by the ancient prophets.

5. We find not any instances of possessions by good angels, or other good spirits. Why then should possessions by evil spirits be allowed of? Can it be reasonable to sup-

[b] 'The Jews seem to have received some additional notions concerning evil 'spirits, and their operations, from the Chaldeans; and, after their return 'from the captivity, to have ascribed many diseases and disorders to these 'invisible agents, besides those which were not to be accounted for by natural 'causes.' Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. i. p. 243. So says Dr. Jortin, though he allows, that there were real dæmoniacs. See there, p. 14, and 190.

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pose, that Divine Providence would permit evil spirits to have more powers to do evil, than others have to do good?

There has been an opinion, maintained by some, that every man has a tutelar or guardian angel. Others have supposed, that every man has two angels attending him, one good, the other bad, each suggesting to him counsels and warnings, according to their several dispositions, one wishing his welfare, the other waiting for his halting. But these opinions, (though [c] destitute of all good authority,) do not amount to the thing which we are speaking of. Nor are they by any means so unreasonable.

6. Possession by evil spirits is a thing in itself absurd and impossible, at the least unreasonable and improbable, and not to be supposed, unless there be clear and full proof of it. Which I think there is not.

Man consists of soul and body; and it seems to be unsuitable to the wise methods of Providence, that other spirits should enter into any man, without his consent, and actuate and govern him. "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding," Job xxxii. 8. "The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity, but a wounded spirit who can bear?" Prov. xviii. 14. The same wise man speaks of "the spirit of a man that goeth upward," Eccl. iii. 21. And St. Paul, "What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man that is in him," 1 Cor. ii. 11. I refer also to Matt. x. 28; 1 Thess. v. 23; 2 Tim. iv. 22; Heb. xii. 9; not now to take notice of any other places.

The scripture therefore, in agreement with reason, and [d] the general persuasion of mankind, supposes one soul or spirit in a man. And for other spirits to subsist therewith, and to control and actuate all his powers and members, is an incongruity that ought not to be admitted.

7. Real possessions seem inconsistent with the goodness of God.

I say, it seems to be inconsistent with the wisdom and goodness of the Divine government, to allow of possessions, in the gross meaning of the word. If, indeed, there were any clear and undeniable evidences of such a thing, we should be willing to do our best, to reconcile it to wisdom and goodness. But as there is not, that I know of, any clear and undoubted evidence of this fact, and the thing appears to be very strange and shocking; I apprehend we may say,

[c] See Whitby upon Matt. xviii. 10, and Acts xii. 9.
[d] Mens sana in corpore sano.

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it appears to be inconsistent with the wisdom and goodness of God.

For let any man think with himself, if it be not a strange and hard case, for a man to be put into the power of evil spirits: or for apostate angels, or other impure and wicked spirits, one or more of them, to be allowed to take possession of him, and to teaze and torment him as they think fit. Is this suited to that state of trial in which we now are? Such unhappy persons, it is true, are not cast into hell, nor fixed in a state of damnation. But apostate angels, or other infernal spirits, are supposed to be permitted to come to him, seize on him, torment, and distress him, and that for many years together.

Is this a supposition that should be easily made or allowed of? Can we fairly reconcile this to the wisdom and equity of the Divine government?

Besides, from many things said in the gospels it appears, that divers of the persons there spoken of, as 'having evil spirits,' were not the worst of men. Yea, for any thing we can perceive, divers of them were honest, virtuous persons. And some had laboured under those distempers, commonly ascribed to evil spirits, from their youth, or from childhood, before they can be supposed to have been guilty of great and heinous transgressions.

This argument, if it does not hold against the supposition, that evil spirits may be sometimes permitted to inflict diseases, certainly has a good deal of force against possessions, especially in the gross sense, in which they have been understood and allowed of by some in late times.

8. Another argument against possessions, arises from the manner in which the persons, said to have unclean spirits, speak of our Lord Jesus Christ.

For such persons did often bear an honourable testimony to our Lord; Luke iv. 41, "And dæmons also came out of many, crying out, and saying, Thou art the Christ, the Son of God." But it is incredible, that Satan, or any other evil spirits under his influence and direction, should freely and cheerfully bear witness to our Lord, as the Christ.

When the pharisees reviled him, and said, that he cast out dæmons by Beelzebub the prince of dæmons, our Lord confuted that reflection and charge, by showing, that the thing was very unlikely. So in Matt. xii. 25, 28, and elsewhere. For the doctrine taught by our Lord being contrary to the kingdom and interest of Satan, it was altogether improbable, that so subtle and malicious a spirit should concur with him for the support of it.

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In like manner it is incredible, that any unclean spirits should cheerfully bear testimony to Jesus, as the Christ, the Son of God. Therefore that profession, or declaration, did not proceed from such spirits, but from the unhappy diseased persons, who, under their melancholic affections, thought themselves to have dæmons, in conformity to the prevailing opinion, though they had not.

This is a much more reasonable way of accounting for this matter, than to suppose, that evil spirits openly professed Jesus to be the Christ, the Son of God.

Indeed this appears to me a very forcible argument: I have been sometimes apt to think, that this consideration has been overlooked by learned and pious men, who have so readily admitted real possessions.

However, it may be here said, that possibly this testimony was not free and voluntary, but constrained and compelled. To which I answer, that this cannot be said with good reason. Our Lord certainly did not constrain any such to bear that testimony to him, and speak so of him; for he never received it, but disallowed of it, and checked it: though afterwards, when those persons were by his mighty power delivered from the indispositions under which they had laboured, he was not unwilling that they should bear witness to him, as we see in the case before us; "He bid the man go home to his friends, and tell them, how great things the Lord had done for him, and had compassion on him."

9. All those persons who are spoken of as having dæmons, or an unclean spirit, had some bodily indisposition. Nor does it appear clearly from their history, that there was any thing beside such indisposition.

That all these people had some bodily indisposition is manifest, and cannot be denied by any. Some laboured under distraction, as the men in the country of the Gadarenes; others had other disorders. St. Peter, Acts x. 38, gives this general account of our Lord's miraculous works: "Who went about doing good, and *healing* all that were oppressed of the devil." Therefore they who were supposed to be under the oppression of Satan, had distempers which our Lord healed. Observable are the words of St. Matthew, ch. iv. 24; "And his fame went throughout all Syria, and they brought unto him all sick people, that were taken with divers diseases, and torments, and those which were possessed of dæmons," or dæmoniacs, and "those that were lunatic, and those that had the palsy, and he *healed* them."

These persons, therefore, are reckoned up among other

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sick people, and they are said to be 'healed,' or 'cured,' by the Lord Jesus, when brought to him.

Nor does it appear, from the history of these cases, that there was any thing more than bodily indispositions, and that discomposure of mind, which usually accompanies them.

Let us observe the history of the young man, first brought to the disciples, when our Lord was in the mount, and then to himself, when he was come down, and is related by the first three evangelists.

Matt. xvii. 14, 15; "And when they were come to the multitude, there came to him a certain man, kneeling down to him, and saying, Lord, have mercy on my son, for he is lunatic, and sore vexed. For oft-times he falleth into the fire, and oft into the water. And I brought him to thy disciples, and they could not cure him."

That is the whole description of the case: but undoubtedly the affliction was supposed to be owing to an evil spirit. Therefore the cure is thus related by the same evangelist: "And Jesus rebuked the dæmon, and he departed out of him, and the child was cured from that very hour," ver. 18.

In the description, then, of this distemper, which appears to have been the epilepsy, or falling sickness, the parent says, "his child was lunatic, and sore vexed:" that is, his distemper was influenced by the changes of the moon, and the fits, or paroxysms, were very violent, and more violent at some seasons than others. And does it not use to be so in such cases? What necessity is there then for the supposition of the agency or interposition of evil spirits?

In Mark ix. 17, 18, the same case is represented in this manner: "One of the multitude answered, I have brought unto thee my son, which has a dumb spirit. And whersoever he taketh him, he foameth, and gnasheth with his teeth, and pineth away. And I spake to thy disciples, that they should cast him out, and they could not." Ver. 20, "And they brought him to him. And when he saw him, straightway the spirit tare him, and he fell on the ground, and wallowed, foaming." It was a grievous epilepsy, a dangerous indisposition, the convulsions were sometimes extremely violent, so that the young man had begun to pine away.

In St. Luke, ch. ix. 38, 39, the parent says, "Master, I beseech thee, look upon my son, for he is my only child. And lo a spirit taketh him, and he suddenly crieth out, and it teareth him, that he foameth again, and bruising him, hardly departeth from him." Ver 42, "And as he was yet

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coming, the dæmon threw him down, and tare him. And Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit, and healed the child, and delivered him again to his father."

It was a sad epileptical disease. The convulsions were very violent; the fits were sometimes severe and long; insomuch that his friends feared he would never get out of them, but die away in them; a thing not uncommon still in such cases. And yet we do not now, generally, introduce evil spirits as the causes of them.

This, however, was a grievous and dangerous epilepsy. And the cure performed by our Lord was a great and gracious work.

10. There were some in ancient times, who were of opinion, that those called dæmoniacs were diseased only.

Undoubtedly, the other was the more prevailing opinion, but not universal. The sadducees among the Jews must have had different apprehensions about these cases. But I choose not to take any particular notice of men, who were so unreasonable as to deny the existence of angels and separate spirits. See Acts xxiii. 8.

I shall however observe what is said by Origen, who lived about two hundred years after our Lord's ascension, in his Commentary upon St. Matthew's gospel. He is treating of the miracle wrought by our Lord upon the young man, brought to Christ by his father, after he was come down from the mount: of which we spoke just now. Origen himself believed the influence of dæmons in such cases. But he says, 'That [e] physicians endeavoured to ac-'count for them in a natural way; not allowing the agency 'of any impure spirits, but calling them bodily distempers.' So said physicians in those times; and they must be reckoned as good judges as any.

Plotinus, a celebrated heathen philosopher, who flourished about the middle of the third century, blames some, who [f] ascribed to dæmons diseases, which, as he says, may be accounted for in an ordinary way, and indeed are owing to fatigue, excess, indigestion, and other causes either internal or external, and are oftentimes cured by medicines.

And Philostorgius, an ecclesiastical historian, at the be-

[e] Ιατροι μεν ουν φυσιολογειτωσαν, ὰτε μηδε ακαθαρτον πνευμα ειναι νομιζοντες κατα τοπον, αλλα σωματικον συμπτωμα, κ. λ. In Matt. Tom. xiii. vol. i. p. 311. Huet. vol. iii. p. 577. Bened.

[f] Νυν δε αποτηναμενοι, τας νοσους δαιμονια ειναι ——— τους μεντοι ευφρονευτας ως αν πειθοιεν, ὡς υχ αἱ νοσοι τας αιτιας εχουσιν, η καματοις, η πλησμοναις, η ανδειαις, η σηψεσι, και ὁλως μεταβολαις η εξωθεν την αρχην, η ενδοθεν λαβουσαις. Δηλωσι δε και αἱ θεραπειαι αυτων, κ. λ. Plotin. Enn. 2. lib. ix. cap. 14.

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ginning of the fifth century, mentions[6] one Posidonius, a learned physician, whom he knew, who ascribed all the bad symptoms of those called dæmoniacs to natural causes; and did not believe, that dæmons had power to torment men, though he did not deny their existence. That Posidonius seems to have been a christian.

I might show, that this has likewise been the opinion of some judicious, and thoughtful, and pious men of late times. But as I suppose you to be rather determined by reason than authority, I forbear to insist on their judgment.

I therefore would recommend to your consideration the observations which have been now mentioned: which seem to me to render it very probable, that the afflictions, which those laboured under, who among the Jews were said to have a dæmon, or unclean spirit, were mere bodily distempers and indispositions. They are at least, so far as I am able to judge, cogent arguments against possessions, in the gross sense of the word, as understood by some learned men of late times.

There are however some difficulties attending this supposition, which shall be taken notice of hereafter.

For the present, we may do well to recollect some apostolical observations and admonitions. "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth," 1 Cor. viii. 1. "Speaking the truth in love, let us grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ," Eph. iv. 15.

Then are our minds rightly tempered in our inquiries after the true nature of things, when our first and greatest care is to please and glorify God; when we are humble and diffident, sensible of the weakness of our capacities, and of our liableness to err; when we are disposed to think and judge according to evidence, and to embrace that as true, which appears to be founded in reason: when still we are willing to exercise charity and forbearance toward such as differ from us, and do not see things exactly in the same light that we do.

Some are greatly delighted with simplicity in all things. They enter not into any speculations about the orders, the powers, the ranks, or œconomy of invisible beings. Nor do they willingly admit their agency and interposition in human affairs in this life, our time and state of trial. Others love to multiply beings; and an intricate system,

[6] *Θεασασθαι δε τον Ποσιδωνιον εν ιατρικῃ διαπρεποντα. Λεγει δ' αυτον ὁμως ικ ορθως ιχι δαιμονων επιθεσει τυς ανθρωπυς εκβακχευεσθαι, ὑγρων δε τινων κακοχυμιαν το παθος εργαζεσθαι· μη δε γαρ ειναι το παραπαν ισχυν δαιμονων, ανθρωπων φυσιν επηρεαζουσαν.* Philost. l. viii. cap. 10.

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with a great variety of movements, pleaseth them best. They like frequent, or continual interpositions of good and bad spirits; and scarcely any thing happens in the world, but they ascribe it to their influence and causality.

Let every one be satisfied in his own mind, after serious and diligent inquiry: but let us take care, that by introducing numerous inferior and intermediate beings, and their agency, we do not derogate from the Divine empire and government, as supreme over all causes and things, visible and invisible.

And let us remain fully persuaded, that our blessed Lord's doctrine, authority, and character, were supported and attested by numerous miracles performed by him, in healing every disease and affliction to which the human frame is exposed, and in raising the dead. And that, being himself raised from the dead, and ascended to heaven, and living for ever, he is able to bestow eternal life upon all those, who sincerely obey the reasonable precepts of true holiness delivered by him.

DISCOURSE IV.

MARK v. 19.

Howbeit Jesus suffered him not, but saith unto him, Go home to thy friends, and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee.

I HAVE distinctly explained and improved the great cure, and miraculous work here referred to. And the last time it was observed, that some are inclined to think, that the afflictions which they laboured under who are spoken of as having evil spirits, were mere bodily diseases and indispositions: though it was then the prevailing opinion, that they were under the power and influence of some evil spirit. And those persons themselves, and their friends, attributing their distempers to Satan, and dæmons under him, our Saviour sometimes adapts his expressions to that opinion, without countenancing or approving it.

In favour of that sentiment divers arguments and considerations were proposed, taken from the reason of things,

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from the Old Testament, and from the history and description of these very persons, and their cases, as recorded in the New Testament.

IV. What now remains to be spoken to is the fourth and last head relating to this subject, the objections against the fore-mentioned opinion, or the arguments in favour of real possessions.

I shall take notice of, and consider these four.

1. There might be such cases in former times, though there are now none.

2. There are divers things said of those persons, who were called dæmoniacs, which are very difficult, or even impossible to be accounted for, but by the supposition of real possessions, or the operation and interposition of evil spirits.

3. The evangelists appear to have believed, that these persons had really one or more unclean spirits.

4. Our Lord himself does not oppose the opinion of real possessions, as he would have done, it is likely, if not true.

Of these in order.

1. Obj. In the first place, it is said, that there might be such cases in former times, though there are none now.

Possibly such things may not be allowed of in the common and ordinary course of Divine Providence; but yet might be permitted at the time of our Saviour's appearance, when there was an uncommon and effectual remedy at hand. Bad angels, or other evil spirits, might be then suffered to leave their confinement, and come abroad, and inflict grievous distempers upon men, especially in the land of Judea and near it; that the power of Jesus might be rendered more conspicuous, by showing his authority over them, and removing by his word those evils which they had inflicted, and causing those malignant spirits to leave those persons of whom they had taken possession.

To which I answer, that this supposition does not suit the histories related in the gospels: for these cases do not there appear to be extraordinary, but are looked upon by every body as ordinary and usual things. No one expresseth a surprise, that such people are brought to Jesus. His enemies never mention it as a reproach and dishonour to him, that their country was then infested with evil spirits. If people had been now all on a sudden seized with disorders, never heard of among them before, and if such cases had been numerous, would it not have occasioned the utmost astonishment? Would it not have raised a loud and general clamour? Would they not have thought they had indeed good

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reason to say, when they saw the cures performed by Jesus and his disciples, that there was a combination between them, and some malignant powers? They first brought them in among them into the country, and then they cast them out and drove them away again. But there was no ground for such a charge: it was never mentioned: it was impossible to be made: for such cases were well known, and are spoken of by other writers contemporary with the evangelists, by Josephus and others, as common in Judea and elsewhere, not only at that time, but also before and afterwards, as was observed by us in a preceding discourse.

The Jews had among them methods of exorcising spirits, or curing the diseases which they were supposed to inflict: though possibly with but little success, any farther than they were assisted by the art of medicine. However, as exorcisms had been in use among them, they afford proof, that such cases, and the opinion concerning them, were known before our Saviour's appearance in the world.

2. Obj. It is said, that divers things appear in the history of these persons, which are very difficult, if not impossible to be accounted for, but upon the supposition of real possessions, or at least the interposition and operations of evil spirits.

(1.) First of all it may be said: if there was no agency of evil spirits, how came it to pass, that this opinion so prevailed as it did; and how came it, that many persons thought themselves to be possessed by evil spirits? The man at the tombs when asked by Jesus what was his name, answered, "Legion, for we are many." And divers brought their children or other friends, to Christ, desiring him to have mercy on them, because an evil spirit afflicted and tormented them.

To which I answer; It is no uncommon thing for opinions to prevail in the world which have no solid foundation. How many have been disposed to ascribe the diseases of the human body, and other disastrous events in the world, to the planets, or other stars! It was for a long time a very common opinion, that spirits of inferior orders, in a manner, filled the region of the air; and many distempers were ascribed to their influence. When such an opinion prevailed, it was very likely that some who fell under grievous distempers, should think themselves harassed and tormented by evil spirits, and upon some occasions speak in conformity to their inward apprehensions. This, particularly, was the case with the man called Legion, and perhaps of many others who were under a deep melancholy.

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(2.) It is urged; how came these persons who are said to have evil spirits, to know Jesus to be the Christ, if they were not under the influence of evil spirits, of great knowledge, as well as much power? "And there was in their synagogue, [at Capernaum,] a man with an unclean spirit, and he cried out, saying, Let us alone, what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee, who thou art, the holy one of God," Mark i. 23, 24. Compare Luke iv. 33, 34. And the two men, in the country of the Gadarenes, "cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?" Matt. viii. 29.

To which I beg leave to answer; it seems to me, that these persons knew Jesus to be the Christ, the Son of God, in the same way that others did. The expectation of the coming of the Messiah had been for some while very common, and even universal, founded upon just interpretations of the ancient prophets, which were publicly read in the synagogues, and were in the hands of all men. These people, before they were seized with the disorders which they now laboured under, were well apprized of the common notions concerning the greatness of the Messiah, which were allowed by the Jews in general.

We ought likewise to recollect, that none of the miracles recorded by the first three evangelists, were performed by our Lord till after the commencement of his public ministry, that is, the most public and open part of it. This is evident from St. John's gospel, compared with the rest. The first three evangelists say but little of our Lord's ministry, till after John was cast into prison: but before that, as St. John assures us, he had wrought divers miracles, and had begun to gather disciples. Moreover, some of the miracles recorded by the first three evangelists, might be wrought, and some of our Lord's excellent discourses spoken by him, before any of those persons said to have an unclean spirit, made acknowledgments of our Lord's great character.

The expectation of the Messiah being general, and John the Baptist having preached in the most public manner, and declared to all, that the great person whom they looked for was at hand, and would soon appear among them; and our Lord beginning to speak as no man ever spake before, and doing many great and miraculous works, showing forth his glory, and many believing on him, and his fame being very great in Judea, and in neighbouring places; no man could be altogether ignorant of him. It is therefore not at all strange, that these diseased persons should, in

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their way, bear testimony to him. All those, said to have evil spirits, as we readily perceive, were not discomposed in mind; many of them were epileptical or paralytical. These undoubtedly enjoyed, at some seasons, the free use of their senses and understandings, and might discern the evidences of our Lord's great character; and being sincere and honest, might be disposed to own it, and declare the sense of their minds. But thinking their distempers to be owing to the operation and influence of evil spirits, they affect to speak in their name.

As for the men in the country of the Gadarenes, who were disordered in their minds, and yet acknowledged Jesus to be the Christ, the thing may be thought more difficult. But, as just said, before they were seized with that distemper, they were acquainted with the expectation of the Messiah, and the general apprehensions concerning his character; and before now they had heard of Jesus. Many who labour under that indisposition are honest and acute: they have also some intervals of ease: nor are they unreasonable in every respect; but setting aside some particular fancy, can reason and argue consistently enough. It therefore is not impossible, nor improbable, that some labouring under this affliction, having heard of the fame of Jesus, who was much talked of every where, should think, and then be disposed to speak, honourably of him.

(3.) The escape of the man called Legion from his confinement, it is argued, is a proof of the interposition of evil spirits of more than human power, and not to be otherwise accounted for. For the evangelist Mark says, "that no man could bind him, no, not with chains. For he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder, and the fetters broken in pieces. Neither could any man tame him," chap. v. 3, 4.

But, as seems to me, the escape of such a person from his confinement, needs not to be reckoned so very extraordinary a thing, when it is well known, that persons in the like disorders have at some seasons uncommon strength.

Moreover, I apprehend that many do imprudently magnify the security with which that man had been confined. We are too apt, inconsiderately, to judge of former times by our own. It is likely, that great improvements have been made in late ages, in the method of treating people in that unhappy circumstance.

Hospitals for the relief and cure of such as labour under this and other grievous distempers, may be said to be a

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christian institution.[a] They owe their original to that benevolence, which christian principles inspire men with toward their fellow-creatures. In those houses where there is constant attendance, the security must be much greater than in other places. Supposing there was, for some short season, a want of attention to this person, the bands with which he was fastened, whether of metal or cord, with his continual and violent motion would fret and wear, and then break and burst asunder: and when he felt himself at liberty, his melancholic apprehensions would carry him to the desolate and solitary place where our Lord found him.

(4.) The loss of the swine is reckoned unaccountable, but upon the supposition of a real possession, and the interposition of many evil spirits.

It may be remembered, that[b] formerly we mentioned three several ways of accounting for that event. One, supposing that the distraction which the man had laboured under, was transferred by our Lord from him to the swine. Another, that the dæmons, leaving the man at Christ's order, did with his permission take possession of the swine, and hurry them down the precipice: the third, that the lunatic man, or men, drove the swine into the lake.

Several reasons were then offered against the first of those opinions. There remain therefore the other two only to be now considered.

Every one should judge for himself. But to me it appears most probable, that this was done by the man himself, called Legion, either alone, or with the joint assistance of the other, his companion in affliction. For this miracle, as was observed before, was performed by our Lord with great deliberation. Some time passed between our Lord's signifying his will and pleasure, that the evil spirits should depart, or that the man should be cured, and his perfect recovery. Some things may be reasonably supposed by us, which are not inserted in such a relation as this. When the people of the neighbouring city had been informed of the cure of this unhappy person, as St. Mark assures us, "they come to Jesus, and see him that was possessed with a dæmon, and had the Legion, sitting, and clothed, and in his right mind." Clothing therefore had been brought to him: but the evangelist does not say how it was procured; because indeed it is needless to relate particularly what may be easily supposed.

[a] See the Bishop of Oxford's Sermon preached before the Governors of the London Hospital, in the year 1754, p. 8—11. [b] See before, p. 456, 457.

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The distraction under which this man laboured, was very grievous and outrageous; he was a hideous form, and his action was very violent. When he had conceived the thought of gratifying the evil spirits, by which he imagined himself to be possessed, with the destruction of the swine, he would without much difficulty drive them off the precipice. If some few of them were put in motion, the whole herd would follow. Nor is it unlikely, that the other person, his companion in affliction, joined his assistance; for St. Matthew speaks of two. They invested the herd then on each side, and thus drove them before them.

This appears to me a much more reasonable way of accounting for the loss of the swine, than to suppose, that [c] our blessed Lord accepted and granted the petition of evil spirits.

(5.) The case of Mary Magdalene may create a difficulty in the minds of some: and it may be inquired, what notion we ought to have of it, since it is said, that "out of her went seven dæmons?" Is not this an evident proof of the reality of possessions? See Mark xvi. 9; Luke viii. 2.

To which I answer, that many of late time have supposed Mary Magdalene to be the woman mentioned by St. Luke in the seventh chapter of his gospel, who is there spoken of as a 'sinner,' who, when our Lord was in the house of Simon the pharisee, came to him, and gave proof of repentance. For which reason Mary Magdalene is often set forth as a remarkable example of repentance.

But that opinion, so far as I am able to judge, is entirely without foundation in the gospels. There is no reason at all to think, that Mary Magdalene and that woman are one and the same.

What was Mary's case appears in general by St. Luke's account, chap. viii. 1, 2, "He went through every city and village, preaching the glad tidings of the kingdom of God. And the twelve were with him, and certain women, which had been healed of evil spirits, and infirmities; Mary, called Magdalene, out of whom went seven dæmons, and others." Here Mary is reckoned among those whom our Lord had 'healed of infirmities,' and such infirmities as were ascribed to evil spirits.

But I do not think we can with certainty conclude from those words, what was her particular affliction; because the Jews in those times imputed a great variety of distempers to the influence of dæmons. But though we dare not say positively what was her case, whether a discomposed

[c] See before, p. 457, 458. and note.

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frame of mind, or epilepsy, or somewhat else; it appears to me very evident, that some natural, not moral distemper, is thereby intended; and that by 'seven dæmons' is meant many, a certain number being put for an uncertain. It was supposed, as in the case of the man who called himself Legion, that more than one dæmon, or unclean spirit, was concerned in inflicting, or aggravating the infirmity, which she had been afflicted with, and which our blessed Lord graciously removed.

(6.) The next thing which I shall take notice of, is the history of an affair at Ephesus, Acts xix. 10—17, "And this continued by the space of two years, so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks. And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: so that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs and aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them. Then certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them to call over them that had evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, We adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth. And there were seven sons of one Sceva, a Jew, and chief of the priests, which did so. And the evil spirit answered, and said, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye? And the man in whom the evil spirit was, leaped on them and overcame them, and prevailed against them: so that they fled out of the house naked and wounded. And this was known to all the Jews, and Greeks also, dwelling at Ephesus. And fear fell on them all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified."

This history might afford occasion for many remarks; as that dæmoniacs were common among Gentiles, and in heathen countries, as well as among the Jews in Judea: that the Jews practised exorcisms at home and abroad: and that some, who took upon them the office of exorcists, were men of indifferent characters, and were impostors.

But what I allege this passage for, and which we are chiefly to attend to, is the argument which it affords for real possessions, or the influence of malignant powerful spirits. For this man speaks as if he were actuated by some such beings; moreover he shows great force and activity; he alone overcomes several men at once.

Nevertheless, in my opinion, here is far from being any sufficient evidence of the presence or power of invisible beings. The knowledge which the man shows, is common and ordinary. St. Paul had before this time wrought many miracles at Ephesus, in the name of Jesus, in curing all

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kinds of diseases: and the man before us was convinced of the truth and greatness of divers of the works which he had either seen or heard of.

When therefore these Jewish exorcists came to him, and made an attempt to give him relief under the indisposition with which he was afflicted, and he found no benefit from all their exorcisms; he was enraged, and treats them as hateful deceivers, and says, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?" No evil spirit, under the direction of Satan, the prince of evil spirits, would bear such a testimony to Jesus and his apostles. But it is the honest, understanding man, who expresses the sense of his own mind.

Says St. Luke, "And the man, in whom the evil spirit was," that is, in whom there was supposed to be an evil spirit, "leapt on them, and overcame them, and prevailed:" which is not at all hard to conceive, considering his just indignation, and that this assault was unexpected. The exorcists were unprovided for defence, and at the same time were dispirited by fear and shame, at the disappointment which they had met with, and the detection of their imposture, and the inefficacy of their boasted skill.

As St. Luke says, "fear fell on all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified." And very justly, after so many miracles wrought by Paul, and the manifest proof now afforded of the insufficiency of those methods of cure, which were most depended upon.

(7.) There is one thing more to be taken notice of by us, before we leave this head. We must go back for it to the xvith chapter of the Acts. But I have reserved it for this place, it seeming to some, one of the strongest proofs in the New Testament in behalf of real possessions. It was at Philippi in Macedonia. Says St. Luke: "And it came to pass, as we went to prayer." It might as well be rendered, "As we went to the oratory," or the Jewish synagogue, a little way out of the city, by the river side. "As we went to the oratory, a certain damsel, possessed with a spirit of divination, met us, which brought her masters much gain by soothsaying. The same followed Paul and us, and cried, saying, These men are the servants of the most high God, which show unto us the way of salvation. And this she did many days. But Paul being grieved, turned, and said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And he came out the same hour. And when her masters saw, that the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas, and drew them into the marketplace, unto the rulers. And brought them to the magis-

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trates, saying, These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city. And teach customs, which are not lawful for us to receive, neither to observe, being Romans," Acts xvi. 16—21. And the magistrates being exasperated by the clamour of these men, they ordered Paul and Silas to be beaten, and shut up in prison.

"A certain damsel, possessed with a spirit of divination," literally, 'having a spirit of Python.' St. Luke, undoubtedly, makes use of the common heathen appellation. And the phrase seems to denote, that this woman was supposed to have the same spirit of Python, or Apollo, that delivered oracles in the name of Apollo in the Pythian temple. In short, by the help of this maid-servant, her masters were supposed to be able to deliver out oracles, and to answer all manner of questions, and foretell future events concerning those who consulted them; hereby her owners had much gain.

And many there are in our time, who still think, this woman had in her a spirit of divination, and that she was able to foretell futurities.

They who are of this opinion, express themselves after this manner. 'The[d] ancient Greeks and Romans possessed 'slaves of all professions, philosophers, rhetoricians, gram-'marians, physicians, as well as persons bred up to every 'sort of mechanic trade. Among the rest, they sometimes 'happened to have slaves that were astrologers, or magicians, 'or diviners. Εγγαστριμυθοι, or those who had the spirit of 'Python, were doubtless, very rare, and the purchase of 'such an one must have been exceeding high. The maid-'servant, here mentioned, is represented as having more than 'one owner. Her price, it is likely, was too great to be ad-'vanced by a single person. At least no one cared to risk so 'large a sum upon the uncertainty of a life. For though she 'brought much gain, how soon might it be cut off by her 'decease?' It is farther said, 'that the[e] reputation of this 'woman was established. There was a general belief, that 'she did foretell things, and there was a great concourse of 'people after her, to make inquiry into their future for-'tunes.' So say[f] those persons who are of that opinion.

[d] Biscoe upon the Acts, p. 342, 343. [e] The same, p. 296.

[f] 'The plain truth therefore is, St. Paul prevented her future prophesying. 'He cast out the spirit which spake within her, so that she was no more heard 'to speak as from her belly or breast. Her masters soon perceived that she 'was no longer inspired or possessed, that she could now utter no more divi-'nations or prophecies; and therefore all hope of their gains from her, whether 'in Philippi, or any other city, was wholly gone.' The same, p. 297, 298. See also Dr. Jortin's Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History, Vol. i. p. 123, 124.

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Upon which I observe, that unquestionably here was a sort of oracle, for such things were common in heathen countries, not only carried on by their priests in the temples of their deities, but also by others in other places. But, as I think, there is good reason to believe, that all those oracles in general were cheats and impostures, the effects of human skill and contrivance only; so I think, there was a like cheat and imposture in this case. But it may not be easy to say exactly wherein the imposture consisted.

It has been supposed, that the woman was a slave, and the joint property of several; which might be. But none of those oracles could be carried on with credit, without a combination, for getting intelligence, and for the sake of other transactions at the office. And whether she was a slave, or a hired servant, does not clearly appear.

I make no question, that the masters were artful and deceitful: but, possibly, the woman was honest. If she had once been otherwise, she was seized with compunction, when she declared Paul and his companions to be "servants of the most high God." But that would not cure her distemper: for some distemper she had, which Paul removed.

It seems to me not improbable, that this woman laboured under some indisposition; possibly, some kind of melancholy, which was imputed to the influence of a dæmon, and particularly to Apollo, as was common among heathen people. The masters, pretending that hereby she was qualified to resolve all manner of questions, set up an oracle at Philippi, and delivered out answers, as if received from the spirit of Python. And their project was carried on very artfully, insomuch, that they had a good deal of employment, and many inquirers, and made great gain.

But the maid being honest, or at least well disposed, and hearing of Paul, what doctrine he taught, and what works he performed; or perhaps out of curiosity attending at a distance, and making inquiries after him, she was convinced, and then openly declared, that he and his companions were "servants of the most high God." Or, she might have received information of Paul from her masters. For no people were so inquisitive, and so careful to get early intelligence, as the conductors of those[s] oracles. But the information given her (if she received it from them) had a different effect from what was intended. However, her high character of Paul did not throw her masters into despair, that we can perceive. But she having often followed Paul, and he not valuing such a testimony, and being touched

[s] Vid. Luciani Alexander, seu Pseudomantis.

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with compassion for the maid, under her melancholic affection, adapting his expressions to the common opinion about her, "said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And he came out the same hour." And thereupon the woman immediately became composed and cheerful. This happy alteration being evident, and public, her masters' hope of farther gain by her was ruined.

This appears to me to have been the case: nor can it be thought, that a spirit of Python should publicly say what tended to diminish a regard for himself, and all heathen deities in general.

But I may not stay to allege at large the proofs which might be offered, that the heathen oracles, and such as were said to speak by the spirit of Python, were the impostures of artful men, unsupported by invisible beings of vast knowledge and power, as some have supposed.

I only observe, that what is here advanced is agreeable to the sentiments of the ancient prophets, who continually represent heathen idols as altogether insignificant and vain; and did not imagine, that they were inhabited by invisible beings, who could astonish their worshippers with real wonders, and almost rival the true Deity. Isa. xli. 21—24, "Produce your cause, saith the Lord; bring forth your strong reasons, saith the King of Jacob. Let them show the former things, what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them." Let them show the accomplishment of any events, conformably to their predictions in time past. "Or declare us, now, things to come. Show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know ye are gods. Yea, do good, or do evil, that we may be dismayed, and behold it together. Behold ye are of nothing, and your work of nought: an abomination is he, that chooseth you." Compare Isa. xl. 18—20.

Jer. x. 3—5, "For the customs of the people are vain; for one cutteth a tree out of the forest (the work of the hands of the workman) with the axe. They deck it with silver and with gold, they fasten it with nails and hammers, that it move not. They are upright, as the palm-tree, but speak not: they must needs be borne, because they cannot go: be not afraid of them, for they cannot do evil, neither is it in them to do good."

Isa. xliv. 9, "They that make a graven image, are all of them vanity. 10, Who hath formed a god, or molten a graven image, that is profitable for nothing? 12, The smith with the tongs both worketh in the coals, and fashioneth it with hammers," and what follows to the end of ver.

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17, "He burneth part thereof in the fire: with part thereof he eateth flesh: he roasteth roast, and is satisfied. And the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image: he falleth down to it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me, for thou art my god."

Psal. cxv. 3—8, "But our God is in the heavens, he hath done whatsoever he pleased. Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not. They have ears, but they hear not. They have hands, but they handle not; feet have they, but they walk not; neither speak they through their throat." They have not the faculty of speech. "They that make them, are like unto them. So is every one, that trusteth in them." Compare Ps. cxxxv. 15—18.

Psal. xcvii. 7, "Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols."

Dan. v. 4, "They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone. Ver. 23, And thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God, in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified."

Habakkuk ii. 18, 19, "What profiteth the graven image, that the maker of his work trusteth therein, to make him dumb idols? Woe unto him that saith to the wood, Awake: to the dumb stone, Arise, it shall teach. It is laid over with gold and silver, and there is no breath at all in the midst of it."

Justly therefore does the prophet say, "the stock is a doctrine of vanities," Jer. x. 8. Compare Jer. ii. 27, and Isa. xliv. 19. And I refer to the sixth chapter of the apocryphal book of Baruch.

Acts xvii. 29, "We ought not to think, that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone graven by art, and man's device." So says St. Paul, preaching at Athens. He does not flatter them: he plainly intimates, that their consecrated images consisted only of earthly materials, polished by the hand of the artificer.

1 Cor. viii. 4, "We know, that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one." Ch. x. 19, "What say I then? that the idol is any thing?" Ch. xii. 2, "Ye know, that ye were gentiles, carried away unto these dumb idols, as ye were led."

1 Thess. i. 9, "And how ye turned to God from idols," meaning lifeless idols, "to serve the living and true God."

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After all this, can any christian believe, that heathen idols had either power or knowledge?

Can we think, that by invocation, and consecration, aërial, invisible beings were brought to reside in images of hollow brass, or solid marble? And that they thence delivered answers to such as sought to them? Such[h] was, indeed, the persuasion of heathen people: but it was a mere delusion appertaining to their superstition; for which they were derided by the primitive christians, and the ancient[i] apologists; who are justified by the scriptures, as we have lately seen.

Can we imagine, that heathen deities were able to do great things for those who sought to them, and recompense them for all their costly oblations and sacrifices? I say, can any christians admit such an imagination, when the prophets represent them as things of nought, senseless idols, who could not see, hear, speak, or walk, as graven or molten images, as mere stocks, that could do neither good nor evil? Do we not all know, how the prophet Elijah exposed the inability of Baal, in the presence of his numerous priests and worshippers? And shall any christians still suppose, that Baal was a being of mighty power? No, no, Saturn, or Baal, or Belus, or by whatever other name he was invoked, to whom so many fine children were offered in sacrifice, by that warlike people the Carthaginians, and their ancestors[k] the Phœnicians, was so far from holding the balance of

[h] Sed erras, inquitis, et laberis. Nam neque nos æra neque auri argentique materias neque alias quibus signa conflunt, eas esse per se deos, et religiosa decernimus numina: sed eos in his colimus, eosque veneramur, quos dedicatio infert sacra, et fabrilibus efficit inhabitare simulacris. Arnob. l. vi. p. 203. in. Vid. ib. p. 207. in. Επειτα δε και Ολυμπιος τις εν φιλοσοφα σχηματι συνων αυτοις, και πειθων χρηναι μη αμελειν των πατρων—καθαιρεμενων δε των ξοανων, αθυμωντας ὁρων, συνεβυλευε, μη εξιστασθαι της θρησκειας, ὑλην φθαρτην και ινδαλματα λεγων ειναι τα αγαλματα, και δια τυτο αφανισμον ὑπομενειν· δυναμεις δε τινας ενοικησαι αυτοις, και εις ὡρανον αποπτηναι. Sozom. H. E. l. vii. p. 724. C. Vid. et Clementin. Hom. X. sect. xxi.

[i] Simulacra ista, quæ vos terrent, quæque in templis omnibus prostrati, atque humiles adoratis, ossa, lapides, æra sunt, argentum, aurum, lignum sumptum ex arbore, aut commixtum glutinum gypso, &c. O utinam liceret in simulacri alicujus medias introire pendigines! Immo utinam liceret Olympiacos illos et Capitolinos Joves in membra resolutos, omnesque illas partes, quibus summa concluditur corporum, discretas et singulas intueri, &c. Arnob. l. vi. p. 200, 201. et seqq.

Quisquamne igitur tam ineptus est, ut putet aliquid esse in simulacro Dei, in quo ne hominis quidem quicquam est præter umbram?—Adorant ergo insensibilia, qui sentiunt: irrationabilia, qui sapiunt: exanima, qui vivunt: terrena, qui oriuntur e cœlo. Lact. l. ii. cap. 2. p. 147.

[k] Κρονῳ μεν γαρ φοινικες καθ' ἑκαστον ετος εθυον τα αγαπητα και μονογενη των τεκνων. Euseb. de Laudib. Constant. p. 646. A. Vid. Hieron. Columna ad Fragmenta Ennii. p. 74—76.

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power in that, or any other part of the world, or being able to give victory to what people he pleased, that he was not able to raise or lay a storm, could not form or blast one spire of grass, or flower of the field, but was [l] a dead man, and, as to power or influence, mere nothing.

When we speak of heathen deities as dead men, we are countenanced by many wise men [m] among the ancients, and by the scriptures, as was shown [n] before.

And do we think, that [o] their fond and sorrowful survivors could by any methods and solemnities of deification, performed on this earth, seat them in heaven, and advance them to extensive power and empire?

Some learned men among christians have supposed, that the young woman at Philippi, whose case we have had under our consideration, who is said to have had a "spirit of divination," had extraordinary knowledge. They say, that 'she prophesied, that she could discover lost goods, and 'reveal what happened in distant places, and do many other 'things of a like nature.' But their opinion is confuted by the text in Isa. viii. 19, before quoted. For she was one of those who are particularly mentioned by the prophet, as having a familiar spirit, or spirit of Python, and muttering, that is, speaking as out of the belly or breast. And so the place was understood of old by [p] Jerom.

3. Obj. The third objection to be considered by us is, that the evangelists seem to have believed real possessions,

[l] Saturnum enim principem hujus generis et examinis omnes scriptores vetustatis, Græci Romanique, hominem prodiderunt. Minuc. Fel. cap. 22.

[m] Quibus ex rebus cum constet illos homines fuisse, non est obscurum, quâ ratione dii cœperint nominari. Hac scilicet ratione Romani Cæsares suos consecraverunt, et Mauri reges suos. Lactant. l. i. cap. 15.

——— et ideo simulacra constituunt. Quæ quia mortuorum sunt imagines, similia mortuis sunt. Omni enim sensu carent. Id. l. ii. cap. 2. p. 146.

Si vero scrutari vetera, et ex his ea, quæ scriptores Græciæ prodiderunt, eruere coner; ipsi illi majorum gentium dii qui habentur, hinc a nobis profecti in cœlum reperientur. Cic. Tuscul. Disp. i. c. 13. Et Conf. Lact. l. i. c. 15. p. 85.

Vid. Euseb. de Vitâ Constant. l. ii. cap. 16. l. iii. cap. 26. et 54. et passim. Vid. Dem. Evang. l. viii. p. 364. Clementin. Hom. 6. n. xxi. xxii. p. 669, 670.

[n] See here, p. 472.

[o] Ignosci mœrentibus potest, credentibus non potest. Quis enim tam demens, qui, consensu, et placito innumerabilium stultorum, aperiri cœlum mortuis arbitretur; aut aliquem, quod ipse non habeat, dare alteri posse? Lact. l. i. cap. 15. p. 86.

[p] Si dixerint, inquit, patres vestri, quos reliquistis: Quærite ventriloquos, quos Pythonas intelligimus. Qualem et in Actibus Apostolorum ancillam legimus, quæ quæstui erat dominis suis. Hieron. Comm. in Is. cap. viii Tom. 3. p. 81.

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and to have thought, that divers of the afflicted persons, whose cures they relate, had evil spirits.

To which I answer, that I think this cannot be denied, and that it needs not to be contested. Nor ought this to be thought strange, even supposing that there was no agency or interposition of evil spirits: for the opinion of possessions being common at that time, and generally admitted by the knowing, as well as by the others, it is no wonder that the evangelists should be of the same sentiment. The twelve apostles of Christ were unlearned men; our Lord chose to have such for apostles; and he did not teach them philosophy, but religion. And indeed, if the evangelists had appeared to know more than others, in this and other points of a philosophical nature, it might have diminished the credibility of their history. If they had been wiser and more knowing than most others, and even than the knowing and learned of that time; some would have been apt to charge them with art and contrivance in the main parts of their history. But now there is no room for such a charge or suspicion.

4. Obj. The fourth and last objection is, that our blessed Lord, if he did not countenance the common and prevailing opinion upon this head, does not appear to have opposed or discouraged it; which we may think he would have done if it was not right. For it might have been an useful work, and a benefit to mankind, to deliver them from wrong apprehensions upon this point.

To which I answer: undoubtedly our blessed Lord knew the truth of the case, for he knew all things. But it does not follow, that he was therefore obliged to speak his mind, or to correct every false and mistaken notion among the people whom he taught. Our [q] Lord was concerned in the most important design, teaching the principles of true religion, and recommending them by works of mighty power and great goodness. When any afflicted cases were brought to him, it was sufficient to heal them, to whatever cause they were ascribed. It was expedient not to enter into any debate upon that head: it might have diverted him from his main work.

[q] D'ailleurs, N. S. n' étoit pas appellé à corriger les fausses idées que les Juifs pouvoient avoir sur la nature de ces maladies. Et s'il leur avoit dit, qu'elles étoient l'effet de quelques causes naturelles, ils en auroient pris un prétexte de l'accuser de nier qu'il y eût de mauvais esprits; et par consequent qu'il y en eût aussi de bons. Les pharisiens en auroient fait un sadducéen. Beaus. Remarques sur le N. T. p. 14.

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We do not observe in the Old Testament, that it was customary for any prophet to instruct men in the things of nature. The people of the Jews, in the time of our Saviour, were generally free from idolatry: and as they considered the spirits, which they supposed sometimes to inflict distempers on men, to be "evil and unclean," there was no danger of their honouring and worshipping them. There was therefore no urgent necessity, that he should interpose for correcting any misapprehensions concerning the causes of some indispositions and distempers.

That our Lord studiously declined to concern himself with things foreign to the office of a prophet, or extraordinary messenger from heaven, may appear from two particular instances.

One is at the beginning of the ninth chapter of St. John's gospel. "And as Jesus passed by, he saw a man which was blind from his birth. And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." Here the disciples give the Lord a fair occasion to say something about the philosophical notion of the pre-existence of the human soul: but our Lord declines that point, and only says that the blindness of this man was not owing to any sin of his own, or his parents.

The other instance is in Luke xii. 13, 14: "And one of the company said unto him, Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me. And he said unto him, Man, who made me a judge and a divider over you? And he said unto them, Take heed, and beware of covetousness," and what follows. Here one comes to our Lord with a petition; and it may be thought to be very reasonable: for it cannot but be a good work to decide a cause truly, and with a just sentence, and to reconcile brethren. Nevertheless our Lord absolutely rejects the proposal, as improper to be hearkened to by him. His work was to teach religion, to mortify earthly affections, to deliver men from covetousness, and to raise men's thoughts to things above. For such ends as these, he embraced the present, and all other occasions. But to interpose in particular differences among men, was not his province.

I take this to be a sufficient answer to the difficulty under consideration.

But then here ariseth an objection against all that has been said in this, and the two preceding discourses. For

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it may be said, if Christ confined his doctrine to the important truths and duties of religion, should not a preacher of the gospel do the same, and decline every thing not expressly taught by Christ or his apostles?

To which I answer, that in the course of this argument I have intimated over and over, that no particular sentiment concerning this point ought to be reckoned an article of religion. It is left undetermined by Christ and his apostles; and men may think of it as they find best, if they do but take care to maintain the supremacy of the divine government, and guard against undue fears and apprehensions of evil spirits. And having inculcated such observations and cautions as these, I hope no harm has been done in setting before you the different sentiments of learned, and judicious, and pious interpreters of scripture, concerning the case of those, who in the New Testament are spoken of as having evil spirits.

And having now finished the argument, I again declare, (what no one can doubt the truth of,) that it is more satisfactory to promote good works among men, than to bring them over to any particular opinion. There is more pleasure in advancing the happiness of others, than in raising a man's own reputation for skill in any branch of science. Humility is better than knowledge: a right disposition of heart is more valuable than right sentiments. At the same time it is a reasonable ambition, to promote both knowledge and piety: the character of christians then becomes complete. A love of truth, a thirst after knowledge, an inquisitive temper, seem to be inseparable concomitants of integrity. Such dispositions therefore may be fitly cherished and encouraged.

Solomon says, that "wisdom excelleth folly, as far as light excelleth darkness," Eccl. ii. 13. "That the soul be without knowledge, it is not good," Prov. xix. 2. "The heart of the prudent getteth knowledge, and the ear of the wise seeketh knowledge, xviii. 15. I therefore take the liberty to conclude with that exhortation to you, which St. Paul gave to the christians at Corinth, "Brethren, be not children in understanding: howbeit, in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men," 1 Cor. xiv. 20.

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AN APPENDIX.

FOR FURTHER ILLUSTRATING THE SUBJECT.

I. *Two passages of Josephus concerning Dæmoniacs, with Remarks.* II. *Divers texts of the New Testament, relating to Dæmoniacs, explained,* 1. Matt. xii. 27, 28; 2. Matt. xii. 43—45; 3. Matt. xvii. 21; 4. Luke x. 17, 18. 5. *Texts, where Dæmons are said to be rebuked by our Lord.* III. *A remarkable explication of* Acts vi. 9.

I. JOSEPHUS, having described the castle of Machærus, or Machæruns, says: 'On[a] the north side of the city is a 'valley, in which is a place called Baaras. It bears a plant 'of the same name. It is of a flaming colour, and toward 'evening it shines very bright. It is not easy to be taken 'by those who would gather it: for it withdraws itself, 'and does not stay, unless one pours upon it the urine of a 'woman, or menstruous blood: and even then it is certain 'death to him who takes it, unless he carries the root hang-'ing down upon the hand. There is another way of get-'ting this plant without danger. It is this. They dig all 'round it, so that a very small bit only of the root is left in 'the ground; then they tie a dog to it, and he attempting 'to follow him that tied it, the root is easily pulled up: but 'the dog dies presently, as it were in the stead of him who 'would get the plant: afterwards there is no danger to 'those who touch it. With all these dangers the root is 'very desirable, for the sake of one virtue. For dæmons[b] 'as they are called, who are the spirits of wicked men, en-'tering into the living, and killing those who have no help, 'this root presently expels, if it be only brought near to 'those who are diseased.'

It is astonishing, that any man in repute for good sense, should be able to write in this manner. Surely there never was in any part of the world a plant with all these properties.

That passage is taken from the History of the Jewish War.

[a] De B. Jud. l. vii. cap. 25. [al. vi.] sect. 3.

[b] *Τα γαρ καλουμενα δαιμονια· ταυτα δε πονηρων εστιν ανθρωπων πνευματα, τοις ζωσιν εισδυομενα, και κτεινοντα τους βοηθειας μη τυγχανοντας· αυτη ταχεως εξελαυνει, καν προσενεχθη μονον τοις νοσουσι.* Ibid.

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There is another passage in his Jewish Antiquities, in the history of Solomon.

In the former part of the paragraph is the substance of what is said of Solomon's great wisdom, in 1 Kings iv. 29—34. After which it follows: 'God[c] also gave him understanding to attain to skill against dæmons for the benefit of mankind. For having composed incantations, whereby diseases are removed, he also left behind him certain kinds of exorcisms, whereby dæmons may be expelled, so as never to return again. And this method of cure is effectual [or prevails much] among us to this day. For I saw one Eleazar, my countryman, in the presence of Vespasian, and his sons, and many tribunes, and other soldiers, deliver men who were seized by these dæmons. The cure was in this manner. Applying to the nostrils of the dæmoniacs a ring, having under the seal one of those roots, of which Solomon taught the virtues, he drew out the dæmon at the nostrils of the man who smelled to it. The man presently falling down, he mentioned 'Solomon,' and reciting the charms composed by him, he adjured the dæmon never to return any more. Moreover, Eleazar being desirous to satisfy all the company that he had that power, he placed a little way off a cup full of water, or a small vessel, in which the feet are washed. Then he commanded the dæmon, as he went out of the man, to overthrow them, that all present might be sensible he had left the man. This being done, the wisdom of Solomon was made manifest.'

We are now to make remarks upon these two passages.

1. We hence evidently perceive, that Josephus believed there were real dæmoniacs, or persons into whom dæmons entered, and to whom they were troublesome.

[c] Παρεσχε δε αυτῳ μαθειν ὁ Θεος, και την κατα των δαιμονων τεχνην ως ωφελειαν και Θεραπειαν τοις ανθρωποις· επῳδας τε συνταξαμενος, αἰς παρηγορειται τα νοσηματα, και τροπους εξορκωσεων κατελειπεν, οἰς ενδυομενα τα δαιμονια, ὡς μηκετ' επανελθειν, εκδιωκει. Και αυτη μεχρι νυν παρ' ἡμιν ἡ Θεραπεια πλειστον ισχυει. Ἱστορησα γαρ τινα Ελεαζαρον των ὁμοφυλων, Ουεσπασιανῳ παροντος ——— τους ὑπο των δαιμονιων λαμβανομενους απολυοντα τυτων. Ὁ δε της Θεραπειας τροπος τοιυτος ην. Προσφερων ταις ρισι δαιμονιζομενυ τον δακτυλιον, εχοντα ὑπο τῃ σφραγιδι ριζαν εξ ὡν ὑπεδειξε Σολομων, επειτα εξειλκεν οσφραινομενῳ δια των μυκτηρων το δαιμονιον. Και πεσοντος ευθυς τυ ανθρωπυ, μηκετ' εις αυτον επανελθειν ὡρκει, Σολομωνος τε μεμνημενος, και τας επῳδας, ας συνεθηκεν εκεινος, επιλεγων. Βυλομενος δε πεισαι και παραστησαι τοις παρατυγχανυσιν ὁ Ελεαζαρος, ὁτι ταυτην εχει ισχυν, ετιθει μικρον εμπροσθεν ητοι ποτηριον πληρες ὑδατος, ἡ ποδονιπτρον· και τῳ δαιμονιῳ προσεταττεν εξιοντι τυ ανθρωπυ ταυτ' ανατρεψαι, και παρασχειν επιγνωναι τοις ὁρωσιν, ὁτι καταλελοιπε τον ανθρωπον, κ. λ. Antiq. l. viii. cap. ii. sect. 5.

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2. Therefore this must have been a common opinion at that time, as we perceive in the gospels.

3. The dæmons, who entered into men, and took possession of them, according to his account, were the spirits or souls of wicked men. And it may be also hence concluded, that this was the opinion of many other Jews at that time.

And by the way I would observe, that we have here full proof that the pharisees, of which sect Josephus was, believed the separate existence of souls after death. This was shown [d] formerly from several passages in his works, where he speaks of the souls of good and bad men, and says, 'That [e] according to the doctrine of the sadducees souls 'perish with the bodies.' But he and the rest of the pharisees believed the continuance or subsistence of souls after death. I think we are hereby led to the true and certain interpretation of Acts xxiii. 8, "For [f] the sadducees say, that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit: but the pharisees confess both." Where by 'spirit' must be meant the human soul, subsisting separate from the body.

4. We farther learn from Josephus, that incantations and exorcisms were practised by Jews in his time, for expelling dæmons out of the bodies of men, of which they were supposed to have taken possession.

5. The story told by Josephus of Eleazar lies open to many exceptions, and appears ridiculous. For what reason can there be to think, that dæmons, whether they be bad angels, or the souls of bad men, should be affected by the smell of a root? It is likely, that Eleazar was an impostor, and the whole affair related by Josephus, as transacted before Vespasian and his court, was artifice and delusion. There was a compact between Eleazar and the pretended dæmoniac. Josephus has not mentioned the symptoms of any distemper under which the man laboured. If the man had been afflicted with some grievous disorder, the removal of it would have been sufficient proof of the power of Eleazar, and of the virtues of Solomon's incantations, without overturning a small vessel of water, placed near the exorcist or his dæmoniac. How that was done I do not know; but I suppose our slight-of-hand gentlemen can easily ac-

[d] See p. 125—127.

[e] Σαδδυκαιους δε τας ψυχας ὁ λογος συναφανιζει τοις σωμασι. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 1. sect. 4.

[f] Deum esse credebant, sed præter eum nihil quod non sensibus perciperetur, non angelos ὑφιστασθαι, non superesse corporibus animos, ideoque nec fore ανασταση. Grot. in Act. xxiii. 8. Vid. et Wolf. in eundem locum.

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count for such a feat, and gratify spectators with others more surprising.

6. It may be hence argued, that the Jewish exorcists, with all their incantations, were of very little service to mankind, for relieving them under any indisposition. How ineffectual the exorcisms of the sons of Sceva, a Jewish priest, were at Ephesus, we have seen in the history related in Acts xix. 13—17. Nor does it appear that Eleazar, of whom Josephus writes, performed any cure, or expelled any dæmon; but it was mere artifice, as just shown.

7. From these two passages we may be fully satisfied, that Josephus was not a christian. And it may be also argued with great probability, that the passage concerning Jesus, in the xviiith book of his Antiquities, is not genuine, but is an interpolation.

8. Must it not appear very remarkable, that Josephus, shunning the affairs of christians, and omitting the great works of our Lord and his apostles, has not been able to relate one credible story of a miracle, excepting those of the Old Testament? Josephus is willing enough to relate miracles and extraordinary things, or such things as have an appearance of being so. But they will not bear examination. How came this to pass, that Josephus, a pharisee, a learned man, of the race of the priests, should fall so far below our honest artless evangelists? In their histories we see simplicity and dignity. The reason is, because they are truth: they copy a real original. They write the history of the great prophet that was to come, the Messiah; who cures diseases of all kinds, and raises the dead with his word, without parade and ostentation. But the learned Josephus, the priest, the statesman; Josephus, when he attempts to relate a miracle for the honour of his country, even the dispossessing a dæmon, produceth nothing extraordinary, but the overturning a small tottering vessel full of water, and says, that the dæmon came out at the man's nose!

And can any man who reads the above-cited passages, think it any disparagement to the christian religion, that it was not embraced by Josephus, who has given such proofs of want of judgment, and had no just notions in things of religion? For he could not conceive, that [e] intentions, without the act, were liable to punishment.

II. 1. Matt. xii. 27, "And if I by Beelzebub cast out dæmons, by whom do your children cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges." 28, "But if I cast out

[e] Το γαρ μηκετι ποιησαι το εργον βουλευσαμενον, ως ετι τιμωριας αξιον. Antiq. l. xii. cap. 9. sect. 1.

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dæmons by the spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you." Comp. Luke xi. 19, 20.

Josephus has assured us, that the Jews practised exorcisms for expelling dæmons; and has informed us of one method of performing them. Divers ancient christian writers, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and others, (whose passages may be seen in Grotius and Whitby upon this text of St. Matthew,) do also speak of Jewish exorcisms; and suppose, that they adjured dæmons in the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. To these [h] exorcists, it is likely, our Lord refers; and not to his own disciples, or any others who had a respect for him, like the person mentioned, Mark ix. 38—40, and Luke ix. 49, 50.

What our Lord says is to this effect: 'If I, as you say, 'by Beelzebub cast out dæmons, by whom do your countrymen and disciples cast them out, or attempt to do so? You 'do not impute to them a combination with Satan; but you 'approve of them. From their practices therefore, mean 'and contemptible as they are, may be formed an argument 'sufficient to show the injustice and the malignity of your 'censure passed upon me. For if I cast out dæmons, and 'by a word instantly cure all manner of diseases usually 'ascribed to those evil spirits, and all their worst symptoms, 'as you see me to do daily: you cannot but know, it is 'owing to an immediate exertion of the power of God; and 'you might conclude, that his kingdom by the Messiah is 'now setting up among you.'

Our Lord does not here ascribe any virtue to the Jewish exorcisms, he rather supposes them ineffectual and insignificant; and tells the pharisees, they could not but know, that the great works done by him were full proof of his authority and mission, and of the most extraordinary divine manifestation among them.

2. Our Lord, reproving the hypocrisy of the pharisees, and the prevailing unbelief of the Jewish people, and apprising them of the imminent danger they were in of falling under the heavy judgments of God, says: "When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places seeking rest, and findeth none. Then he saith, I will return unto my house whence I came out; and when he is come, he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished. Then goeth he, and taketh with him seven other spirits more wicked than

[h] 'Filii vestri.' Non apostoli, qui a pharisæis una cum Christo accusabantur, sed populares pharisæorum, et discipuli. Grot. ad Matt. xii. 27. See also Whitby upon the place.

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himself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first. Even so shall it be also unto this wicked generation," Matt. xii. 43—45. The same is recorded also, Luke xi. 24—26.

This discourse of our Lord is a comparison, wherein he represents the state of the Jewish people, by way of allusion to those distempers which they ascribed to evil spirits.

"When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none." The Jewish people, in the latter times of their commonwealth, had a notion that dæmons did often frequent desert places. In Isa. xiii. 21, representing the desolation of Babylon, it is said: "Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there." Instead of 'satyrs,' which is our translation, the Greek version of the Seventy puts dæmons, Και δαιμονες εκει ορχησονται. The same language is adopted in the description of the ruin of the antichristian Babylon, in Rev. xviii. 2; "Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of dæmons, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird, κατοικητηριον δαιμονων."

In our Lord's comparison which we are considering, it is supposed, that evil spirits might leave a man for a while, and afterwards return. This also must have been a very common opinion of the Jews. Therefore Josephus observes in the history before transcribed, of Eleazar's dispossessing a dæmon, 'that reciting the charms composed by Solomon, 'he adjured the dæmon never to return any more.' This opinion, as may be well supposed, was the reason why the dæmoniac, in the country of the Gadarenes, entreated our Lord to permit him to accompany him; thinking, it is likely, that to be the only security against the return of the evil spirits, with which he had been vexed, as he imagined. "When he was entered into the ship, he that had been possessed with the dæmon, prayed him that he might be with him. Howbeit Jesus suffered him not," Mark v. 18, 19; Comp. Luke viii. 38. And our Lord also in his great goodness, to prevent troublesome fears and disquieting apprehensions, when he cured the young man of the epilepsy, which had been ascribed to an evil spirit, as the evangelist assures us, "rebuked the foul spirit, saying unto him, Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee come out of him, and enter no more into him," Mark ix. 25.

Once more, it is supposed in this comparison, that if a dæmon returned to a man, and took possession of him again

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after having left him for a while, the state of that man would be very unhappy. And it is very reasonable to think, that if a person had been relieved under any distemper which was ascribed to evil spirits, and he was again seized with it, the symptoms would be more violent, and the man's case be very deplorable, and even desperate.

The Jewish people had been severely chastised by the Babylonish captivity, and a partial reformation had been obtained. They now enjoyed much peace in their own land, and they had the liberty of worship at the temple. They had lately been under the searching ministry of John the Baptist, calling them to repentance, and telling them, that "the axe was laid to the root of the tree. He was a burning and a shining light: and for a season they rejoiced in his light." They now enjoyed the excellent instructions of Jesus, who also wrought among them works which no prophet had done before, fully proving his high commission. And "many heard him gladly." They said, "never man spake like him: John did no miracles: but all things that John spake of this man were true: many believed on him, and said, When the Messiah comes will he do more miracles than these, which this man has done?" If, after all, this people should generally admit, and indulge within themselves, the worst passions, and should be guilty of the worst crimes, and grow more and more hardened in wickedness, they would bring down upon themselves, by the righteous judgment of God, heavier calamities than ever had befallen them in former times.

That is what our Lord declares in the figurative expressions of this comparison. Every one will be led to recollect here what St. Peter says, 1 ep. ii. 20—22. And I refer to the commentators, especially Grotius, upon the place which we have been now considering.

3. Matt. xvii. 21, "Howbeit this kind goeth not out by prayer and fasting." Mark ix. 29, "And he said unto them, This kind can come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting."

The occasion of these words is well known. Whilst our Saviour was in the mount with three of his disciples, Peter, and James, and John, the sons of Zebedee; a man brought to the rest of the disciples his son, who was "lunatic and sore vexed," with an epileptic disorder ascribed to an evil spirit; but they could not cure him. When the father told this to our Lord, he reproved their want of faith: See Matt. xvii. 16, 17; Mark ix. 18, 19; Luke ix. 40, 41. When the young man had been healed, and the company was with-

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drawn, "the disciples came to Jesus apart, and said, Why could not we cast him out? And Jesus said unto them, because of your unbelief. For verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you. Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting," Matt. xvii. 19—21.

A faith of miracles may be defined after this[i] manner. 'It 'was a firm and well-grounded persuasion of mind, enabling 'men to set about a miraculous operation, in full assurance 'of God's assisting them.' Our Lord told his disciples, that[k] their not being able to cure this young man was owing to the defect of faith, and he reproves them for it. At the same time he teaches them how they might obtain an increase of faith, so as to be able to perform the greatest miracles. The method prescribed by him for that end is humble and fervent prayer, and mortification to this world; a temper mightily suited to the sublime and heavenly doctrine of the gospel, and very necessary in the preachers of it in all times, especially at its first publication.

The defect of faith was blamable in the disciples: for our Lord had "given them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease," Matt. x. 1. And unquestionably they had before now wrought many miracles: this they must have done, when sent forth by Jesus during the time of his abode on this earth. St. Mark says, ch. vi. 12, 13, "And they went out and preached that men should repent. And they cast out many dæmons, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them." Our Lord gave like powers afterwards to seventy other disciples. Luke x. beginning, "And they returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the dæmons are subject to us through thy name."

But though the disciples had performed some miracles, their faith was not sufficient for the cure of this young man, whose distemper was obstinate and inveterate, and the symptoms very violent.

This history may be illustrated by another instance of defect of faith in the disciples. When they met with a great

[i] Compare Dr. Benson's Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, p. 6, 7.

[k] Supra dixerat Christus, fiduciâ opus esse ad hæc præsertim notæ majoris miracula. Nunc ostendit, quomodo ea parari possit, precibus nimirum fervidis. Jejunium ideo adjungit, quia ad preces inprimis requiritur animus demissus; cui rei inservit jejunium. Unde plerumque conjungi videmus νηστειαν et δεησιν sive προσευχην, Luc. ii. 37; Act. x. 30, &c. Grot. ad Matt. xvii. 21.

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storm, as they were crossing over the sea of Galilee with our Lord in the ship, they were exceedingly affrighted, and came to him, saying, "Lord, save us, we perish," Matt. viii. 24—26; Mark iv. 37—39; Luke viii. 22—25. Says an ingenious[1] writer, 'According to the harmony of the four 'gospels, there are above twenty places were Jesus is said 'to have worked miracles before this. And therefore the 'disciples, who had been eye-witnesses of most of those 'miracles, had just reason to think, that he was able to 'deliver them in the greatest danger: and that they, espe-'cially in his presence, were under the peculiar inspection 'and care of God.' Consequently, our Lord justly reproved them at that season, saying, "Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?"

The greatness of the danger which they were then in, too much alarmed their fears; and the violence of the symptoms of the young man's distemper too much discouraged them: for which they were justly reproved. Nevertheless, our blessed Lord, ever mild and compassionate, makes allowance for their prejudices and want of consideration; and encourageth them to hope, that they should obtain an increase of faith, and be able to discharge the service to which he had appointed them in an honourable manner.

We may here fitly recollect a prayer of the apostles, and the answer vouchsafed. Acts iv. 24—31, "And now, Lord, behold their threatenings. And grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak thy word: and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child [rather son or servant] Jesus. And when they had prayed, the place was shaken where they were assembled together. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word with boldness." That is, there was a fresh effusion upon them of knowledge, power, and comfort: whereby they were assured of their being enabled to do every thing needful to confirm the truth of Christ's resurrection. Accordingly it is said there at ver. 33, "And with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus."

4. Luke x. 17, 18, "And the seventy returned with joy, saying, Lord, even the dæmons are subject to us through thy name. And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven."

Those words cannot be taken literally; for by 'heaven' understand the supreme heaven, the place of the blessed: and it is allowed by all, that Satan, with his angels, was

[1] Dr. Benson's Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, p. 209, 210.

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long before driven thence, and could have no access there. Nor can it be hereby intended, that Christ saw Satan fall like lightning from the upper region of the air: for that is a thing of no moment. The words therefore figuratively represent the speedy overthrow of error, falsehood, idolatry, and sin, by the preaching of the gospel, accompanied with mighty signs and wonders, done by the apostles, and others, in the name of Jesus Christ.

5. Our blessed Lord is sometimes said in the gospels to have rebuked dæmons. Those places shall be here taken notice of.

Mark i. 23—26, "And there was in their synagogue [at Capernaum] a man with an unclean spirit. And he cried out, saying, Let us alone. What have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee, who thou art, the holy one of God. And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him." The same miracle is related, and in the same manner, by St. Luke, ch. iv. 33—35.

In the history of the cure of the young man who had the epilepsy, which was ascribed to the influence of an evil spirit, it is said: "And Jesus rebuked the dæmon, and he departed out of him; and the child was cured from that hour," Matt. xvii. 18. "When Jesus saw that the people came running together, he rebuked the foul spirit, saying unto him, Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee come out of him, and enter no more into him," Mark ix. 25. "And Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit, and healed the child, and delivered him again to his father," Luke ix. 42.

It should be observed, that the word 'rebuke' is also used concerning things, to which we do not ascribe either life or intelligence. "Then he arose, and rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm," Matt. viii. 26. "And he arose, and rebuked the wind, and said, Peace, be still. And the winds ceased, and there was a great calm," Mark iv. 39. "Then he arose and rebuked the wind, and the raging of the water; and they ceased, and there was a calm," Luke viii. 24.

Luke iv. 39, "And he stood over her, and rebuked the fever, and it left her."

The truth of the case, as before said, I take to be this. Our Lord, in curing distempers generally ascribed to evil spirits, sometimes accommodated his expressions and manner of treating such afflicted persons, to the common opinion of the people, without countenancing or approving it.

III. The Acts vi. 9, "Then there arose certain of the

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synagogue, which is called the synagogue of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia, and of Asia, disputing with Stephen."

In the first part of the Credibility of the Gospel History,[m] I endeavoured to show who they were who are called Libertines. Since that time I have met with another interpretation, which I am now desirous to propose to my readers, and to render it more common than it seems to be. It does not immediately relate to the subject of which we have been treating here: nevertheless, I presume none will be much offended at my inserting the observation in this place.

It is in the Academical Exercitations[n] of Mr. Daniel Gerdes, Professor of Divinity in the University of Groningen. He is of opinion, that[o] these Libertines are so called from a

[m] See p. 118; 119.

[n] Danielis Gerdesii Exercitationum Academicarum libri tres. Qto. Amst. 1738.

[o] Nationis autem atque regionis, non status sive conditionis, Λιβερτινων nomen esse, cum maxime nobis sit probabile, et Libertinos dictos Judæos, a Liberto, Africæ Propriæ, sive Carthaginensis, quæ et Proconsularis dicebatur, sive oppido, sive regione, quam habitabant, tametsi ad instar cæterorum, vel Cyrenen vicinam, vel Alexandriam inhabitantium, Hierosolymis suam haberent synagogam, a proprio suo nomine, æque ac Alexandrinorum ac Cyrenensium appellatam—Et quidem quod ad rationes, nemo non videt, nihil planius nihilque simplicius esse hac hypothesi, quæ veram vocabulorum retinet notionem—Accedit in genere, quod cum Libertini jungantur Cyrenensibus, Alexandrinis, Cilicibus, et Asianis, et hi tamen omnes a locis habitationis suæ appellentur, credibile quoque non sit, Libertinos non a loco vel habitationis sede, sed a conditione, *μεταβασει εις αλλο γενος*, prorsus insolità, denominatos esse: imprimis si in specie consideremus, quod Libertinis statim jungantur Cyrenenses et Alexandrini, quibus nominibus itidem Africæ incolæ designantur, et sive Judæi sive proselyti ex illis regionibus oriundi indicabantur.—Suidas tamen in Lexico suo, Tom. ii. fol. 445. edit. Kuster, vocem nostram ad gentem ita nominatam applicari debere manifesto indicat. *Λιβερτινος ονομα εθνες.* Libertini, nomen gentis. Glossa quoque Interlinearis, cui suas cum primis notas superstruxit Nicolatis de Lyra, voci Libertinorum superscripsit *a regione.* Unde ipse Lyra: Libertinorum, inquit, a regione sic nominatorum, ut dicit Glossa Interlinearis. Sed ubinam ea sita est regio? Duo sunt in Actis publicis ecclesiasticis nobis relicta monumenta, ex quibus de Libertinis vel Libertinensibus, eorumque situ, judicare tuto possumus.—Alterum monumentum habemus in Gestis celeberrimæ illius A. 411. habitæ cum Donatistis Collationis Carthaginensis. Quod cum conservatum sit a consiliorum collectoribus —atque cum ipsis Actis subjunctum editioni præstantissimæ Optati Milevitani adversus Donatistas, quam procuravit Elias Du Pinius. Legitur in Actis Collationis ita: 'Item recitavit. Victor Episcopus ecclesiæ catholicæ Libertinensis.' Cel. Baluzii nota ad vocabulum Libertinensis hæc est l. c. Libertinensis. In provinciâ Proconsulari. Atque ita suâ sponte ducimur ad alterum illud quod dicebamus monumentum, ex Actis Concilii Lateranensis, A. 649. habiti, depromptum, ubi habetur Epistola—Episcoporum sancti Concilii, Proconsularis ad Paulum Constantinopolitanum, subscripta ab ipsis Episcopis, inter quos quoque occurrit, 'Januarius gratiâ Dei episcopus sanctæ Ecclesiæ Liberti-'nensis.'———Cum ea propter etiam Cl. Fabricius suo Episcopatuum orbis Christiani Indici Geographico, quem subjecit libro, cui tit. 'Salutaris Lux

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city or country, named Libertus, or Libertina, situated in Africa. This appears to be very probable, because all the other people here mentioned are denominated from the places inhabited by them. Suidas in his Lexicon, at the word Λιβερτινοι, says, it was the name of a people, though he does not mention the country in which they dwelt. The Glossa Interlinearis, of which Nicolas de Lyra made great use, intimates upon this text, that the Libertines were so called from a country. In the Acts of the famous Conference with the Donatists at Carthage in the year 411, is the name of a bishop of the church of Libertina: which is supposed to have been situate in Africa Propria, or the proconsular province in Africa. Another bishop of the same place, Libertina, is mentioned in the Acts of the Lateran council held in 619. Accordingly Fabricius, in his Geographical Index of Christian Bishoprics, has placed Libertina as being in the proconsular Africa. And long before, Abraham Ortelius, in his Thesaurus Geographicus, at the word Libertini, observes, that St. Luke, in the sixth chapter of the Acts had spoken of the Libertines as a people. Moreover Œcumenius, in his Commentary upon the Acts, has mentioned this as one interpretation; that[q] the Libertines, as well as the Cyrenians, were a people living beyond Alexandria, who had a synagogue at Jerusalem.

All these particulars are insisted on by Mr. Gerdes in his argument upon the subject. I have transcribed a large part below in his own words.

The learned and judicious compilers of the Bibliothêque Raisonnée, at the conclusion of their account of this disputation of Mr. Gerdes, add[q] a reference to Pool's Synopsis. I shall place below[r] the passage to which they refer. Whence it may appear, that this interpretation has not been unknown to learned men: but it has not been so much at-

'Evangelii,' &c. Libertinensem episcopatum in Africâ Proconsulari inseruerit: Cum Abrahamus Ortelius non minus jam antehac in Thesauro Geographico quoque annotaverit, 'Libertinorum tanquam gentis meminisse Divum 'Lucam Actor. vi. atque gentis nomen esse apud Suidam, Libertinensis autem 'ecclesiæ in Africâ episcopum habere Collationem Africanam.' Dan. Gerdes, Disputatio de Synagogâ Libertinorum, num. xxvii.—xxix. p. 509—513.

[p] Ἀλλως. Λιβερτινων και Κυρηναιων των επεκεινα Αλεξανδρειας——ὠν και διαφοροι συναγωγαι εν Ἱερυσαλημ κατα εθνη εναυλιζομενων. Διο και συναγωγας ειχον τοπης αφωρισμενης επ' αναγνωσει των Μωσεως νομων. Œcum. in Act. T. 1. p. 57.

[q] Biblioth. Raisonnée, Tom. 24. Part. i. p. 67. Amst. 1740.

[r] Quinam hi? Resp. 2. Apud Suidam est. Λιβερτινοι, ονομα εθνες, nomen gentis. Idem scribit Ortelius. Quin et ecclesia Libertinensis in Africâ habetur in Collatione Carthaginensi. Pol. Syn. ad Act. vi. 9.

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tended to as I think it deserves. And Mr. Gerdes has cast a great deal of new light upon it, and much confirmed it.

Upon the whole, it appears to be very probable, that the Libertines were native Jews, and proselytes, living at Libertus or Libertina, who had a synagogue at Jerusalem. And the order of the names in St. Luke might lead us to think, that they were farther off from Jerusalem than Alexandria and Cyrene: which confirms the supposition, that the place whence they were named, was situated in what was called Africa Propria, or the proconsular province.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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